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108024

King Dantivarman of the subjoined record is stated to have been born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gotra. In editing the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman-Mahārāja, Mr. Venkayya remarked that he was perhaps the immediate successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and added in a note that his successors probably spoke of themselves as belonging to the "family of the Pallavatilaka." And *Pallavatilaka* is a shortened form of *Pallarakulatilaka* which was actually borne as a title by Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription.¹ Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a usurper as we know from the Kāśā-kudi plates. Subsequent kings (there are at least two known so far) claiming descent in the Pallava line, trace their ancestry apparently to Dantivarman of the Triplicane inscription as evidenced by the epithet *Pallavatilaka-kulābhava* prefixed to their names. The application of this epithet to the king of the present record necessitates our distinguishing him from Dantivarman-Mahārāja, "the ornament of the Pallava race." That such a distinction has to be made is also evident from the fact that this is not the only inscription which introduces this family. Not less than five records have, so far, been found where members belonging to the Pallavatilaka family are mentioned,² and it is therefore difficult to suppose that all the writers did not intend any difference between the terms *Pallarakula* and *Pallavatilakakula*.

From the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu grant of Rājendra-Chōla I., we know that Āditya I., father of Parantaka I. (A.D. 907—947) fought with the Gaṅga-Pallava Aparājita.³ This king may be supposed to be the son of Nripatuṅgavikramavarman and his successor. In two records of the 18th and 22nd years of Nripatuṅga Adigaḷ-Kambeṇ-Mārambāvai, queen of Nandivarman of the Pallavatilaka family makes grants and there is a much damaged inscription in the Airavateśvara temple at Niyamam apparently dated during the reign of a Chōla king also registering a grant made by the same queen.⁴ From these facts it may be concluded that, of the two kings of the Pallavatilaka family hitherto known, Nandivarman was either a contemporary of the Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatuṅgavikramavarman or lived prior to his time by a few years. As Dantivarman of the subjoined inscription has been shown to be closer in point of time to this Nandivarman, he may be assigned roughly to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.

First Section.

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Bhāradvāja-gōtrattiṇ vali-ttōṇiya Pallava-tilata⁵-kulōrbhavaṇ
Dantivarmanarku yaṇḍu nāṅāvad=ēḍuttukkonḍu [ai]dāvadū murruvittāṇ
Ālamb[ā]kka-Viśaiyanallulāṇ
2 tambi Kambēṇ Araiyaṇ Tiruvollarai-Ttōṇṇūr-pperuṇ-giṇaṇ [||*] Iḍaṇ piyar
Marppidugu-[pe]ruṅgiṇar=ēṇbadu |— Iḍu ratshippar⁶ ivv-ār-Mūvairatt-^{6a}
ēḷunuravarum |—

Second Section.

- 1 Śri [||*] Kaṇḍār kāṇāv=ulagattir-kadalēydu nillādēy⁷ paṇḍēy⁷ Paraman
paḍaitta nāl pārttu niṇru maiyyādēy⁷
2 taṇḍār⁸ mūppu vand-uṇṇ-i-ttaḷara=ēḷcheydu nillāmuṇṇ=uṇḍēll⁹-uṇḍu mikkaḍu
ulagam=āṇiya [v]aimminēy⁷

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 292.

² Nos. 16 of 1899, 300 and 303 of 1901 and 537 and 541 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p. 66, paragraph 10. ⁴ *Ibid.* for 1898-9, p. 7, paragraph 18.

⁵ *Tilata* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *tilaka*.

⁶ Read *rakshī*.

^{6a} Read *Mūvāyī*.

⁷ In these four instances the final *y* seems to have been inserted to represent the full sound produced in pronouncing the words.

⁸ *Taṇḍu* is a variant of the Sanskrit *daṇḍa*.

⁹ The doubling of the consonant *l* is a mistake. The first of them has to be deleted.

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AND

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VOL. X.—



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The date is unsatisfactory. From the details given it would seem that the number of the regnal year is not clear. On the supposition that the number of the year is shown by a single *akshara* I have tested the date for every year of Rājārāja III's reign from the first to the ninth inclusive, and in no case have obtained the desired combination.¹

The nearest approach was found in the 1st regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1217, the 4th regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1220, and the 8th regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1224.

In A.D. 1217 the week-day corresponding to the 5th *krishṇa tithi* was Wednesday, and the day was the 5th day of Mēsha, or March 29th; but the *nakshatra* Mūla only began, by the equal-space system, at 1h. 23m. after mean sunrise on that day, though at that moment (mean sunrise) the moon was in Mūla by the systems of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta. This was in the king's first regnal year.

In A.D. 1220 the 5th *krishṇa tithi* was current at mean sunrise of Thursday, March 26th which was the 2nd day of Mēsha, having been current for the last 20h. 3m. on the previous Wednesday. According to the equal-space system Jyēsthā was the *nakshatra* current during all those hours of Wednesday, Mūla only beginning 1h. 38m. after mean sunrise on Thursday; though by the system of Garga Mūla was current for the last 11h. 12m. and by the Brahma-siddhānta for the last 16h. 12m. on the Wednesday. So that by these latter authorities Mūla and the 5th *krishṇa tithi* ran together for a considerable period on Wednesday, March 25th. But I can ascertain no reason why the Wednesday and not the Thursday, at whose sunrise the 5th *krishṇa tithi* was current, should have been coupled with that *tithi*. There was nothing special, so far as I can gather, in that *tithi* which would warrant a departure from the usual procedure of naming the day from the *tithi* current at sunrise. These days in A.D. 1220 were in the king's fourth regnal year.

In A.D. 1224 the 5th *krishṇa tithi* fell on Wednesday, April 10th, which was the 17th day of Mēsha, but the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise of that day was Pūrva-Āshādhā by all systems, Mūla having ended on the Tuesday. This was in the eighth regnal year of Rājārāja III.

The date is irregular for his other regnal years from the first to the ninth inclusive.

It is also irregular for the 6th year of either Rājārāja I or II.

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBURAYA.

241.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 S[va]sti śri[ll[•]] Irājanārāyaṇaṇ ³Śambū(bu)rāyaṇku yāṇḍu⁴
- 2 13 āvaḍu⁵ Tula-ravi aparā-pakshattu ⁶dutiyai[yu]m Na-
- 3 yarru-kiḷamaiyum por[ra] Kātti[ga]i nāl.

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of Rājanārāyaṇaṇ Samburāya,—on the day of Kṛittikā which corresponded to a Sunday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tūlā."

¹ Since the above was in print I have been informed that a clause in the body of the inscription makes it clear that the 6th regnal year was intended. This being so the date must be held to be irregular.

² No. 268 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ Śa is engraved below the line.

⁴ The syllable *ṇḍu* is represented by a flourish added to *yā*.

⁵ The word *āvaḍu* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 13.

⁶ Read *dutiyai*.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, last line,—*for a Hechehe read at Hechehe.*

„ 17, line 10 from top, *for Phankaprasavana read Phaukaprasavana.*

„ 32, line 17 from bottom,—*for nI read In.*

„ 41, line 8 from top,—*for Nādlat read Nādlaī.*

„ 48, foot-note 1,—*for Badāri read Badāri.*

Page 107, text line 17,— *for Dhiṇḍhaka- read Tthiṇḍaka.*

„ 108, line 14 from bottom „ „ „

„ 120, No. 10. —The dates in the Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā are said to fall in January, A.D. 1295, and November, A.D. 1298: that, however, is not correct: the case is as follows.—(1) The first date answers quite regularly, for the year B.E. 657 expired, to Friday, 16th December, A.D. 1295.—(2) The second date is “irregular”: instead of working out for a Sunday as given in the record, for the year B.E. 660 expired, the given lunar day answers to Monday, 13th October, A.D. 1298; and for the year B.E. 660 current it answers to Thursday, 24th October, A.D. 1297.—See my paper in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1913, pp. 378-84, where I have treated these two dates fully, and have shown how easily Burmese dates may be calculated by using the means provided by Sir Alfred Irwin in his *Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (1909) and his “Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D. 638 to 1752” published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 39 (1910), pp. 289-315.—J. F. FLEET.

„ 144, text line 31,—*for အဘဏ် read အဘဏ်.*

„ 172, below Table XIII,—*for 177 read 171.*

„ 185, line 36 from top,—*cancel the words “who was the King’s commander-in-chief.”*

„ 236, line 3 from bottom,—*for Kongunivarman read Kongonivarman.*

THE LATE RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA AVARGAL.

Mr. Venkayya, whose picture accompanies this volume, was the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* from November 1908, when I handed over office to him in Bombay, till his death, on the 21st November 1912. During these four years he published Parts III—V and VIII of Volume X and Parts I—V of Volume XI, the last two of which, however, were not issued till after his death. His connexion with the *Epigraphia* dates back to a much earlier period, as he has contributed to Vols. III, IV, VI—IX and XI. He has been an active worker in the field of epigraphy since he was appointed assistant to Dr. Hultzsch, who was then Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, on the 30th April 1887. From the very beginning he took an active share in the copying and arranging of the numerous inscriptions which have in the course of a quarter century accumulated in the Ootacamund office, and his efficient and intelligent assistance is frequently acknowledged in the reports of the office. During Dr. Hultzsch's absence on furlough in 1899-1901, and again when he left India in May 1903, Mr. Venkayya officiated as Epigraphist to the Madras Government. After the establishment of the position of Epigraphist to the Government of India he was appointed Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, and at the same time acted as Government Epigraphist till November 1906, and in November 1908 he was finally appointed to that position. The reports of the Ootacamund office for the years 1898-1900 and 1903-1908 were all written by him. A vast number of inscriptions have there been analysed with great care and erudition, and as long as the bulk of South Indian inscriptions remains unpublished, these reports will be one of the chief sources of our knowledge of the history of South India. As Government Epigraphist for India, Mr. Venkayya also took up again the work started by Professor Hultzsch of editing South Indian inscriptions in a separate publication, and he brought together nineteen inscriptions in Rājārāṣvara temple at Tañjavūr in a volume which was just being passed through the press, when death overtook him in the midst of his work. In addition to the publications mentioned above he contributed papers to the Director-General's Annual, the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Christian College Magazine*, and other Journals. Everything that came from his pen, bore testimony to the scrupulous care and conscientiousness, the critical acumen and the solid learning which characterised him as a scholar. His death is a sad loss to Indian epigraphy, as it is to all those who came into contact with his gentle personality and learnt to appreciate his straightforward character, his modesty and his tact and discretion.

STEN KONOW.

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RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

Late Epigraphist to the Government of India.
(1908-1912).

Born : 1st July, 1864,
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(Madras).

Died : 21st November, 1912,
at Mambalam near Madras.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XI.

No. 1.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DEVAGERI.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This inscription has been mentioned by me in vol. 5 above, p. 172: and I have given a brief statement of the purport of it under No. 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30 (1901), p. 217. I publish it now for the first time, and give a facsimile of it from an ink-impression made for me by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitre in 1890, when (if my memory is correct) he was Māmlatdār of the Sampgaum tāluka of the Belgaum District.

The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 85, at Dēvagēri, a village about six miles west-by-south from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar District. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews the place as 'Dewgeeree'. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deogeree'. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) presents its name as 'Deogiri'. And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the Bombay Gazetteer treats it as 'Devgeri' (p. 665). In connexion with some early Kadamba copperplate records which were obtained at this village, I originally gave its name as 'Dēvagiri',¹ in accordance with those spellings. Subsequently I was given to understand that the cultivators call it 'Dēvagere', and that this should be taken as its real name: and I have sometimes used this form.² Since then, however, I have ascertained that a record of A.D. 1075 in the temple of Basavaṇṇa at the village itself distinctly gives its name as Dēvaṃgēri, as also does a record of the period A.D. 1210-47 at the temple of Mārtaṇḍadēva at a neighbouring village, Kolūr: also, that the impression of a record of A.D. 1121 in the temple of Basavaṇṇa, while leaving it doubtful whether the original does or does not present the *anusvāra*, again distinctly gives the second component of the name as *gēri*, and thus yields either Dēvaṃgēri or Dēvagēri. Further, Mr. K. S. Chitre, while writing the name on the impressions sent by him to me as 'Dēvagiri' in English characters, according to the official spelling, wrote it as 'Dēvagēri', in the same place, in the Mōḍī or current Marāṭhi characters. I therefore entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call the village is, not 'Dēvagere' (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 33: and I have used the form 'Dēogiri' in vol. 5 above, p. 172.

² For instance, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol. 1, part 2, p. 285 ff.

is the form of the name that should be used.¹ At the same time, in justification to a certain extent of the official form of the name, I may state that a record of A.D. 1674 on a pillar in the same temple of Basavaṇṇa does distinctly present the name as *Dēvagiri*, and thus carries back the corrupt form for an appreciable time. The inscription now published does not mention the name *Dēvaṅgēri* in any form, but speaks only of a village called *Palarūr*. This name seems to be another form, by transposition,² of the name which we have as *Paralūr* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 70) in the inscription of the time of Kirtivarman II (A.D. 746-47 and 757) at *Ādūr*, about eight miles south-west-by-west from *Dēvagēri*, and as *Brihat-Paralūr* (*id.*, vol. 7, p. 35, line 9) in the still earlier copperplate grant, of the third year of Mṛigēśavarman, which was discovered at *Dēvagēri* itself. In any case, the purport of our record distinctly implies that the stone which bears it, and which was found in a field in the lands of *Dēvagēri*, was set up in the village *Palarūr*, and thus marks *Palarūr* as being then the name of the place. It may be added that the inscription of A.D. 1075, mentioned above, registers an assignment of tolls, for certain purposes of the god Kaṅkaḷeśvara of *Dēvaṅgēri*, at *Dēvaṅgēri* and *Palavūr* and in the *taḷa*, 'site or tract', composed of *Eleya-Tammugo* and two unnamed villages: here we may possibly have still another form of the name *Paralūr*, *Palarūr*: but it is difficult to account for the *v* in the place of the *r*; and *Palavūr* may be another village which does not now exist. Any such name as *Paralūr*, *Palarūr*, and *Palavūr*, is not now found in maps, etc. And the position seems to be that *Dēvagēri* was originally a *dēvaṅgēri* or *dēvapuri*, a 'god's ward', of *Palarūr*; that the lands of *Palarūr* and some other villages have been absorbed into the lands of *Dēvagēri*, which is a somewhat large village; and that consequently the latter name only has survived. The inscription now published places *Palarūr*, tacitly but plainly, in the *Banavāsi* twelve-thousand province. So, also, the record of A.D. 1075 in the same way places *Dēvaṅgēri*, with the other villages mentioned in it, in that same province, and, further, in a division of it known as the *Bāsavura* one-hundred-and-forty.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, showing a bull, recumbent to the right (proper left) and apparently intended for the usual *Nandi*, and below it, plainly not as a family or dynastic emblem but in connexion with the topic of the record, an elephant, standing to the right (proper left), with a man standing behind it with uplifted arms. The writing covers an area about 1' 8" broad in lines 9 to 14 by 3' 0" high. The stone on which it is engraved seems to have been even originally of an irregular shape; and it is only at the end of lines 1 to 8, 17, 20, and 21, and at the beginning of lines 18 to 22, that any portions of it have been broken away.

The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and, generally, well executed. In lines 1 to 15 the size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{2}$ ", as in the *ya* of *baḷiyan*, line 9, to $\frac{3}{4}$ ", as in the *ba* of *bare*, line 15; in lines 16 ff. it increases up to (for single letters) $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ba* of *sāsirbar*, line 19, and it almost seems that this part of the record may have been written by another hand: the *ynū* of *ay-nūra*, line 2, is $1\frac{3}{4}$ " high: the *lūi* of *masayal-nūra*, line 11, is 2" high: and the *chchi* of *mechchi-deṇi*, line 16, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They are of the general standard of the tenth century A.D. and closely thereabouts. They include both the types of the initial short *i*, on which detail see p. 7 ff. below: the earlier type of this vowel occurs in *irppatt*, line 2; the later type is found in *idaṇi*, line 20; also in *idau* at the beginning of line 18, where, however, it is mostly broken away. The *kh*, *j*, *b*, and *l* are all of the later types; the guttural nasal *ṇ* does not occur. No distinction seems to be made between *d* and *ḍ*. In *chhatra*, for *chchhatra*, line 6, we have the rare full

¹ Regarding the confusion which has arisen in the official spelling of various place-names in consequence of mistakes that have been made between *kere*, *kere*, 'a tank', and *kēri*, 'a street', see my note on the name *Anṇigere* in vol. 6 above, p. 100, note 3.

² Compare the metathesis in *maral* and *malar*, *aral* and *alar*, and *eral* and *elar*: see *Śabdamanidarpana*, verse 29.

form of *chh*, which necessarily can seldom occur except when, as here, it is used instead of *chchh*.

The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record was neatly put together by the use of the *satiasaptami* or locative infinitives *one*, lines 10, 11, 14, *ire*, line 14, *bare*, line 15, and *nile*, line 15, coupled with the subjunctive or conditional *endode*, lines 12, 13, 16. And not unworthy of note, in respect of the nicety of the composition, is the point that, whereas the remainder of the record, appropriately cast in pure Kanarese, naturally presents the words *pul*, *pullu*, for 'grass' (lines 11, 14, 15), and *āne* for 'elephant' (line 15), into the ruling prince's mouth there are put (in accordance with the theory of the Hindū drama, that kings and such people should speak Sanskrit) Sanskrit words, woven however into a Kanarese sentence, which include *triṇa* and *hastin*.¹ Line 7 gives us *nēvarade*, the instrumental singular of a word *nēvara* which seems to be a longer form of *nēra*, = *nēr* (3), 'straightness, propriety, pleasantness'. In line 10-11 we have *kuḍuḡaḷ* as a variant of *kuḍuḡol*, *kuḍuḡol*, *kuḍiḡol*, *kuḍuḡalu*, 'a kind of sickle', for which forms see Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary under *kaḍu* (3).² In the first component of the term *budāḡuḷ*, 'an offering of boiled rice to ghosts', lines 12, 17, we have *būda*, instead of the more usual *būta*, as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhūta*. In *arasara* and *ada*, line 12, *pulla*, line 14, and *koyvara*, line 15, we have either a careless omission of the final *m* (*n*), or, with equal probability, instances of the accusative in *a* instead of *am* (*an*).³ Line 8 presents the word *baḷi* (3), 'a man who calls or invites' or we may say 'a summoner', in connexion with which the following remarks may be made. In the form *baḷi* (with *ḷ* instead of *ḷ*) we have this same word in an unpublished inscription of A.D. 1052 at Niralgi in the Hāṅgal tāluka, Dhārwar, in a passage which runs:—*śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvarin Harikēsaridēvar . . . śrīmad-agrahāraṁ Niriliya mahājanam mūnūrvvarige baḷiyan-aṭṭi barisi*; "the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harikēsaridēva . . . having sent a summoner to the three-hundred *Mahājanas* of the holy *agrahāra* Nirili, and having caused them to come," etc.: and similar passages occur in records of A.D. 1074 and 1075 at the same place. And we can now recognize that we have the word *baḷi* itself in line 20 of the *Āḍūr* inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 70), where, modifying my original rendering, I would translate:—"The *Gurāva* Prabhāchandra, the summoner of the Jain temple of *Paralūr*, obtained this grant." It would seem that, in addition to meaning generally 'any man who calls or invites', the word denoted also a recognized official of some kind, both religious and secular.

In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara* twice in lines 1 to 3; (2) the use of *s* for *ś* throughout; (3) the mistakes of *kh* for *k* in *sakha*, line 1, of *d* for *dh* in *sumadigata*, line 4, and of *ri* for *ṛi* in *triṇa*, line 9.⁴

The inscription can only be treated as a spurious record, as which it has been entered under No. 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30 (1901), p. 217; because it

¹ This is the record which I mentioned, from this point of view, in the discussion on "Sanskrit as a spoken language"; see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1904, 486.

² Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary adds the form *kuḍuḡaḷa*. The most familiar term is *kuḍuḡol*, in its later form *kuḍuḡōlu*.

³ According, indeed, to Kēśirāja's *Śabdamanidarpana*, verse 134, and Bhaṭṭakalanka's *Karṇāṭakaśabdānuśāsana*, sūtra 231, we might regard some of these as genitives used in the sense of accusatives. But *ada* at any rate is not a genitive. And there can be little doubt that Dr. Kittel's opinion is correct; namely, that the supposition of a use of the genitive for the accusative is unnecessary, and that the accusative in *a*, frequent enough in the mediæval and modern dialects, existed in also the more ancient colloquial dialect, though it had not been generally accepted by classical writers: see his *Kannada Grammar*, §§ 117, 122, 352. Many instances of the accusative in *a* can be found in my Kanarese ballads: thus, *māta* for *mātannu*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 300, line 3 from the bottom; *siffa* for *siffannu* = *siffannu*, p. 301, line 1; *karava* for *karavannu*, line 8; *yēna* for *yēnannu*, line 11. It would, in fact, be pedantic to use the accusative termination in ordinary speech; except perhaps with pronouns.

⁴ Except, of course, for Sanskrit words being aimed at here, there would be no objection to *triṇa*.

purports to have been framed on a date which is utterly incompatible with the period to which its characters refer it. As, however, it states (apart from the date) nothing that is in any way unnatural, suspicious, or irreconcilable with the local history for its true period, we may accept the information given in it as true. It deals with a thing which it calls *būdagūḷ*. This term is composed of *būda*, a *taḍbhava*-form of the Sanskrit *bhūta*, 'a spirit, goblin, ghost', and the Kanarese *kūḷ*, *kūḷu*, 'boiled rice'; and it denotes 'an offering of boiled rice to the ghosts'. Other names of the offering are *bhatabali* and *bhūtayajña*; also the word *būḷi* by itself, which is explained in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary as meaning, amongst other things, 'an offering to demons (especially also Durgā or Kālī), etc., performed by putting heaps of boiled rice, or by killing sheep, buffaloes, etc., and also men.' As a regular sacrifice, the offering ranked as one of the *pañcamahāyajña* or 'five great sacrifices': see, for instance, the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, 3. 70. I have been told, however, that in a more special way the *bhatabali* is offered in connexion with the *garbhādāna* or ceremony performed to ensure conception. I further learnt from the late Sir James Campbell that the *bhatabali* is offered in cases of barrenness, from the point of view that that misfortune is due to the influence of malicious spirits. And we thus obtain a clear explanation as to why the record represents the village-maidens as interested in the matter of the *budagūḷ*. The inscription mentions a certain *Mahāsāmantādhipati* or great feudal prince named Śāntivarman, who was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. It describes him as belonging to the Mātūra race, and as having the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town Trikundapura", with reference to the place of origin of his family, and as possessing the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner.¹ It recites that Śāntivarman came, in the course of a tour, to Palarūr, and demanded a supply of grass for his horses and elephants. For some reason not stated, the right to make the offering of boiled rice to the ghosts was in abeyance; apparently under a sentence of excommunication. Incited by the village-maidens (*koḍagūḷugūḷ*, line 11), who said that, if he could get the restriction removed, he might marry as many of them as he might wish, a man named Allagunda cut a supply of grass so much to the satisfaction of Śāntivarman that the latter offered to grant him a boon. Whereupon Allagunda asked for, and obtained, the restoration of the right to make the offering to the ghosts. As to whether the village-maidens kept their promise to him, the record is silent.

The inscription is dated on a Monday coupled with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra of the Kālayukta *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 522. This date, however, is obviously not authentic: and all else that need be said about it is as follows. By the mean-sign system, which is the one that applies for that time, Kālayukta began on 29 October, A.D. 600, in Śaka-saṃvat 522 expired, and ended on 25 October, A.D. 601. In that period, the given *tithi* ended closely about 22 hours 55 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Sunday, 13 November, A.D. 600, and cannot be connected with the Monday. And from this we see that the case is not one in which the writer of the record obtained a correct date by calculation.

As one means towards determining the real date of the record, we may cite some other notices of the Mātūra family, to which the record refers the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman. We have one mention of it in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the great Gaṅga prince Nijambāntaka-Mārasimha (A.D. 963-64 to 974), which describes him as seizing the possessions of the lord of the Vanavāsi country, and causing him or those who belong to the Mātūra race to do obeisance to him (*anta*, vol. 5, p. 179). No personal name, however, is mentioned there. Some other notices of the family, of a specific nature, from other records in Mysore, are as follows:—

- (1) An inscription at Hechche in the Sorab taluka, Shimoga District: *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 8,

¹ The Udayēndiram plate of Pallavamalla-Naḍivarman allo' a "mirror banner made of (? put together with) a peacock's tail" to the Śāhara king Udayana: *South-Ind. Insors.*, vol. 2, p. 372.

Sb. 476. This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, and is dated in the Vikārīn *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 861 (expired), with details falling in December, A.D. 939. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiga, Māchidēva,—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”; born in the Mātūra race; and having the Nandavāna umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner,—was then ruling at Herdesa: the sphere of his government is not stated.

(2) An inscription at Ōṭṛu in the same tāluka: *ibid.*, Sb. 70. This record is not dated: but it refers itself to the same reign, and is therefore to be placed between A.D. 939 and 959. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiyarasa was then lord of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. It describes him just as Māchiga, Māchideva, is described in No. 1 above; and he is plainly the same person.

(3) An inscription at Kakkarasi in the same tāluka: *ibid.*, Sb. 474. This record refers itself to the same reign, and is dated in the Ānanda *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 876 (expired), with details falling in October, A.D. 954. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiyarasa—described in the same terms as in Nos. 1 and 2 above—was then ruling over “the twelve thousand.”²

(4) Another inscription at Hechehe: *ibid.*, Sb. 479. This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakka II, and consequently, though not dated, may be referred to closely about A.D. 972. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantā* Śāntivarman—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”; born in the Mātūra race; and having the Nandanavāna umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner—was then ruling at Herdesa.

(5) Another inscription at Hechehe: *ibid.*, Sb. 477. This record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Taila II, and is dated (without full details) in the Khara *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 913 (expired), = A.D. 991-92. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman—described otherwise in just the same terms as in No. 4 above—was then ruling the Belgne 70, the Eḍenād 70, the Tandavūra 12, the Gedeya 12, the Mugunda 12, the Pulivatti 12, the Kalvatti 7, and the Śāntalige 1000.

These other notices of the Mātūra family agree with the palmographic evidence in placing the real date of the record in the tenth century A.D. And as a means towards determining its exact date we take the given *saṃvatsara*, Kālayukta. In the tenth century, this *saṃvatsara* came only once. By the southern lunisolar system, which is applicable for this time to the locality to which the record belongs, it coincided with Śaka-saṃvat 880 expired. And in this year the given details are correct for Monday, 15 November, A.D. 958, on which day the specified *tithi* ended at about 17 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ūjjain). This result satisfies the requirements of the case, both palmographic and historical. And we entertain no doubt that this is the real date on which the record was framed, and that the Śāntivarman mentioned in it is the Śāntivarman of the Hechehe inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 above. As to why the writer of the record antedated it by practically six of the sixty-years cycles, we can only conjecture that the ban laid upon the village had existed for some long time; that it had been disregarded; and that antedating (made in fact to a preposterous extent) was necessary to legalize acts which had been performed in spite of it.

¹ This name, much damaged here, is completed from No. 4 below.

² An inscription at Kelagīna-Kirugunise in the same tāluka, *ibid.*, Sb. 501 which refers itself to the same reign, and is dated (without full details) in the Kālayukta *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 881 (current) = A.D. 958-959, tells us that a certain Mūchiga was then governing the Eḍenād seventy. He may have been some junior member of the family, perhaps holding office under Śāntivarman. But there is nothing in the record to mark him as such.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Svasti² Sakha³-nripa-kāl-ātita-sambatsara-[satam]-
- 2 gaḷ-ay-nūra irppatt-eradaneya Kālayukta-[sam]-
- 3 batsara[da*] Mārggasira-suddha-bidiyeyum Sōmavāra[d-and]u[m]
- 4 Svasti samadi(dhi)gatapañchamahāsabda-[ma*]hāsāmāntādhīpati
- 5 Trikundapura-paramōsvara Brahmakshatriya-Mātūra-vams-odbhavam Na-
- 6 [nda]navanachhatra-hayalāñcha(ñchha)ua-darppanadhva-ja-virājamānam
- 7 [Sā]ntivarmma⁴ [n]ōvarade māryyādey-āge Banavāsi-pa[n]n[i]-
- 8 reh[ehh]asiraman-āluttam yathā-kramade Palarūrge ba[nd]-e-
- 9 lpadiṇbargo baliyan-atti emma haya-hasti-samāhakke tri(tri)ṇa-
- 10 saṅgraham bōḷkum-ene oḷlit-āgi koyvem ondu pōp-āga[=Allagunda] kū-
- 11 dūgalam=maseyal nīran-ereyim=ono kodagūsugaḷ-ita pullam koyd=a-
- 12 rasara meechisi būdagūlam biḍisuvou=akkum=endod-ada biḍi-
- 13 sidode nim-onag=ō geyvir-endod=inib-em-olago nī meechidarolam ma-
- 14 dave-nilu yene pōgi pulla koyutt-ire arasan=[a]neyan-ōr-ildu
- 15 Koyvara nōdutta bare Allagundan=aneyya pulla sūḍole nile-
- 16 y=idley=arasam meechideim bōḍi-koll=endode
- 17 būdagūlam biḍim-endu biḍisido[m] [||*]
- 18 [I]dan=aḷidom Vāraṇāsiyum sāsira
- 19 [ka]vileyum sāsirbar=ppārvoruman-a-
- 20 [lida] pātakan=akkum idam kādon=init[u]-
- 21 [mam] pulḷisido[m*] [||*] Rāmasiṅga-bhatāra nīṇisi[dom]
- 22 [Maṅga]ḷa(?)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the second tithi, and on Monday, of the bright fortnight of Mārgasira of the Kālayukta samvatsara which was the five hundred and twenty-second (year of) the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings:—

(line 4.) Hail! The Mahāsāmāntādhīpati Śāntivarman,—who has attained the pañcha-mahāsabda, who is a supreme lord of the town Trikundapura, who has been born in the Brahmakshatriya Mātūra race,⁵ who is decorated with the Nandanavana umbrella and the horse crest and the mirror banner,—while governing the Banavāsi twelve thousand with rectitude and according to established customs, came in due course to Palarūr, and sent a summoner to the seventy (Mahājanas) to say:—“A supply of grass is wanted for Our troop of horses and elephants!”

(L. 10.) Thereupon (the cutters) said:—“Right well will we cut!”, and were going out. Then Allagunda said:—“Pour ye out water to whet (my) sickle!” Thereupon the young maidens said:—“This is the man who will cut grass, and please the king, and cause the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts to be set free.” Thereupon he said:—“If I cause that to be set

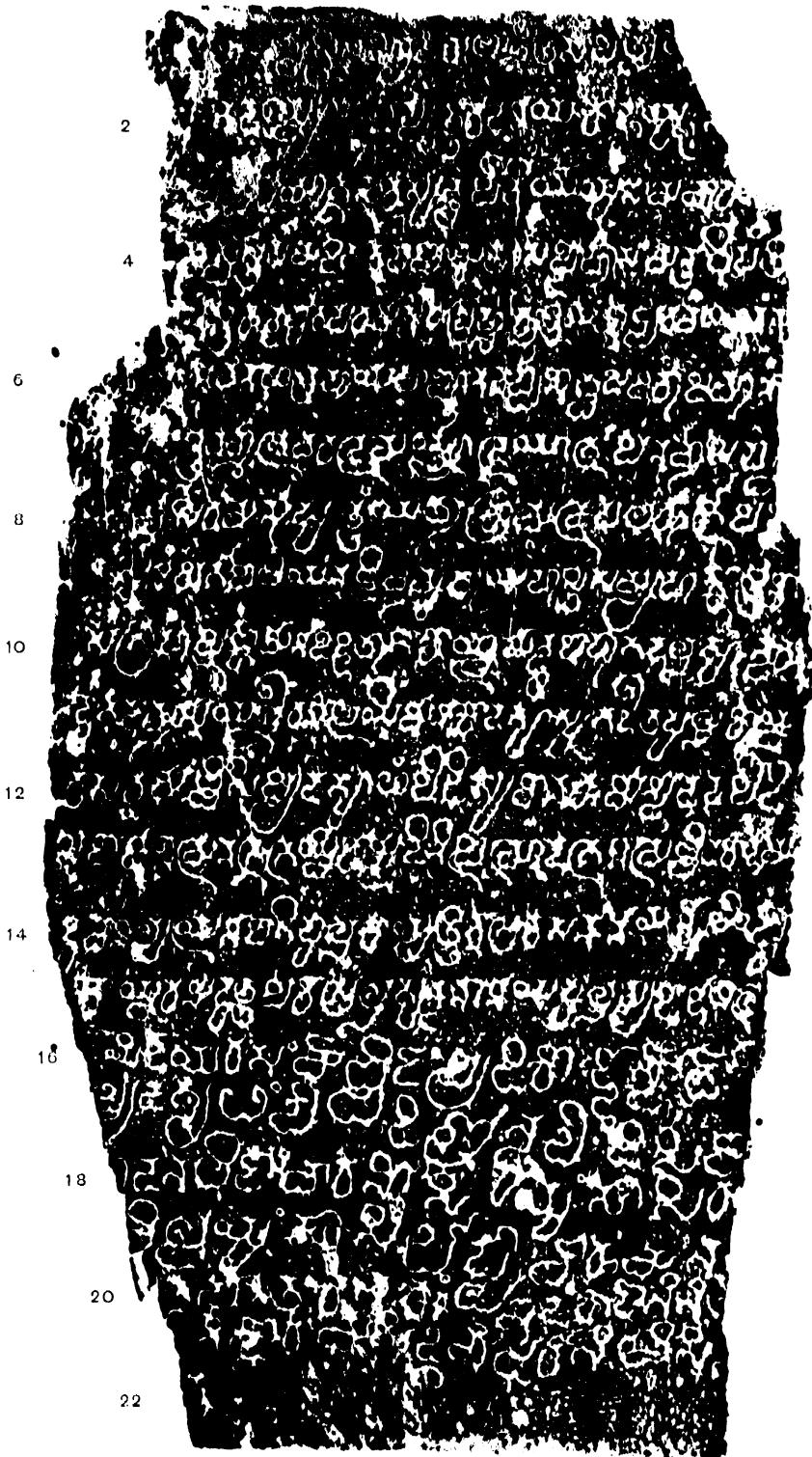
¹ From the ink-impressions. Ordinary brackets are used for such corrections and doubtful points as can be conveniently noted in this manner. Square brackets are used to mark syllables, or parts of them, which in the original are illegible or broken away and lost. An asterisk, attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation do not stand in the original text.

² There are various marks before this word. But they seem to be due only to injuries to the stone, and not to include any symbol for the word *om*.

³ Read *saka*, for *śaka*.

⁴ The first syllable of this name is greatly damaged, and cannot be recognized distinctly even on the back of the impressions. There can be no doubt, however, that it was *sā*, for *sā*.

⁵ That is, “in the Mātūra race which is of mixed Brahman and Kshatriya origin.” On the term Brahman-kshatriya see some remarks by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35 ff.



free, what will ye do for me?" To which they said:—"Marry just as many of us as thou mayest like!"¹

(L. 14.) Thereupon he went out. And when, while he was cutting grass, the king, mounted on an elephant, came looking on at the cutters, Allagunda stood up on the very bundle of grass which was for the elephant. Then, behold!, the king said:—"We are pleased: ask a boon!" Thereupon he said:—"Set ye free the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts:" and thus he caused it to be set free.

(L. 18.) He who destroys this shall incur the guilt of destroying Varanāsi and a thousand brown cows and a thousand Brāhmaṇa! He who protects this is a protector of just so much!

(L. 21.) The worthy Rāmasinga set this up. [May it be auspicious (?)]

Note on the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i.

The alphabet exhibited in this Dēvagēri inscription is a specimen, belonging to the tenth century A.D., of that which Professor Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie*, § 29, termed the **Kanarese and Telugu alphabet**.² An interesting detail in this particular record is that it presents the two types of the initial short i of this alphabet: we have the earlier type in *irppatt*, line 2, and the later type in *idam*, line 20: the latter is found also in *idan*, at the beginning of line 18, but is much damaged there. And we have to consider the circumstances in which this mixture of the two types could occur. I had hoped to give a sketch, with plates, of the full history of the vowel in question, and at the same time of the initial long ī: because, in addition to the interest that attaches to the study itself, the types and forms of these two letters may at any time be found particularly instructive in respect of the proper placing of undated genuine records, and of fixing limits for the fabrication of some of the spurious records. For the present, however, it has been found impracticable to prepare the requisite plates: chiefly in consequence of a want of published facsimiles for the crucial period when the earlier types were being supplanted by the later ones. I must, therefore, confine my treatment of the matter to the history of the initial short i in the Kanarese and Telugu countries during the transitional period, and limit my remarks to such details as can be made clear without more than half a dozen illustrations.

The earlier type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VII, line 3, cols. XII, XIII, XV to XVIII, and plate VIII, line 3, cols. II to V. I give two other illustrations in the margin: **A.** is drawn from the i of *īnār-
vorum*, line 20, letter No. 13, in the Sirūr inscription of A.D. 866 from the Dhārwar District, Bombay, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 206, plate: **B.** is from the i of *irugadga*, line 5, No. 22, in the Bēgūr inscription of the period A.D. 908-38 from the Bangalore District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate. In this type the character consisted, when fully made, of two parts, with various forms according to certain differences in the details of the two parts. The lower part consisted of two components, which were placed sometimes on the lower line of the writing, sometimes below it. These components, when made with uniformity, were sometimes two small circles, as in B., or two round marks which were not completely closed in as circles, and sometimes two dots, as in A., which might be either round or of irregular shape. But sometimes, whether owing to caprice or carelessness of the writers, or to indifferent work by the engravers, or to the material breaking away (especially in the case of records on stone) in the hands of the engravers, these details are met with interchanged, and we have a circle accompanied by a dot. And occasionally the components of

¹ Literally, "amongst us who are so many as these, marry all whom thou art pleased with!"

² German original in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol. 1, part 11 (1896): English version in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), appendix.

the lower part were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were then usually brought down to the lower line of the writing: for a published instance of this, from the eastern parts of Southern India, see *iti*, line 43, No. 17, *irula*, line 66, No. 5, and *iḍiyūri*, the same line, No. 14, in the Kaluchumbarru grant of the period A.D. 945-70, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 186, plate. In a quite exceptional instance of A.D. 982 from Mysore (see p. 13 below) the lower part consists of three circles, instead of two: this can only be regarded as a freak. The upper part sometimes took the form of a plain smooth arch, as in *itodu*, line 2, No. 5, and *ittodān*, line 3, No. 11, in the inscription of the period A.D. 597-608 outside the Vaishnava cave No. 3 at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay, *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, vol. 1, p. 24, plate; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 59, plate. But usually there was a more or less marked notch or bend down, pointed or curved, in the centre of the top: we have this in its pointed form in the illustrations A. and B. given herewith; and more markedly in *iti*, line 21, No. 12, in one of the early Kadamba copperplate records, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 96, plate: in its curved form, which had the effect of giving a waving shape to the top stroke, we have it in *iti*, the last line, No. 9, in the Haidarābād plates of A.D. 612, *ibid.*, p. 74, plate. And sometimes this notched form was made so flatly that it resembles rather closely the outspread wings of a hovering bird: see, for instance (though these cases do not come from the particular territories with which we are concerned), Professor Bühler's plate VII, 3, IV, VI, VII, IX, and plate VIII, 3, I. The upper part is usually found single, formed by one continuous sweeping movement: but in some cases it has a disjointed appearance, with a break in the middle, as if it was made by two separate strokes, as in *idam*, line 9, No. 17, in the Nerūr plates of the period A.D. 609-42 from the Sāwantwāḍī State, Bombay, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 8, p. 44, plate, and in *iva*, line 42, No. 9, from the eud, *idam*, line 56, No. 9 from the end, and *iḍiyūr*, line 82, No. 10 from the eud, in the Kaḍaba plates from the Tumkūr District, Mysore, which bear a date in A.D. 812 or 813, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 14, plate: *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Gb. 61, plate: as, however, this feature is only noticed in records on copper, it is evidently to be attributed to the process of engraving, not to the writers. The sides of the upper part were not always of equal length. And sometimes the left side is curled in much more than the right side; as, for instance, in the cases mentioned above from the Haidarābād and Kaḍaba plates, and, in fact, in the Dēvagēri inscription itself. Sometimes both the sides were well curled in, as in the illustrations A. and B. above, and more markedly in *iridu*, line 4, No. 1, and *ivu*, line 5, No. 1, in the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of about A.D. 765, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 162, plate: so also in an instance from the eastern parts of Southern India, in *iti*, line 85, No. 7 from the end, in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1019, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 357, plate. Occasionally, the right side was continued downwards in a slanting direction to, or towards, between the two components of the lower part: one instance of this is found in *idam* (for *imam*), line 13, No. 40, in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A.D. 602, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 18, plate: another is Professor Bühler's plate VII, 3, XVIII, which is from the *ity* in line 13, No. 11, of the Eastern Chalukya record of A.D. 668, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 186, with plate in vol. 8, p. 320. And sometimes the right side was continued down into the right component of the lower part: this was a transitional form, which will be noticed below.

The later type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i* has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VIII, line 3, cols. VI, VIII, IX. I give three other illustrations in the margin: C. from *ittham*, line 22, No. 2 from the end, in the (?) Masulipatam plates or Ākulamannaṇḍu grant of the period A.D. 934-45 (see p. 15 below): D. is drawn from the *i* of *int-initu*, in line 46 of the inscription of A.D. 980 at Saundatti in the Belgaum District, Bombay, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. 10, p. 207 (no plate), and it is practically the modern form now used, both in Kanarese and in Telugu: E. is from the *i* of *ivu*, line 25, No. 4, in the inscription of A.D. 1064 on the Jaṭṭāṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 212, plate. In this type the character, when properly and

C	D	E
2	ō	3

customarily formed, did not consist of separate parts, but was made in one unbroken whole by a continuous sweeping movement of the reed or *stilus*. But, as with the earlier type, the top is occasionally found in a disjointed shape, as a result of the process of engraving: for instance, in *itah*, line 79, No. 4, in the Chollūr plates of A.D. 1143, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 59, plate. And the top part in the instance figured as C. above was evidently made by the writer by two strokes instead of one continuous movement. The top of the letter in this type is the upper part of the earlier type, in its notched form: but a very exceptional form is occasionally found in records from the eastern side of Southern India, in which the character begins with a curl down towards the left, instead of the curl up to the right: see, for instance, *iti*, line 102, the last *akshara* but one, in the Teki plates of A.D. 1086-87, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 343, plate. The remainder of it was made by continuing the right side of the top downwards, and then in a loop upwards to the left and turning to the right to meet the down-stroke; and it was finished off by a projection taken to the right and turned down into a sort of tail: in some cases, however, this projection to the right is very rudimentary, as, indeed, in the illustration E.; and in others, of the transitional class (see below), it does not appear at all.

The method of the transition from the earlier to the later type can be easily recognized though an intervening link or two may be wanting. The first step was a continuation of the right side of the upper part of the earlier type down to touch the right component of the lower part: I give an instance of this, in the illustration F. in the margin, from an Eastern Chalukya record, the Traṇḍapaṇa grant, of the period A.D. 844-88 (see p. 15 below). The next step was to form the right component of the lower part, not by an entirely separate movement after raising the reed or *stilus*, but by an unbroken continuation of the down-stroke: we have an instance of this, with the right lower component formed by a continuation of that movement to the left, in Professor Bühler's plate VIII, 3, II, which is from the *i* of *int-app-āt* in line 13, No. 4 from the end, in the Kanarese record of Gōvinda III of A.D. 804, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 137, plate.¹ It must, however, have become customary, in this continuous formation of the right lower component, to make the movement to the right, instead of the left. The next step probably was to make the entire letter by one continuous stroke, without any lifting of the reed or *stilus*, in the manner suggested in illustration G. given in the margin, with the two circles of the lower part running into each other. In the cursive movement thus set up, a subsequent step certainly was to make one large loop serve the purpose of the two circles, as in illustration H.: we have instances of this in *iy=ūra* (for *ty=ūra*), line 12, No. 7, and *i* (for *ī*) *damnavan=*, line 16, the last *akshara*, in the inscription of A.D. 1047-48 at Miṇḍigal in the Kōlār District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate. It seems to have been then recognized that a confusion was liable to arise between the initial short *i* and the initial *ai* of the same alphabet:² and it must have been in order to avoid such

¹ In this record the vowel is found in also *īdam* (for *īdam*), line 12-13: but it does not present the same peculiarity there.

² The Kanarese and Telugu initial *ai* is of somewhat rare occurrence, and has not been illustrated by Professor Bühler, who, in fact, gave only one southern *ai*, plate VII, 6, VII, from *aivaryya*, line 61, No. 7, in the Alinā Valabhi plates of A.D. 760, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 3, p. 179, plate. Other instances from that part of Southern India may be seen in *aihi-*, line 23, No. 37, of plate II, in the Valabhi record of A.D. 760, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 21, plate, and in the same word, line 21, No. 11, in the Rāshtrakūṭa record of A.D. 813 from Tōrkheḍḍē, *ante*, vol. 3, p. 55, plate: these two forms are more like those which we have from the Kanarese country.

A Kanarese initial *ai* of the eleventh century may be seen in *ai-golagam*, line 14, No. 4 from the end, in the Miṇḍigal Chōla inscription of A.D. 1047-48 from Mysore, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate. An earlier form may be seen in *ai-gula*, line 13, the last *akshara* but one, in a Bāpa inscription, also from Mysore, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 39, plate; *Epi. Carn.* vol. 10 (Kōlār), Sp. 6, with plate (a better one) at translations, p. 272.

A Telugu initial *ai* of about A.D. 900 may be seen in *airiviga*, line 32, No. 9, in the Eastern Chalukya grant of the period A.D. 888-918, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 129, plate.

confusion that there was added the projecting tail to the right, which produced the form illustrated in C., D., and E. above.

Professor Bühler's latest instances of the earlier type are as follows. As noted in the preceding paragraph, his plate VIII, 3, II, is an *i* of A.D. 804, and is really a transitional form. His plate VIII, 3, III, is from the record on the Kaḍaba plates from Mysore, bearing a date in A.D. 812 or 813: the vowel is found fourteen times in this record: the instance figured seems to be from *iva*, line 15, No. 23 (side ii a, line 1), *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 14, plate; *Epi. Can.*, vol. 12 (Tumkūr), Gb. 61, plate. His remaining two illustrations are from the eastern parts of Southern India. The later of them, plate VIII, 3, V, is entered as if it was taken from the copper-plate record which gives the date of the coronation of Amma II in A.D. 945, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 15, plates: but that record does not include any initial *i*; and the illustration seems to have been supplied from *ih-aijatē*, line 40, No. 7 (side iii b, last line), in the 'Pāṇavaram' plates or Diggnabattu grant of the period A.D. 934-45, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 214, plate. On the other side, his earliest instance of the later type is plate VIII, 3, VI: it is from the eastern part of Southern India, from the copperplate record which gives the date of the anointment of Rājaraḥa I in A.D. 1022, and may be of any date from that year up to about A.D. 1063; and it appears to be the *i* of *iti*, line 11, No. 5, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, plate. There is thus a gap in the history of the Kanarese and Toluṅgu initial short *i*, of roughly a century, from A.D. 934-45 to 1022-63, to be extended, in fact, as regards the Kanarese country, to even two centuries, in respect of which we have, so far, no information. We have now to see how this gap can be bridged over. It was chiefly due, as far as Professor Bühler was concerned, to a lack of materials in the shape of published facsimiles. The same want still exists to almost the same extent. But we can now cite various facsimiles which have been published since his time: and I can supplement them by ink-impressions which necessarily were not available to him.

We will consider first such materials as are available from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency; taking the matter up from the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Bühler's latest instance of the earlier type. Here I use only records which are specifically dated; and, when I cannot refer to a published plate, I cite my details from ink-impressions which were prepared under my direction when I was in the districts in question.¹

From these parts, we still have the earlier type of the initial short *i* running through the records of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. We have it in the Nilgund inscription, dated in A.D. 866, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar; *ante*, vol. 6, p. 102, plate; in *iti*, line 6, No. 17: it occurs also in *idan-* towards the end of line 28, to which part of the record, however, the plate does not extend. We have it again in the Sirūr inscription of the same date, from the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar; *ante*, vol. 7, p. 206, plate; in *iti*, line 4, No. 6, and *ilnūrvorūm*, line 20, No. 13: the illustration A. on p. 7 above is from the latter instance. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 872 or 874, at Chīñchli in the Gadag tāluka; in *indapayyam* and *int-i*, line 4. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 874, at Rōṇ, the head-quarters of the Rōṇ tāluka in the same district; in *idan-*, line 10: also in the same word in line 4 of a second record, not dated, below that one. And again in the Niḍagundi inscription of A.D. 874-75, or within a year on either side, from the Baṅkāpūr tāluka, Dhārwar; *ante*, vol. 7, p. 213, plate; in *idam*, line 16, No. 13, in *idan-*, line 17, No. 12, and in *i* (for *ī*) *kallam*, line 19, No. 8: also in *i* (for *ī*) *tānamam* in line 25 in the supplementary record at the top of the stone, not shown in the plate. And for the next reign, that of Kṛishṇa II, we

¹ I have abstained from quoting a few records which are of doubtful authenticity: and it has of course been useless to quote records which refer themselves to (for instance) the reign of a Kannaradēva or Kannaravallabha, without anything to indicate which king Kṛishṇa is intended. But I have not found in any of them anything that conflicts in any way whatsoever with the facts and results which I bring forward.

have it in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 897-98, at the village Chiñchli mentioned above; in *iti*, line 7, and *idam*, lines 14 and 17.

On the other hand, we have the later type in an unpublished fragmentary inscription of the same reign, of Krishṇa II, dated in A.D. 901-2, at Yeli-Sirūr in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar; in *irppatta*, line 1: here the precise form is a lop-sided one, very much like that which we have in *ity*-, line 41, No. 12, in the Teki plates of A.D. 1086-87 from the eastern side of Southern India, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 339, plate. And the later type is found again in the Nandwāḍige inscription of the same reign, dated in A.D. 903, from the Hungund tāluka, Bijāpūr; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 221, with plate in vol. 11, p. 127; in *irppatt*-, line 2, No. 1. These two cases are the earliest instances of the later type that I can cite from either the western or the eastern parts of Southern India: but they are run close by an instance of A.D. 909-10 from the Kolār District, Mysore (see p. 12 below).

The next record takes us back to the earlier type: it is the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of the time of Indra III, dated in A.D. 916-17, from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 224 (no plate): here we have the earlier type, in a thoroughly archaic form, in *idam*, line 10, and *i* (for *i*) *stitiyan*-, line 11. Regarding the second inscription on the same stone, see lower down on this page.

The next records take us on again to the later type. One is the unpublished Kalas inscription of the time of Gōvinḍa IV, dated in A.D. 930, from the Baṅkāpūr tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 177: here we have the vowel in the later type in *idan*-, line 73. The others are records of the time of Krishṇa III. Here we have the later type in the unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 942, at Rōṇ, Dhārwar District, noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30, p. 262; in *i[du]*, or some such word, in the last line but one. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 946, at Tuppada-Kurahatti in the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar; in *idarke*, line 16, in *int=i keyam* and *idam*, line 20, and in *idan*-, line 23. And again in the Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 257 (no plate); in *idan*-, line 20.

On the other hand, the earlier type is presented again in the unpublished Chiñchli inscription of the same reign, dated in A.D. 953, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 83; in *idarke* or *ivarke*, line 29.

We next have the later type again in the unpublished inscription of A.D. 967, 970, or 971, of the time of Khotṭiga, at Hirē-Handigol in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 180; in *int=appavam*, line 20.

But the earlier type appears again in an unpublished inscription of the same reign, dated in A.D. 969, at Nāgāvi in the same tāluka, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 180, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 422, note 3; in *ivarke* or *idarke* in the last line but five.

For the time of the last Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kakka II, I cannot cite any instance of the use of this initial vowel. The next available record is one in which we find the two types mixed, just as in the Dēvagēri inscription. It is the inscription of A.D. 975 from Hebbāl, in the Lakshmōshwar subdivision of the Miraj State within the limits of the Dhārwar District; *ante*, vol. 4, p. 351 (no plate): here we have the later type in *irppattu*, line 35; but in *int=iy=ayrar*-, line 38, we have the earlier type, with the sides of the top brought down to the lower line of the writing, and with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part of the letter.¹ And we may note that we have the same mixture of types in the undated inscription which lies below the Hattī-Mattūr record of A.D. 916-17 (mentioned above) from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 224 (no plate): here we have the later type in *int=ivar*-, line 15, and in

¹ For similar instances from the eastern parts of Southern India, see pp. 15, 16, below.

idam, line 17; but in *idan*=, line 19, we have the earlier type, and again with prolongation of the sides of the top down to the lower line of the writing, together with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part. It thus now seems that, in spite of a somewhat marked difference in the general appearance of the characters, this second record at Hatti-Mattūr cannot be placed as late as I thought when I edited it, but must be referred to not long after A.D. 975.

The two cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph are the latest instances, that I can cite, of the use of the earlier type of the initial *i* in the Kanarese districts of Bombay. The next available records all show the fully developed later type. The first is the unpublished inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Taila II, dated in A.D. 980, at Sogal in the Parasgaḍ tāluka, Belgaum, mentioned in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 428: here we have the rowel in *i* (for *i*) *dharmmanan*=, line 2 from the end. The next is the inscription of the same reign, dated six months later in the same year, at Saundatti, the head-quarters of the Parasgaḍ tāluka; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. 10, p. 204 (no plate): here we have the vowel in *int-iniṭṭa*, line 46, illustrated as D. on p. 8 above. The next is the unpublished inscription of the time of Iṛivabedūṅga-Satyāśraya, dated in A.D. 1002, at Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, mentioned in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 2, p. 297, No. 3 (where the date has been wrongly shown as Śaka-samvat 984, instead of 924): here we have the vowel in *int-ivarim*, line 6 from the end. It seems unnecessary to pursue the matter beyond this point: in every other instance from the Bombay districts, known to me, only the later type is found.

We now take the matter up for Mysore and Coorg; starting, again, with the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Bühler's latest instance of the earlier type, and using chiefly records which are specifically dated, but also a few which can be distinctly referred to well-ascertained periods. Here, when I cannot point to published plates, I cite my details from ink-impressions for which I am indebted to Professor Hultzsch and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

From these parts, we have the earlier type of the initial short *i* in an inscription dated in A.D. 878-79 at Baragūr in the Tumkūr District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Si. 38 (no plate); in *int=ā*, east face, line 1. Again in the Biliūr inscription, dated in A.D. 888, from Coorg; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 102, No. 2, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 1, p. 5 (no plate); in *idarkke*, line 10, No. 14, and line 11, No. 13, and in *idan*=, line 11, No. 18. Again in an inscription of about A.D. 891-92 (see *ante*, vol. 6, p. 68) at Kyātanahalli in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Sr. 147, plate; in *idan*=, line 15, No. 1. Again in an inscription dated in A.D. 904 at Bētamāṅgala in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Bp. 1 (no plate); in *ippatt*=, line 3, in *ivage* (P), line 14, and in *idan*=, line 15: here, in the second instance, the right side of the upper part of the letter is continued down to the right component of the lower part, giving a transitional form mentioned on p. 9 above. Again in an inscription dated in A.D. 907 at Tāyalūr in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Md. 14, with plate; in *idan*=, line 12, the last *akshara* but one, in *idarkke*, line 14, No. 18, and in *inibara*, line 15, No. 17: in these three cases the two circles or dots forming the lower part of the letter are absent; but that is probably due to the person who prepared the lithograph (which is not a facsimile), rather than to the writer or the engraver. And again in the Bēgūr inscription of the Gaṅga prince Eṛeyappa, of the period about A.D. 908 to 938, from the Bangalore District; *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 9, frontispiece; in *irugaṅge*, line 5, No. 22, in *iggalūru*, line 8, No. 4, and in *iniluma*[m], line 15, No. 4: the first of these instances is given as illustration B. on p. 7 above.

In Mysore and Coorg, I find the later type first in an inscription, dated in A.D. 908-10, at Manigattū-Gollahalli in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Mb. 229 (no plate): here we have the vowel in *ire*, line 4, and *inpara*, line 7, in a form resembling illustration D. on p. 8 above, but not shaped in so slanting a fashion, and made with the looped part smaller in proportion; it resembles more closely, in fact, the instance of A.D. 961-62 mentioned farther on.

This is the earliest instance but two, known to me, of the occurrence of the later type: the earlier instances are those of A.D. 901-2 and 903 from the Dhārwar and Bijāpūr Districts, Bombay, mentioned on p. 11 above. If this instance came from the north of Mysore, it would be quite intelligible. But it comes from a part where we do not trace the later type again till A.D. 1029-30, and where we find indications of a transitional position even after that time (see p. 14 below). It is therefore peculiar. And we can only regard it as intrusive, and conjecture that the writer of this record was not a local man, but came from some territory where the later type of the vowel was well established. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that the record, which comes from the Bairakūr hōbli in the north-east quarter of the Malbāgal tāluka, near the boundary of the North Arcot District, Madras, is a Bāna record: we know that the territory of the Bāna princes of this period extended at least well into North Arcot.

We are taken back to the earlier type by the next available record, an inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, dated in A.D. 930-31, at Nandigūḍi in the Chitaldroog District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Pg. 119, plate; here we have the vowel in *idan=*, line 8, No. 9. We have it again in an inscription dated in A.D. 942 at Hēmāvati in the Anantapur District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Si. 23;¹ in *iriva*, line 29, and *int=ivar*, line 53. And again in an inscription dated in A.D. 944-45 at Bētamaṅgala in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Bp. 2 (no plate); in *idan=*, line 12: here the components of the lower part of the letter were perhaps omitted.

The next record comes from the northern part of Mysore, and gives us a second instance of the later type; namely, an inscription dated in A.D. 961-62 on the Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 27, with plate at text, p. 142: here we have the vowel in *idara*, line 5, No. 1.

In the south, however, we have the earlier type again in the epitaph of the Gaṅga prince Nolaṃbāntaka-Mārasimha, framed in A.D. 975, at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa in the Hassan District; *ante*, vol. 5, p. 178, plate; in *ity=*, line 50, No. 1, and *intu*, line 100, No. 1: here, in both cases, both the sides of the upper part of the letter were continued down to the components of the lower part. We have it again in the Peggu-fir inscription dated in A.D. 978, from Coorg; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 102, No. 1, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 1, p. 7, plate; in *idan=*, line 18, No. 1. And again in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indra IV, dated in A.D. 982, from the Hassan District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 2, p. 53 (no plate); in *iriyalk=*, north face, line 15, and *irade*, south face, line 31: here in the first case, the lower component consists quite exceptionally, of three (instead of two) circles.²

I cannot cite any use of the earlier type in Mysore after that date. From about half-way down the western side of the province, we have the fully developed later type in the Chikmagalur inscription, which belongs to the period A.D. 989—1005, from the Kaḍūr District; *ante*, vol. 8, p. 58 (no plate); *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 6, Cm. 3 (no plate: I cite the form from the photograph from which I edited the record); in *innūru* (for *innūru*), line 9, in *int=ivar=* and *i* (for *i*) *kodaṅgeyam*, line 12, and in *induvārada*, line 16. And the next two citable records from the northern parts (beyond which we need not pursue the matter for that locality) present the same type. One is an inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha II, dated in A.D. 1035, at Belagūmi in the Shimoga District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Śk. 126, plate; see, more clearly, the photograph in *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 155: here we have the vowel in *int=i*, line 23, No. 5, and in *int=i*, line 32, No. 4. The other is the inscription

¹ A plate is given *op. cit.*, translations, p. 92; but it shows only the first seventeen lines of the record. In line 14 we have, not *indrō* as given in the published text in Roman characters, but *indrō*, with the long ī by mistake for the short vowel, as given in the text in Kanarese characters.

² In line 25 of the north face, at the beginning of verse 6, the original seems distinctly to have *dhiru*, as given in the text in Kanarese characters. At any rate, the word is not *iru*, as given in the romanized text.

of the time of the Western Chālukya prince Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, dated in A.D. 1064, on the Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District; *ante*, vol. 4, p. 213, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 29, with plate at texts, p. 130: here we have the vowel in *ivu*, line 25, No. 4, and in *i* (for *ī*) *dhurmmaman*, line 26, No. 3, from the end: the illustration E. on p. 8 above is from the first of these two instances.

The northern parts of Mysore, however, the Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts, were subjected to progressive influences, first under the Rashtrakūṭa kings and then under the Western Chālukyas, which did not penetrate much beyond them. In the south, I trace the later type again, for the first time after A.D. 909-10 (p. 12 above), in the Chōla inscription, dated in A.D. 1029-30, at Soladevanahalli in the Bangalore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 9, Nl. 1, with plate at translations, p. 28; in *idarkke*, line 14, No. 11: here the letter is formed in a very exceptional manner; the end of it is curled over inside the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried on to that stroke or across it into the usual tail. We perhaps have the later type, fully formed, in the Chōla inscription, dated in A.D. 1032 (see *ante*, vol. 4, p. 69), at Suttāru in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Nj. 164 (no plate): here, in the last line, we seem to have either *dese=akkkhaṇḍuga*, corrected into *dese ikkkhaṇḍuga*, or else *dese ikkkhaṇḍuga*, corrected into *dese=akkkhaṇḍuga* for *dese=ikkkhaṇḍuga*. And we certainly have a form of the later type in the Chōla inscription, dated in A.D. 1047-48, at Mipḍigal in the Kōlār District; *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Ct. 30 (no plate); in *iy=āra* (for *īy=āra*), line 12, No. 7, and in *i* (for *ī*) *damman*, line 16, the last *akshara*: here, in both cases, the form is practically identical with that which I have given as a transitional form in the illustration H. on p. 9 above; the loop of the lower part stops short at the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried across that stroke and on to form the usual tail. These two instances of A.D. 1029-30 and 1047-48 are suggestive that for an appreciable time after A.D. 982 the letter was still in a transitional stage in the southern and south-eastern parts, and that, when more materials are available, we may find the earlier type still in use there up to about A.D. 1000. Good specimens of the later type in its full form, from the southern part of the province, may be seen in two records, dated in A.D. 1117, from Belūr in the Hassan District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 5, Bl. 58, plate; in *ity=atō*, line 2, No. 7 from the end, and in *inan*, line 13, No. 57: and *ibid.*, Bl. 71, plate; in *ity=atō*, line 10, No. 6. But it was, of course, well established everywhere long before that time.

Coming now to sum up the inquiry, we find the position to be as follows. In the Kanarese districts of Bombay, we have the earlier type of the initial short *i* still in use up to at least A.D. 975. But the later type figures freely along with it from A.D. 901-2. For this part of the country, then, we may consider that the tenth century was a transitional period of usage, when the later type, though well established, had not yet superseded the earlier one, but both of them were accepted on equal terms. And in these circumstances we feel no surprise at finding the two types occasionally used together in one and the same record: in the Dēvagēri inscription, which we refer to A.D. 958; in the Hobbāl inscription, which is dated in A.D. 975; and in the undated inscription at Hattī-Mattūr. As regards Mysore, with Coorg, we must separate the northern parts from the southern. In the north, the case was probably much the same as in the Bombay districts, though we have not, so far, actually traced the later type there before A.D. 961-62. And, as we find the later type half-way down the western side of the province between A.D. 989 and 1005, we may expect to meet with it anywhere from about A.D. 1000. In the south, however, the change was plainly slower. We have not, indeed, actually traced the use of the earlier type there after A.D. 982. But the later type is found there only once before that time; in an instance of A.D. 909-10 which we can only regard as intrusive. And the records of A.D. 1029-30 and 1047-48 suggest that the commencement of the period of transitional usage in the south can hardly be placed

much, if at all, before A.D. 975, and that we may yet meet with instances of the earlier type there running well into the eleventh century.

We turn now to the eastern parts of Southern India, taking the matter up from the records of the Eastern Chalukya kings, in which series, again, we now have available various inscriptions, presenting the vowel in question and covering the period in which we are interested, which were not known to Professor Bühler.¹ There are two records of this series which I have not been able to examine: namely, the Ederu plates or Gontūru grant of Amma I, of the period A.D. 918-25, *South-Ind. Inscr.*, vol. 1, p. 39 (no plate), where we have the vowel twice, in lines 38, 54; and the Nandamapūḍi grant of Rājārāja I, dated in his thirty-second year, A.D. 1053-54, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 303 (no plate): here the vowel occurs twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80-87. Setting them aside, from an examination, either in the published plates or in ink-impressions, of all the other records of the whole series down to A.D. 1143, I find the position to be as follows:—

The record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Traṇḍapaṇu grant, of Vijayāditya III, of the period A.D. 844-88, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, p. 123, with plate showing lines 1 to 15 and 26 to 30, contains the vowel twice, in *ittham*=, line 18, and *iva*, line 35, and presents it in both cases in the earlier type, but in the transitional form with the right side of the upper part continued down to touch the right component of the lower part. The published facsimile does not include these two passages. I have given this form, from *iva*, line 35, as illustration F. on p. 9 above.

The earliest instance of the later type from this part of Southern India² is found in the record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Ākulamannaḍu grant, of Chālukya-Bhima II, of the period A.D. 934-45, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 135, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8 and 17 to 25: in this record the vowel occurs only once, in *ittham*=, line 22, the last *akshara* but one, given as illustration C. on p. 8 above: the upper part of it was plainly formed by two separate strokes instead of one continuous movement. The other records of the same period show the earlier type: the Diggubarru grant on the 'Pāṇavaram' plates, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 213, with plates, has it three times, in lines 15 and 40 (see note 1 on this page); the Koḍhatalli grant on the Kolavennu plates, *South-Ind. Inscr.*, vol. 1, p. 44 (no plates), also gives it three times, in *indur*=, line 19, *ittham*= (for *ittham*=), line 22, and *iti*, line 23; and in the instance in line 23 the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing.³

The records of the next period, the reign of Vijayāditya-Amma II, A.D. 945-70, shew only the earlier type, as follows:⁴—The Masulipatam plates or Pāmbarru grant, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 140, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, and 17 to 24: once, in *indan*ī-, line 25, the last *akshara* but two.⁵ The Elavarru grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 91, with plates; five times, in lines

¹ His limiting instances of the two types were taken from this same series of records. His latest instance of the earlier type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col. V; and it seems to be the *i* of *ih-aigatē*, line 40, No. 7 (side iii b, last line), in the 'Pāṇavaram' plates or Diggubarru grant of Chālukya-Bhima II, of the period A.D. 934-45, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 213, with plates: this record presents the vowel again in *iva*, line 15, No. 14, and *ie-ātipātam*, line 40, the last *akshara* but four. His earliest instance of the later type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col. VI, from the Korumelli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, with plates, which gives the date of the appointment of Rājārāja I in A.D. 1022, and may be of any date from that time up to about A.D. 1063: this record presents the vowel six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103: Professor Bühler's illustration seems to be from *iti*, line 11, No. 5.

² For the slightly earlier instances from Bombay and Mysore, see pp. 11, 12, above.

³ Compare similar instances in the Kaluchumbarru grant: see p. 16 below.

⁴ Two of them do not present the vowel at all: the Paḍamkalūru grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 15; and the Tāṇḍeru grant on the Vandram plates, *ante*, vol. 9, p. 138.

⁵ Professor Kielhorn was in doubt as to the type of the letter here: see *loc. cit.*, p. 139, note 4. But I am able to say, from clearer impressions than those which he had, that it is certainly of the earlier type, with damage of the right component of the lower part.

39, 48, 51, 54, 55. The Guṇḍugolanu grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 249, with plates: twice, in lines 20, 22. The Masulipatam plates, *South-Ind. Inscr.*, vol. 1, p. 47 (no plate): once, in line 34. The Kaluchuinbaṅṅu grant, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 185, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, 33 to 50, and 60 to 69: three times, in *iti*, line 43, No. 17, *irruḷa*, line 66, No. 5, and *iḍiyūri*, the same line, No. 14; and here, in each case, the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing.¹ And the Maliyapṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol. 9, p. 50, with plates: once, in *iva*, line 23, No. 6.

The next known record is the Raṇastipṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 351, with plates. This record, which gives the date of the king's anointment in A.D. 1011, and is itself dated in his eighth year, in A.D. 1018, presents the vowel seven times, in lines 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87, 97, and in the earlier type throughout.

This is the latest instance of the use of the earlier type that I can cite from either the eastern or the western parts of Southern India. In the Eastern Chalukya series, the next records are two of the time of Rajarāja I; and the order of them perhaps remains to be determined according to what we may learn from one of them about the use of this vowel. One is the Korumelli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, with plates, which gives the date of the king's anointment, in A.D. 1022, and may possibly date from that year itself: it presents the later type of the vowel, six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103. The other is the Nandamapṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 303 (no plate), which also mentions the date of the anointment, but is itself dated in the thirty-second year of the reign, A.D. 1053-54; it has the vowel twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80-87; and, as mentioned on p. 15 above, it remains to be examined in respect of the type which it presents.

NO. 2.—PALITANA PLATES OF SIMHADITYA; THE YEAR 255.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The existence of these plates was made public by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 129, No. I. They belong to the State of Palitānā in Kāthiāvar and are reported to have been unearthed in the city of Palitānā some forty years ago. When first discovered, they were fastened together with six Maitraka grants by a single Valabhi seal and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank underneath a large stone. I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr. Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the originals.

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr. Venkayya, about 9½ inches in breadth and varying between 7¼ and 7½ inches in height. Each of the two plates bears on its inner side 14 lines of well-preserved writing. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially of the second one. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, but no ring or seal is forthcoming.

The alphabet is of an early Southern type and includes the signs of *jihvāmāliya* (ll. 2, 17) and of *upadhmanīya* (ll. 9, 19, 23, 27) and final forms of *t* (l. 25) and of *n* (l. 4). The date (l. 27) is expressed in numerical symbols.

¹ Compare a similar instance in the Koḍhatalli grant on the Kolavennu plates: see p. 15 above. For instances from the west, see pp. 11, 12, 13, above.

The rules of *sandhi* are very carefully observed, with two exceptions (ll. 3 f. and 20). The *anusvāra* is represented by *ṃ* before *ś* (l. 3) and *h* (l. 17), and the vowel *ri* is replaced by the syllable *ri* in *kṛita* (ll. 13, 26) and *krishṇa* (l. 21),¹ while the correct forms *kṛita* (l. 2) *etc.* are used in all other cases. The final *s* of *vakṣas* is elided before *sthala* (l. 17) in accordance with the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, viii, 3, 36, and consonants following *r* are doubled, with the exception of *t* in *kīrti* (l. 2) and of *bh* in *avirbhūta* (l. 3).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose; two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end (ll. 24-27).

The inscription records a grant of land, made by the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Simhāditya* (l. 17) of the *Gārulaka* family (l. 2). This order was issued from a place named *Phaṅkaprasravana* (l. 1). The donee was a Brahmana of the Maitrāyanika school who lived at *Ēlāpadra* (l. 20 f). The object of the grant was a field with a pond in the village *Darbhachāra* (l. 21 f). I am unable to identify *Phaṅkaprasravana* and *Darbhachāra*. *Ēlāpadra*, as Dr. Fleet suggests to me, may be 'Velwad' in the *Gōdhrā tāluka*, *Pañch Mahāls*.

The date of the grant was the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Āśvayuja* in the year 255 (l. 27) of an era which is not specified, but which, as suggested by Mr. Jackson, is probably the Gupta-Valabhī era of A.D. 319. The specified month, then, places the record in A.D. 574.

As stated by Mr. Jackson, the *Gārulaka* family is a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudatory chiefs who may be assumed to have been tributaries (*sāmanta*) of the Maitraka kings. The *Gārulaka Simhāditya* was a contemporary of *Dharmasena* II. of Valabhī. The name *Gārulaka* seems to stand for *Gārulaka* or *Gārūḍaka* and suggests that this family claimed descent from Vishṇu's bird *Garuḍa*. The inscription contains the following pedigree of the donor :—

Sēnāpati Varāhadāsa (I.).

Sāmanta-Mahārāja Bhaṭṭisūra. Sāmanta Mahārāja Varāhadāsa (II.).

Sāmanta-Mahārāja Simhāditya (A.D. 574).

Each of these four chiefs is praised in purely conventional terms. The only item of information which may be based on a historical fact, is the statement (l. 11 f.) that *Varāhadāsa* II. defeated a ruler of *Dvārakā* (on the west coast of *Kāthiavār*), whose individual name is not recorded.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [1*] फङ्गप्रसवणावकष्टकर्मधारश्चोद्धूताभ्युदयाभिभूताशेषद्विषामनेक-
समरगत-
- 2 संपातात्यन्तविजयिना⁴ प्रभूतयशस्वीत्यलङ्कारालङ्कृतान्वयभुवां गारुलकानां
- 3 वङ्गानुक्रमेणाविर्भूतो⁵ दीनानाथाश्रितार्त्थिबाह्वजनोपजीव्यमानविभवविस्तरः⁶

¹ The ungrammatical form *pitryōh* (l. 19) also presupposes an erroneous base *pitri* instead of *pityi*.

² From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read °न।

⁵ Read वंश°.

⁶ Read °विसरसर°.

- 4 तद्विवाचीणफलच्छायतयैकान्तपरोपकारी प्रशस्तलक्ष्यलक्षणः चान्तिमान्
 5 चीणशत्रुरचीणकुशलाशयो युधिष्ठिरवदसाधारणधर्मसेतुः श्रीसेनापति-
 6 वराहदासस्तस्य सत्समूर्द्धशरधादिनृपसदृशचरितो नयविनयद्वन्द्वया-
 7 दानदक्षदाक्षिण्योत्साहसंपन्नो¹ मन्वादिप्रणीतस्मृत्यन्तरसखिलावगाहनविश-
 8 द्धोर्ध्वैरः स्वकरपरिभूतारितिमिरनिकरो निजकुलगगनसकलामलेक्षुरम-
 9 लिनगुणविभूषणसामन्तमहाराजभट्टिशूरस्तदनुज² प्रतिदिनमुपचीय-
 10 मानानेकविधधर्मास्त्रुप्रवाहोपहतकलिप्रतापः सततमितरेतरावि-
 11 रुद्धधर्मात्यसुखाधिगमोपायपारीणः शार्ङ्गपाणिरिव निरङ्कुशपराक्रमा-
 12 क्रान्तद्वारकाधिपतिरनेकदेवतायतनसभाप्रपारामावसथविहारका-
 13 रयिता कलादपि³ कृतियुगधर्मावलम्बी परमगुरुवत्सलः परमब्रह्म-
 14 शरण्यः परापरघ्नः सामन्तमहाराजवराहदासस्तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate.

- 15 प्रसभमहाहवसमागमावासदिक्षुखोन्नीयमानानेकयथाः
 16 स्फुटमधुरललितोदारधीरगभीरवल्लुप्रसृताभिधानः⁴ श्यामोन्नतविपुल-
 17 वक्षस्थलस्थिरातिशयानुरक्तश्रीः[*] सामन्तमहाराजसिङ्गादित्यकुशलो⁵ सर्वानेव
 18 राजपुत्रराजस्थानीयामात्यद्राक्विकमहत्तरचाटचारभट्टहस्त्यचारोद्वादीन⁶
 19 समान्नापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा मया मातापिचो⁷ पुण्याप्यायनायात्म-
 20 नश्चोभयलोकहितसुखावाप्तये⁸ एलापद्रवास्तव्यब्राह्मणवप्यस्वामिने
 21 मैत्रायणिकसब्रह्मचारिणे कृष्णात्रेयसगोत्राय⁹ दर्भचारग्रामे भोण्डक-
 22 वधिरकुटुम्बी सह वाप्या भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्याचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षिति-
 23 समकालीन¹⁰ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यतया निसृष्टो यतोस्य भुजतो¹¹ न केनचि-
 24 दाबाधा कार्थ्येति ॥ उ[क्तं] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं
 वर्षसहस्रा-
 25 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [*] आच्छेत्ता चालुमन्ता च तान्वेव नरके
 वसेत् ॥ [१*]
 26 यानीह दारिद्र्यभयाक्षरेन्द्रेणानि धर्मायतनीक्रितानि¹⁰ [*] निर्मास्यवान्त-
 प्रतिमा-
 27 नि. तानि को नाम साधु¹¹ पुनराददोत [॥ २*] इति ॥ सं २००
 ५० ५ अश्वयुज¹¹ शु १० ३ [॥*]
 28 स्वहस्तो मम ॥

¹ Read °दात्य° for °दच°.

² Read °सिङ्गादित्य°.

³ Read °वाप्तये°.

⁴ Read °क्रितानि°.

⁵ Read कलावपि कृत°.

⁶ Read °हीन°.

⁷ Read °कृष्णा°.

⁸ Read °वाच°.

⁹ Read °प्रथिता°.

¹⁰ Read °पिचो°.

¹¹ Read °भुजतो°.

[illegible]

[illegible]

16

21

20

2.2

24

3

20

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om. Hail! From Phañkaprasavaṇa.*¹ In the succession of the family of the **Gārulakas**, who subdued all enemies by (*their*) prosperity which was produced by the performance of eminent deeds; who gained decisive victories in encounters (*with their enemies*) in many hundreds of battles; (*and*) who sprang from a race adorned with the ornaments of high glory and fame,²—there appeared the glorious **Sānpāti Varāhadāsa** (I.), whose great wealth was being lived upon by the distressed, the helpless, refugees, the sick, suppliants, and kinsmen; who invariably benefited others by granting unceasing rewards and shelter, as a tree by affording unceasing fruits and shade; who had noble aims and auspicious marks; who possessed forbearance; who destroyed his enemies; (*who was*) a receptacle of unceasing prosperity; (*and who was*) an unparalleled³ bridge of justice, as (*king*) Yudhishtira.

(L. 6.) His virtuous son (*was*) the **Sāmanta-Mahārāja Bhaṭṭisūra**, whose conduct resembled that of kings like Daśaratha; who was endowed with prudence, modesty, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, cleverness, politeness, and energy; whose mind was purified by bathing in the water of the contents of the codes of law composed by Manu and others; who was brave (*or wise*); who, having subdued the multitude of enemies by his own hand (*as if he were*) dispelling the mass of darkness by his rays, (*became*) the spotless full-moon on the firmament of his family; (*and*) who was adorned with spotless virtues.

(L. 9.) His younger brother (*was*) the **Sāmanta-Mahārāja Varāhadāsa** (II.), who dispelled the heat of the Kali (*age*) by the stream of libations at (*his*) manifold charities which were accumulating every day; who was constantly expert in means for the acquisition of merit, wealth, and pleasure not conflicting with each other; who overcame the lord of **Dvārakā** by unchecked valour, as Śārngapāṇi (Kṛishṇa) possessed unchecked valour and was the lord of **Dvārakā**; who caused to be built many temples of the gods, halls, drinking-fountains,³ gardens, rest-houses,⁴ and (*Buddhist*) monasteries (*vihāra*); who, even in the Kali (*age*), held fast to the virtues of the Kṛita-yuga; who was excessively devoted to (*his*) elders; who assiduously afforded protection to pious men; (*and*) who knew what is remote and proximate.

(L. 14.) His son, the **Sāmanta-Mahārāja Simhāditya**, who has acquired much⁵ fame, which is being sung in (*all*) the quarters of the horizon, by encountering (*his enemies*) in fierce great battles; whose epithets 'sweet, charming, noble, firm, deep, handsome, and modest' are well-known; (*and*) to whose dark, high, and broad chest the goddess of fortune is firmly and excessively attached,—being in good health, (*thus*) commands all (*people*), (*viz.*) princes (*rājaputra*), palace-officers (*rājasthāniya*),⁶ ministers, city-officers (*drāvīka*),⁷ headmen (*mahattara*), irregular soldiers,⁸ spies, regular soldiers, riders on elephants or horses, *etc.* :—

(L. 19.) "Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain Myself welfare and happiness in both worlds, I have granted to the Brāhmana Bappasvāmin residing at **Ēlāpadra**, who is a student of the Maitrāyaṇika school (*and*) belongs to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gotra*, (*the field of*) Bhōṇḍaka-Badhira-Kuṭumbin⁹ in the village **Darbhaḥāra**, together with a pond, according to the maxim of *bhumichchhīdra*, under the

¹ The ablative has to be construed with the verb *samājñāpayati*, 'he commands,' in l. 19.

² I.e. glory in this life and fame after death. See Bühler, *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 575.

³ Compare *sabhā-prapā-karīṇa* in the Nāsik inscription No. 10, l. 2 f.; above, Vol. VIII. p. 78.

⁴ The words *ārāma* and *avasatha* occur in the same inscription, l. 2.

⁵ This use of *anēka* is very inelegant.

⁶ Compare Dr. Stein's Translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. p. 310, note on verse 601.

⁷ See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 169, note 6.

⁸ [For a different rendering of the word *chāṭa*, see above, Vol. X. p. 75.—Ed.]

⁹ *Badhira* means 'deaf.' With *bhōṇḍaka* compare Hindi *bhōṇḍā*, 'ugly.'

rules of gifts to Brāhmaṇas, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist, (and) to be enjoyed by (his) sons, grandsons, and (further) descendants.

(L. 23.) "Therefore nobody shall cause obstruction to him while he enjoys (this field)."

(L. 24.) "And the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken."

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) In the year 255, on the 13th (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvayuja.

(L. 28.) (This is) My own signature.

No. 3.—SAHETH-MAHETH PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1186.

BY PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

Dr. Vogel has already announced the discovery of this copper-plate inscription in two articles. One of these appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 11th May, 1908, under the title of "Śrāvastī and its remains" and contains all the salient points in the history of this ancient city, derivable from the Pāli texts and the writings of modern explorers. It winds up with the statement that the present inscription conclusively settles the identification of Sahēṭh and Mahēṭh on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts with the Jētavana and Śrāvastī, respectively, of Buddhist literature. The connection of the copper-plate with Jētavana and Śrāvastī is expressed in the most unmistakable language in the inscription engraved on it, and since the plate has been found carefully deposited in a cell of a large monastery at Sahēṭh, it was obviously intended for it. Mr. V. A. Smith, however, while referring to the plate in a footnote on page 792 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1908, has expressed the opinion that the plate may have been brought to Sahēṭh from the real Śrāvastī which he locates somewhere near Bālāpur in Nepal Tarai, not far from the place where the Rapti leaves the hills.

The evidence in favour of the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī is set forth by Mr. Marshall in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,¹ and here it is enough to enumerate the main facts. Foremost of these is the remarkable agreement which exists between the topography of the remains at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and the descriptions of Śrāvastī recorded by the Chinese pilgrims. We next come to the well-known colossal *bōdhisattva* discovered by General Cunningham on this site, which according to the Kushāṇa inscription on its pedestal was set up at Śrāvastī. A fragment of its umbrella post (*daṇḍa*) with the same inscription as that on the *bōdhisattva* has recently been brought to light by Dr. Vogel. It is now in the Lucknow Museum, but is believed originally to have been unearthed at Sahēṭh by Dr. Hoey. Then there is the inscribed copper-plate which forms the subject of this paper. And last of all we have the lower half of a life-size statue of a *bōdhisattva* which was discovered by Mr. Marshall at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in the year 1908-09. The pedestal of this statue bears an early Kushāṇa inscription which states that it was presented by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī. In the face of all this evidence it would be strange, indeed, if the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh remained doubtful, merely because the statements of the Chinese pilgrims about the location of Śrāvastī are somewhat incorrect.

The plate was discovered by me in a monastery (No. 21, map of Sahēṭh, Dr. Hoey's Report²) on the site of Sahēṭh in the spring of 1908 when I was assisting Dr. Vogel in his excavations

¹ For 1909, pp. 1066 seq.

² Vide *J. A. S. B.* for 1892, Part I, extra number.

there. This building was partially excavated by Dr. Hooy, and it was here that, on breaking through the paved courtyard, he found the inscribed slab published in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 61 ff.¹ Dr. Hooy also opened out seven out of the twenty-four cells which surround the courtyard in the centre and it was in one of these, namely, the one adjoining the entrance chamber on the south, that the copper-plate under reference was found. It was carefully packed in an earthen box, 2 feet square and 3 inches high externally, closed with a lid of the same material, the space between the plate and the receptacle being filled with clay. The box was built against the foundation of the northern wall of the cell referred to, just below the floor, well secured to the wall by means of brickwork on all sides.

The plate measures 18" by 14" and is $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. In the centre of the upper part there is a ring-hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ring was not found, nor the seal which must have surmounted it.² The plate is inscribed on one side only and contains 27 lines of writing in a perfect state of preservation. The characters are Nāgari and the language Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noted. The letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *r* throughout. The doubling of consonants before and after *r* occurs in lines 4 (twice), 5, 16 (twice), 17, 18 (twice), 19 (twice), 22 (twice), 23, 24 (thrice), and 27. The horizontal topstroke (*mātrā*) which elsewhere distinguishes the letters *v* and *l* from *dh* and *n*, respectively, is, in a few cases, also found in the latter. Omissions of letters are supplied by the insertion of the corresponding signs immediately above or below their original places: cf. *ra* in *Turushka* in line 21 and *bha* in *bhadraśanaṁ* in line 23. A rough figure of Garuḍa is engraved once at the end of the 11th line and again in the last line before the words *maṅgalān mahā-śrīḥ*.

The inscription begins, like all the other epigraphs of the Gahaḍavāla king Govindachandra that have so far come to light, with nine verses in different metres containing his genealogy, and ends with seven benedictive and imprecatory verses and an eighth which supplies the name of the engraver. The formal portion is contained in the rest of the epigraph and is, as usual, in prose. I have given the full text of the inscription, but omitted from the translation the first nine verses, because they are paraphrased in the prose passage following them, and the next seven which contain the usual admonitions to future kings. The taxes specified (line 21) as due to the donces are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, the *pravaṇikara*, and the *Turushkadanda*.³ The last named tax figures only in the records of three other kings of the Gahaḍavāla dynasty, namely, the Chandravati plate of Govindachandra's grandfather, Chandradōva;⁴ the inscription issued by Govindachandra himself on behalf of his father Madanapāla;⁵ and a plate of Vijayachandra and the *Yunarāja* Jayachandra.⁶

In respect of the localities mentioned in the record, it is gratifying to note that some of them can be identified beyond all possibility of doubt. The other places have, in all probability, gone out of existence. One of these latter is Vihāra, the first of the six villages granted. It is said to have been situated in the district of what appears to be Vādā-chaturāṣīti.⁷ There is a comparatively large village called Bāja Jōt or the Holy Bāja, about 2 miles west of Sahēth. I am inclined to think that Vādā may possibly be a mistake for Bāja. The next village Paṭṭanā is situated about 3 miles south-west of Sahēth or about 2 miles south of

¹ [It is worthy of note that the slab was found "in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building;" see also the following note.—Ed.]

² [The absence of the ring and seal would show that the plate must have had a history of its own before it came to be deposited at the spot where it has now been discovered.—Ed.]

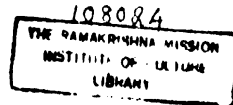
³ For an explanation of *turushkadanda*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 321.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 305, text line 15.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 17, text line 31.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 120, text lines 22-23.

⁷ [It is not unlikely that all the six villages granted by the king were situated in the district of Vādā-chaturāṣīti.—Ed.]



Kaṭṭā on the road leading to Khargupur Bāzār and is now called Paṭṇā. There is a mass of ancient remains near the village and the peasants have discovered a few old wells which they use for the irrigation of their fields. The village of Upalaṇḍā I cannot identify. The fourth village is called Vavvahali in the plate. This is presumably now represented by Bēlahā situated near the village of Paṭṇā. The villagers say that it is ancient. The next place is "Ghōsāḍi attached to Mēyi." Ghōsāḍi does not exist; but Mēyi is still an important village near Subhāggpur on the Gonda-Intiathok road. The last village is "Payāsi belonging to Pōḥivāra." This I identify with a village of the name of Bayāsi which formerly stood 2 kōs to north-east of Sabēṭh-Mahēṭh, but was washed away by the Rapti some years ago. Its site is still known by the name of Bayāsi.

[In line 19 f. the Buddhist ascetic Śākyarakṣita is said to have been a native of Utkala, i.e. Orissa, and his disciple Vāgiśvararakṣita belonged to the Chōḍa country. The date of the inscription, viz. Vikrama-Saṃvat 1186, corresponds to A.D. 1128-9, which falls into the reign of the Chōḍa king Vikrama-Chōḍa. The Gahaḍavāḷa kings of Kananj appear to have been on friendly terms with the Chōḷas of Tanjore¹ whose dominions extended into the Northern Circars during the reigns of Kulōttuṅga I. and Vikrama-Chōḍa. It is not certain if Vāgiśvararakṣita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of Amarāvati which was included in the dominions of the Chōḍa king at the time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century A.D. in the country round Amarāvati in the Guntur District. Besides, Kumaradēvi, the Buddhist queen of Gōvindachandra, was the daughter of a chief of Piṭhi. And Dr. Konow says it is possible to identify Piṭhi with Piṭhāpuram in the modern Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.² If this be the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Gōvindachandra were natives of Orissa and the Chōḍa country. Probably they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumaradēvi, who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence *punar api śāsanīkritya grāmā imā śaḍ api dattā* "those six villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist viḥāra at Jētavana, but, for some reason or other, resumed subsequently. At Sarnāth, queen Kumaradēvi restored the "lord of the turning of the wheel" and erected a viḥāra for his accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jētavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and inducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the viḥāra.—Ed.]

TEXT.

1 Om³ svasti |

Akuṇṭhōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ |
saṃraṇbhāḥ surat-āraṇbhā sa Śrīyaḥ śrēyaśo-stu vaḥ || [1*]
Āsīd=Āsītady[u]ṭi-varṇśa-jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālā-

2

sa divaṇ gatāsu |
sākṣhād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā namnā Yaśōvighraha ity=udāraḥ || [2*]
Tat-suto=bhūn=Mahīcha[m]draś=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṇ nija[m] [1*]
yōu-āpāram=akūpāra-

¹ [See the *Annual Report* of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for 1907-08, paragraphs 58 ff. — Ed.]

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 322.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

- 12 Vādā(jā)-chaturāṣīti-pattalāyām Vihāra | ¹Paṭṭaṇā | Upalaṇḍā |
Vavvahali | Mēyi-samva(ba)ddha-Ghōsādi Pōṭhivāra-sam[va](ba)ddha-
Payāsi-grāma-nivāsina
- 13 nikhila-janapadān=upagatan=api² rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-maitrī-purūhita-pra[ti]hāra-
sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākṣhapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-
- 14 karituragattanākarasthānagokulādhikāriṇaś=cha purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)-
dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā | Viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōparilikṛita-
grāmāḥ sa-ja-
- 15 la-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-lavan-ākārāḥ sa-matsy-ākārāḥ sa-pallikārāḥ³ sa-gartt-ōsha[rā]ḥ
sa-madhuk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantāḥ s-orddhv-ōdhas=
chatur-āgbhāṭa-viśu-
- 16 ddha-sva-simā-paryantāḥ | Samvatsarē śhaḍaṣīty-adhik-aikādaśa-śatē Āśhāḍhē
mā[s]lē [Sō]mavārē Pūrvvāśhāḍhā-nakṣatrē purṇṇimāyām tithau
aṅkatō-pi samvat 1186 Āśhāḍha
- 17 ⁴uḍi 15 Sōmē | ady-ōha śrī-Vārāṇasyām Gaṁgāyām [sn]ātva mantra-dēva-
muni-maṇḍa-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāns=tarppayitvā timi[ra]-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=
Usharōchishamim=upasthāy=An-
- 18 śhaḍhipati-śakala-śēkharāṁ samabhyarcheya tribhuvana-trātar=Vāsudēvasya
pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhajāṁ hutvā mātāpitrōr=
ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayaḥ gō-
- 19 karṇa-kūśalāṭi-pūta-karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvvam | Utkala-dēśīya-Saugata-parivrajaka-
mahāpāṇḍita-Śākyarakṣhita-tachchhisya-Chōḍa-dēśīya-Saugata-parivrajaka-
mahāpāṇḍi-
- 20 ta-Vāgīśvararakṣhitābhyām paritōṣhitair=asmābhiḥ Śrīmaj-Jētavana-vaśavihā-
ra-vāstavya-Vu(Bu)ddhabhaṭṭāraka-pramukha-param-ārya-[Ś]akyabhiḥku-
samghāya vihār-āntara-maryāda-
- 21 yā paribhog-ārtham mahatā chitta-prasādōn=āchamdrārkkam punar=api śāsani-
krītya grā[m]ā imō śhaḍ=api dattā⁵ matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-
pravaṇikara-Tu[ra]śhkaḍaḍa-pra-
- 22 bhūti-sarvvādāyān=ājñā-[śra]vaṇa-vidhēyi-bhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra
ś[ri]lōkāḥ | [!*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati |
ubhau tau puṇyakarmāṇau niytau(tam) svarg[ga]gāmi-
- 23 paṇ | [10*]
Śamkham [bha]dr-āsanam [ch]ohhatram var-āśvā vara-vārāṇāḥ |
bhūmi-dānasya chi[hnā]ni phalam=ētat=Paramāra || [11*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājābhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
- 24 • tasya tadā [pha]la[m] || [12*]
Sarvvān=ētān bhāvināḥ pārvthiv-ōndrūn
bhūyō bhūyō yachātō Rāma[bha]draḥ |
sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētar=unarāṇām
kālo kāle pālaniyo bhavadbhiḥ || [13*]
Shashti-va-

¹ [Either the reading is *Paṭṭanyā*, or there are two vertical strokes after *Paṭṭaṇā*.—Ed.]


² Read *api cha*.

³ [I think the reading is *sa-parṇākarāḥ*; see above Vol. IV. p. 101, text-line 17 and plate.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *ōham*.

⁵ Read *dattā iti*.

[illegible]

- 25 *śśā-sahasrāṇi svar[ge] vasati bhūmidah |*
ācchhettā ch=ūnumantū cha tāny=ōva narakō vasēt || [14]*
Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām |
sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir-bhūtā
- 26 *pi[ṭṭibhi]ḥ saha majjavi(tī) || [15*]*
Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-adhipatyam=
āpāta-mātra-madhurā [vi]śhay-ōpabhogaḥ |
pr[ā]pā[s]a-ṭṭiṇ-ūgra-jala-viṇdu-samā narāpaṁ
dharṁmah sakha param-aho paralōka-yānō || [16]*
- 27 *Śrīmad-Gōvindhachandrasya bhūpatēr=ājñay=ālikhat |¹*
tāmram=etat-Surādityaḥ kāyasthaḥ sarvva-sūtra-vit || [17]*
 2| 2| Maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 9 to 22.)

That victorious and glorious king, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahīrājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara Gōvindhachandradēva*,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings; who is (*another*) *Vāchaspati* in investigating the various sciences; who is the lord of the three kings, *viz.* the *asvapati* (lord of horses), the *gajapati* (lord of elephants) and the *narapati* (lord of men); who meditates on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P. P. Madanapāladēva*, who (in his turn) meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P. P. Chandradēva*, who acquired the sovereignty over *Kanyakubja* by (the strength of) his own arms,—orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of *Vihāra* in the district (?) of *Vāḍa-chaturaśīti*, of *Paṭṭaṇā*, *Upalaūṇḍā*, *Vavvahali*, *Ghōsāḍi* attached to *Mēyi* and of *Payāsi* attached to *Pōthivāra*, as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?) *sthānas* and *gokulas* in the following manner:—

“Be it known to you, that, having been gratified by the *Sangata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaarakshita*, (a resident) of the *Utkala* country, and his disciple, the *Sangata-parivrājaka*, the *mahāpaṇḍita Vāgīśvararakshita*, (a resident) of the *Chōḍa* country, I have to-day,—on a Monday, the *pūrṇimā tithi* of the month of *Āshāḍha*, (the moon being) in the *Pūrvāshāḍhā nakshatra* in the year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six, also in figures *Samvat 1186*, *Āshāḍha sudi 15*, Monday,—after bathing in the *Ganges*, at the holy *Vārāṇasī*; propitiating the sacred texts, divinities,³ sages, men, beings and the group of deceased ancestors; adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the moon-crested (*Śiva*); worshipping *Vāsudēva*, the protector of the three worlds; and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice, bestowed again⁴ by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself, by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the *gokarna* and the *kusa*

¹ [The sign of *avagraha* is inserted in the original between the aksharas *gā* and *li*.—Ed.]² [Each of these vertical strokes is preceded by a symbol which looks like the letter ४ found in this inscription.—Ed.]³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 10, note 55.⁴ I do not understand the force of the word “again” (*punarapi*) here. This would seem to signify that the king was only renewing an older grant of his.

grass,¹ with a great satisfaction of the heart, for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, repositories (i.e. ponds) of fish, *pallikaras*, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhuka* and mango (trees), parks, bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations and depressions, upon the most respectable community (*sangha*) of Buddhist friars (*Sākyabhikṣu*) of whom **Buddhabhaṭṭāraka** is the chief, residing in the great convent of the Holy **Jētavana**. Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (*continue to*) give (to the donees) the *bhūgaḥḥāgakkara*, the *pravaṇikara*, the *Turushkadanda* and all the other sources of income that are due."

[Lines 22—26 contain seven imprecatory and benedictory verses.]

(L. 27.) Under the orders of the glorious king Gōvindachandra, this grant was written by the Kāyastha **Surāditya**, who is proficient in all *sāstras*. Good luck (and) great prosperity!

NO. 4.—THE CHAHAMANAS OF MARWAR.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

In his paper on "The Chāhamānas of Naddūla" the late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva² which helps to determine the order of succession and the relationship of the various princes, whose inscriptions had been published, but whose connection with one another had long remained unknown. We are now aware that they were all of the Chāhamāna dynasty. But there were several families of the Chāhamānas that reigned in Rājputānā. It was, therefore, necessary to distinguish the line that ruled over Mārwar from other branches ruling elsewhere. And Professor Kielhorn chose to group them together under the title "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla." But some of these Chāhamānas reigned at Naddūla (Nādōl), and some at Jābālipura (Jālor). Strictly speaking, they should, therefore, have been called "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla and Jābālipura." The descendants of the former are called Nādōliās, and of the latter Sōnagarās. Again, at Sānehōr, inscriptions are found of a Chāhamāna prince who seems to be neither a Nādōliā nor a Sōnagarā, but rather a Sānehōrā, another subdivision of the Chōhāns. Under such circumstances, it is best to designate these Chōhāns as "the Chāhamānas of Mārwar."

The subjoined inscriptions were discovered during the two tours undertaken by me in 1907-08 and 1908-09 in the southern and south-eastern parts of Mārwar, and this paper is really a supplement to that of Professor Kielhorn, without which it would not have been possible to make my article interesting.

I AND II.—SĀDAḌĪ AND NĀDŌL INSCRIPTIONS OF JŌJALADĒVA ; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1147.³

The first of these inscriptions was found at Sādaḍī, and the second at Nādōl, both in the Dēsīrī District, Gōḍvād Division, Jodhpur State. The former is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgēśvara, but as all the materials of this temple are said to have been brought from ruins elsewhere, it is clear that the inscription did not originally belong to Sādaḍī. It contains

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 10, note 57.

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 70.

³ [For short notices of these two records, see above, Vol. IX. p. 158 f.—Ed.]

11 lines of writing, which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The second inscription is incised on a pillar in the temple of *Sōmēśvara*, and bears 13 lines of writing which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $9\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The letters of the first are deeply cut, and, excepting two or three *aksharas* at the beginning of lines 8-10, the record is well preserved. The second is weather-worn and has not yielded satisfactory impressions. The whole of it, however, is intact. The characters are *Nāgari*. The language is *Sanskrit*, and both the inscriptions are in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*. Of words unknown or rarely employed, we may note the following: (1) *yātrā*, (2) *satka*, (3) *vaḍaharaka*, (4) *śūlapīla*, and (5) *pramadākula*. *Yātrā* is a festival which is held on different days for different gods.¹ The word is frequently met with in the *Bhinmāl* inscriptions. *Satka* of course means "belonging to," and, though foreign to classical *Sanskrit* literature, is found in later inscriptions and in *Jaina* literature. *Vaḍaharaka*, I think, is the *Sanskritised* form of the *Mārwarī* word *baḍero*, meaning "an old man." The word *śūlapīla*, which occurs only in No. II, is given in *Monier-Williams' Dictionary* to mean "the keeper of a brothel or frequenter of brothels," but the sense intended here seems to be that of "associates of courtezans, who accompany them on musical instruments while singing or dancing." *Pramadākula* means obviously a host of courtezans, and is used in this sense also in the *Bhinmāl* inscriptions.

The contents of both the inscriptions are almost identical. They are dated on **Wednesday**, the second of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in the [Vikrama-] year 1147 and refer themselves to the reign of *Jōjaladēva*, who, in No. I, is styled *Mahārāja* and, in No. II, *Mahārājādhirāja*. They lay down the order of the king with regard to the management of festivals in connection with all the gods, such as *Lakshmanasvāmin* and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular god commences, the courtezans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *śūlapīlas* to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing, and so forth. *Jōjaladēva* goes even to the extent of conjuring his descendants and other princes to keep the festivals of all the gods going in this manner, and warns them by adding that he, who, at the time of a festival, attempts to abolish this practice, be he an ascetic, an old person, or a learned man, should be prevented from doing so by the reigning ruler. The inscription ends with a curse on those princes who will not maintain this practice.

In the temple of *Jāgēśvara* at *Sādāḍi*, where No. I was engraved on a pillar, other inscriptions also are found, but incised on another pillar of exactly the same style. From them it is clear that the temple of *Lakshmanasvāmin* was at *Naḍāla*, i.e. *Nāḍōl*. Again, in order that the festival of one god may be celebrated by courtezans attached to other temples, all the temples must be in one and the same town, i.e. in *Nāḍōl*. The name of the god *Lakshmanasvāmin* suggests that he was so called after *Lakshmana*, the founder of the *Mārwar* branch of the *Chohāns*.

I.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्रीं संवत् ११४७ वैशाखसुदि २ बुधवासरे^३ महा-
- 2 राजश्रीजोजलदेवेन श्रीलक्षणस्वामिप्रभृति-
- 3 समस्तदेवानां यात्राकालव्यवहारो लेखितः ॥
- 4 यच्च दिने यच्च देवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापरसमस्तदे-

¹ [This word has become *jātra*, *jātre* or *sāttirai* in the *Dravidian* languages of the South.—Ed.]

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read बुध^०.

- 5 वानां सत्कप्रमदाकुलैः सर्वैः साकल्यैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्याव-
 6 द्भिश्चागत्य वाद्यनृत्यगानादिविधि[न]ा यात्रा कर्त्तव्याऽग्रे
 7 च सर्वकालमस्मद्दंशजैरन्यैर्वा भाविभूमिपालैरित्यं
 8 [सर्व]देवेषु यात्रा कारयितव्या यात्राकाले तपस्वी वड-
 9 — — —¹विद्यावान्वाऽपरोपि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य
 10 — —²[नि]ग्रहः करणीयः । य[स] राजाऽनेन³ क्रमेण यात्रा
 11 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥—

II.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 श्रीं संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुद्धि २ बुधवास-⁵
 2 रे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजीजलदेवः सम-
 3 स्तदेवानां श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृतीनां यात्राव्य-
 4 वहारं लिखयति यथा ॥ यत्र घस्त्रे यत्र [दे]वे
 5 यात्रा भवति तत्र समस्तदेवानां सत्कप्रमदाकु-
 6 लैराकल्पसंयुक्तैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्यावद्भिश्च सशूल-
 7 पालैरागत्य नित्यं वाद्यनृत्य[गीत]ादिविधिना यात्रा
 8 करणीया । अग्रे च सर्वकालमस्मद्दंशजैरन्यैर्वा भा-
 9 विभूमिपालैरि[त्यं] सर्वदेवेषु यात्रा⁶ कारयितव्या ।
 10 यात्राकाले तपस्वी वडहरको विद्यावान्वाऽपरो-
 11 पि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य राजा निग्रह⁷ कर-
 12 णीयः । यस्य राजाऽनेन क्रमेण सर्वदेवेषु यात्रां
 13 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥०॥

III.—SEVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF AŚVARAJA;
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1167.

This inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvira at Sevāḍī, a village about 5 miles to the south-east of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōḍvāḍ Division. It contains 3 lines, and the writing covers a space of 3' 6" broad by 2½" high. The inscription is, on the whole,

¹ Restore वडहरको.

² Supply राजा.

³ The *akshara* न is entered below the line and is different from the other n's in the inscription.

⁴ From the original stone.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read बुध⁷.

⁷ There is a break in the middle of the vertical line which denotes the ā of trā.

⁸ Read निग्रहः.

well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *d* is worthy of note (e.g. in Padrādā, Chhēchhadiyā, and so forth), and occurs in the Nāḍol copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla. Some of the letters are partially engraved. To take an instance, the left upper stroke of *ma* in *Padrādā-grāmē* in l. 2 is missing, and the letter looks like *na*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole record is in prose except the concluding benedictory verse. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed: *jagatī* and *mahī-sihaniya* in l. 1, and *java* and *hāraka* in l. 2. *Jagatī* is found in many inscriptions in the sense of "the grounds." It corresponds, in my opinion, to the Hindi word *jagah* or *jagayā* and the Marāṭhi word *jāgā*.¹ *Sihaniya* most probably corresponds to the *dēstī* word *sāhanī*, meaning "master of stables." The same word occurs as a title of two Paramāra Rājputs in an inscription incised on a jamb of the hall door of the Nilakaṇṭha-Mahādēva temple at Nāḍol. *Java* and *hāraka* are also found in another inscription in the same temple at Sēvādī. They occur as *hāraka* and *java* in No. XV below. Both are used in connection with an *arahaṭa* (*araghaṭa*), i.e. a well with a wheel attached thereto for drawing water. From this it appears that *java* or *javā* must be taken in the sense of *yava*, barley-corn. *Hāraka* seems to be the same as the Marāṭhi word *hārā*, a large basket of a particular form and of loose texture,² often used in measuring corn. This receives confirmation from No. XV.

The inscription is dated on the first of the bright half of Chaitra of the [Vikrama] year 1187, when Aśvarāja was the *Maharājādhirāja* and Kaṭukarāja the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent. It then records a grant by Uppalarāja, son of Uttimarāja and grandson of Puavi, the Great Master of Stables (*mahī-sāhaniya*), together with his family, the names of some of whose members are specified. The gift was made for the daily worship of Śrī-Dharmanāthadēva in the temple of Samipāṭī, and what was granted was barley-corn equal to one *hāraka* from everyone of the wells (*arahaṭa*) belonging to the villages of Padrādā, Medramchā, Chhēchhadiyā and Maddadī.

Of the localities mentioned, Samipāṭī is doubtless Sēvādī, which is also pronounced as Sēmādī. And Dharmanāthadēva must be unquestionably the divinity installed in the cell, above the door of which the inscription is engraved. Chhēchhadiyā again must be Chhēchhli, about 4 miles to the north of Sēvādī. The rest are unidentifiable.

TEXT.³

1 श्री० ॥ सं ११६७ चैत्र सु १ महाराजाधिराजश्रीमश्वराजराज्ये । श्री-
कटुकराजयुवराज्ये^४ ।] समीपाटीयचैत्ये जगती^५ श्री[ध]र्मनाथदेवसां^६ नित्य-
पूजार्थं (१) महासाहणियपूषविपीत्रे[ण] 'कृत्तिमराजपुत्रेण उप्पलराकेन
(१) मांगट चावल (१)^७

¹ Above, Vol. I. p. 277, note 18.

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read श्रीवराज्ये.

⁵ Read जगती.

⁶ [On the impressions which Mr. Bhandarkar has kindly sent me for reference, the reading intended is 'देवस्य, though the subscript *y* is not properly formed. Other instances of such careless engraving are noticed by Mr. Bhandarkar himself. There is a dot which may be taken for an *anusvāra*, but it is not quite pronounced and may be due to accident.—Ed.]

⁷ [The *g* of पुत्रेण looks like *g*.—Ed.] As most of the inscriptions here published do not aim at giving grammatically correct Sanskrit text, the places, where no attempt at observing the rules of *sandhi* is made, will be passed over, and only violations thereof will be noticed.

⁸ [These two strokes look like *ṛ* in the impression.—Ed.]

- 2 वि० सलखणजोगरादि कुटुंबसमं^१ (i) पद्मडापा[मि] (i) तथा मे[दं]चाग्रामे
 (i) तथा छेडियामहडोग्रामे (ii) [च]रहटं चरहटं प्रति [द]त्तः जवहारकः
 (ii) एकः १ ॥ यः कोपि लोप[य]यति (i) स 'गोस्त्रीव्रा[ह्म]णविनाय-
 पापेनात्मा[नं]^२ 103024
- 3 एतत् ये (i) प्रतिपालयि[यं]ति (i) तेस्मदीयधर्म[भ]ग्ग्याः सदा भविष्यति ॥ इति
 मत्वा प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।
 'वहुभिवसुधा [भु]क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ १ ॥ छ ॥

IV.—SEVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUKARĀJA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1172.

The inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of *Mahāvira* at *Sēvādī*. It is highly weather-worn and cannot consequently be easily deciphered. It was again bedaubed with redlead, when I was there, I do not know for what purpose. An estampage taken of it with my own hands has, however, enabled me to read almost the whole of it with certainty. It consists of 8 lines, and covers a space of 2' 11" broad by 4½" high. The characters are *Nāgari*. The sign for *b* occurs in the inscription, e.g. in *vibudha-pati*¹ in l. 1, *bal-ādhipaḥ* in l. 4, and so forth. The language is *Sanskrit*, and, excepting the opening *Om* and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered and are 15 in all. One solecism occurs in *śrīy-ādharō* in l. 2. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of the letter *v* both for *v* and *b*, and (2) the substitution of *n* for *ṇ* in conjunct consonants, e.g. in *punya-rismitaḥ*, l. 3, *vilīnnaṁ*, l. 6, and so forth. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *khattaka* occurring in l. 7. I came across the same word in an inscription in a shrine of the *Jaina* temple at *Pāli*, the principal town of the district of the same name, *Jōdhpur* State. This word occurs also in the *Ābū* inscriptions, e.g. it is used in l. 40 of Inscription No. 1. (above, Vol. VIII. p. 213), where the meaning of 'niche' appears to be all but certain.² This sense fits here exactly. In line 3 again, is the word *bhukti*, which does not here simply denote a territorial division as elsewhere, but rather a province or a group of villages enjoyed as *jāgīr*. Lastly, the curious expression *Māghē Tryambaka(ba)ka-saṁprāptau* in l. 6 also deserves to be noticed in this connection. It literally means "in *Māgha* on the arrival of *Tryambaka* (*Śiva*)," and I am all but certain that it denotes what is popularly known as the *Śiva-rātri*, the 14th of the dark half of *Māgha*.

The inscription opens with an invocation of *Sāntinātha*, the sixteenth *Tirthamkara*. Verse 2 gives the name of *Anahila*, and his son named *Jimda* is mentioned in the verse following as proficient in polity and as belonging to the *Chāhamāna* dynasty. His son was *Aśvarāja*, and the son of the latter was *Katukarāja* (vv. 4-5). In verse 6 we are told that in his *bhukti*, i.e. the province enjoyed by him, was the town named *Śamipāṭī* (*Sēvādī*), and at this place there was a temple of *Viranātha* (*Mahāvira*), bearing comparison with paradise. From verse 7 onwards we are introduced to a different line of descent. In this verse we are informed that there was one *Yasōdēva*, leader of the army (*bal-ādhipa*), of pure soul, and foremost in the

¹ Read कुटुंब°.

² Read °ब्राह्मण°.

³ Supply here some such word as लिपयितुं.

⁴ Read वयु°; the lines are here reversed.

⁵ [See also above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, and the note on p. 200 in the 'Additions and corrections' to that volume.

assemblies of kings and *mahajanas* (banias). The next verse says that he, of equable mind, was never flagging in conferring favours on the relatives, friends, and virtuous people of the *Shandēra* *gachchha*. His son was *Bāhaḍa*, who was well known amongst the learned like *Viśvakarmā* (verse 9), and the son of *Bāhaḍa* was *Thallaka*, who was devoted to the *Jaina* religion and was an object of the king's favour (verse 10). To *Thallaka* an annual benefaction of eight *drammas* was made by *Kaṭukarāja* on the *Śiva-rātri* day in the month of *Māgha* (vv. 11-12). Verse 13 expresses a wish for the continuance of the gift so long as the sun and the moon last, made for the worship of *Śantinātha* in the *khallaka* of *Yaśodēva*. In the next verse we are told that the image of *Śantinātha* in the temple of *Jina* in *Śamipāṭi* was caused to be made by his grandfather. The last is an imprecatory verse, threatening with punishment those who would resume the grant. The inscription ends with the mere date *Samvat* 1172, corresponding to A.D. 1115.

It will be seen from the above account that the grantor was *Kaṭukarāja*, son of *Aśvarāja*. But he does not appear to have been a ruler at the time. For in none of the verses is he spoken of as king, and in verse 6 we are informed, as we have seen, that *Śamipāṭi* (*Sāvādī*) was in his *bhukti*. Here neither the word *rājya* which would have suited the metre, nor any other term synonymous with it is used. This shows that even in A.D. 1115, the date of the inscription, he was a *yuvarāja* enjoying some villages as *jāgir*.

Shandēra-*sad-gachchha* is no doubt the same as the *Samdēra* *gachchha* of the *Nādol* plates of *Ālhapādēva* dated V.E. 4218, and the *Sanḍera* or *Shandēra* *gachchha* of the *Mount Abū* inscriptions. *Sanḍera* or *Shandēra* is to be identified with the present *Sanḍērāv*, 10 miles north-west of *Bali*, the principal town of the district of the same name, *Gōdvād* Division. The name occurs also in an inscription in the temple of *Mahāvira* at that place (below No. XVI). It is one of the many instances in which the *Jaina gachchhas* are called after the names of places in *Mārwar*.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री^० ॥ स्वजन्मनि जनताया जाता परतोषकारिणी शान्तिः । विबुधपति-
विनतचरणः स शान्तिनामा जिनो जयति ॥१॥ आसीदुद्यप्रतापायः
श्रीमदण्डिलभूपतिः ।
- 2 येन प्रचंडदोईडपराक्रम[जि]ता मही ॥२॥ तत्पुत्रः 'चाहमानानामन्वये
नीतिसहृदः(हः) । जिंदराजाभिधो राजा सत्यमौ(श्री)र्यसमाश्रयः ॥३॥ तत्त[नू]ज-
स्ततो जातः प्रतापाक्रांतभूतलः [१*] अ[श्व]राजः श्रियाधारो^४ [भू]-
- 3 [प]तिर्भूयतां वरः ॥४॥ ततः कटुकराजेति त[त्यु]चो धरणीतले । जज्ञे स त्याग-
सौभाग्यविख्यातः पुन्यविस्मितः^५ ॥५॥ तद्भुक्तौ^६ पत्तनं र[म्यं] शमीपाटीति-
नाम[कं] । तत्रास्ति वीरनाथस्य चैत्यं स्वर्गसमोपमं ॥६॥
- 4 इतश्चासीत् बि[शु]क्तात्मा यशोदेवो बलाधिपः । राज्ञां महाजनस्यापि सभायाम-
ग्रणीस्थितः ॥७॥ शोषडेरकसन्नच्छे बंधूनां सुहृ[दां] सतां । नित्योपकुर्वता
येन न शान्तं 'समचेतसा ॥८॥

¹ From an estampage.
स्वजन्मनि instead of स्वजन्मनि.—Ed.]

² Expressed also by a symbol. [On the impressions the reading seems to be

³ Read 'पुत्रयाह'.

⁴ Read श्रियाधारो; but it will not suit the metre.

⁵ Read पुन्य^०. [On the impressions the first *akshara* of the word विस्मित; looks more like नि than बि.—Ed.]

⁶ Read तद्भुक्तौ.

⁷ [On the impression the first *akshara* of this word seems to be, र.—Ed.]

- 5 तत्सुतो बाहुडो जातो नराधिपजन[प्रिय]: । विश्वकर्म्मव सव्वन्न प्रसिद्धो
विदुषां मतः ॥८ तत्पुत्रः [प्र]थितो लोके जैनधर्मपरायणः । उत्पन्नः
[य]ज्ञको^१ राज्ञः प्रसादगुणमंदिरं ॥
- 6 १० दयादाक्षिन्यगाभीर्यबुद्धिचिह्नानसंयुतः^२ । श्रीमत्क[टु]कराजेन तस्य दानं^३
[कृतं] शुभं ॥११ माघे च्यवकसंप्राप्तो^४ वितोर्क^५ प्रतिवर्षकं । द्रव्याष्टकं
प्रमाणेन यज्ञका-
- 7 य प्रमोदतः ॥१२ पूजा[र्घ्यं] शान्तिनाथस्य यशोदेवस्य ख[न]के । प्रवर्द्धयतु
चंद्रार्कं यावदादानम्[ज्व]लं^६ ॥१३ पितामह[न] तस्येदं शमीपाद्यां जिनालयि ।
कारितं शान्तिना-
- 8 यस्य विवं जनमनोहरं ॥१४ धर्म्मण लिप्यते राजा पृथ्वी भुनक्ति यो
यदा । ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रेण^७ पातकेन विलोपय[न्] ॥१५ संवत् ११७२

V.—BALI STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀŚVĀKA;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1200.

This inscription was found at Bālī. It is engraved on one of the lintels resting on the pillars of the *sabhi-mandapa* of the temple of Bōlā *alias* Bahuguna-mātā. It contains 6 lines of writing, which cover a space of 7" broad by 2' 2½" high. Excepting the greater portion of line 1 and a few letters in line 5, it is well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose, excepting one verse in ll. 4-5. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *grāsa* in l. 2, which corresponds to the modern *gīrās*, signifying the landed possessions of a member of one of the ruling tribes. In lines 3 and 4 occur some abbreviations such as *bho*°, *pu*°, *va*°, and so forth. I do not know what their full forms are.

The inscription opens with the date, of which all the details are lost, except the [Vikrama-] year 1200. It refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārāja-dhīrāja* Śrī-Jayasihadēva, of course, of the Chaulukya dynasty and speaks of the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Āśvaka as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet," i.e. as his feudatory. At that time the village of Vālahī was being enjoyed as *gīrās* by the queen Śrī-Tihunaka. It then records a grant of four *drummas* by Bopunava-sthahhana, son of Pālā, in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughripa. Farther details of the grant are given but are not quite clear, but it appears to have been laid down that at the time of the horse-fair (lit. selling of horses) one *dramma* was to be given to the goddess, two *drummas* to the *samgha-pati* Galapalyādiyā, son of Chōhadi, and resident at the village of Thāmbhila, one *dramma* to Vālhana and Gāravāta, sons of Mōhana, one *dramma* each to the machine-wells, such as

^१ Read उत्पन्नस्यज्ञको.

^२ Read दक्षिणस्थ°.

^३ [On the impressions the reading is तस्यादान°.—Ed.]

^४ Read च्यवक°.

^५ Read वितोर्क°.

^६ [The *akshara* in brackets looks like वा.—Ed.]

^७ Read ब्रह्म° and सहस्रं.

those named Sītka, Bhariyā, Bōhadā, Mahiyā, and so forth, one *dramma* to the *bhūṃdārī* Būṭā, and so on. The record was written by one Kulachandra.

The feudatory chieftain Āsvāka referred to herein is doubtless identical with the Āsvārāja of the two previous inscriptions. Valahi must be the modern Bālī, and the goddess Bahughripa the same as Bahuguna or Bolā-mātā, in whose temple the inscription is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 संवत् । [१२]०० [समस्त]राजा-
वलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजश्रीज[य]-
- 2 सीहवेदकल्याणविजयराज्ये² तत्पा[द]पद्मोपजोवि[नि मङ्गा]राजश्रीआश्याके³ । एवं
काले प्रवर्तमाने 'राज्ञीश्रीतिष्ठणकयासाभुज्यमानवा[ल]होपा[म]स्य सकशो-
बहु[पु-]
- 3 ण[द](दे)वी[यात्रा]निवि(मि)त्तं भो० पाल्हासुत भो० बोपणवस्थभनेन वालही प्रति⁴
प्रदत्तं द्रां ४ तथा घोडाविक्रए द्रां १ [त]था च थांभिल[य]ाम-
वास्तव्यसंघपतिचोहडिपुत्रगलपल्यादिया[इ]
- 4 प्रति प्रदत्तं द्रां २ [पू० मो]हणसुतवांल्ह[ण]गार[वा]टं प्रति द्रां १ सीक्कभरिया-
बोहडामहियाप्रभृति अरहटप्रति प्रदत्त द्रां १ भां० बूटा प्रति द्रां १
॥ उदकपीहया० आ० ते० पलो १ प्रदत्त ॥ यस्य यस्य
- 5 [य*]दा भूमि तस्य⁵ तस्य तदा फलं । यस्तु एतं लोपयंति⁷ तस्य ब्रह्मह-
त्यादय⁸ ॥११⁹ श्रीकुलचंद्रेण लिखितं ॥ सइयणा वा० रा० कातियस .
. लाही प्रति द्रां १ अरठपा-
- 6 दणा० उ ॥ भौसै ४ धाट्ठधरणप्रति द्रां १।

VI.—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUDEVĀ;

[SIMHA-]SAMVAT 31.

This inscription also was found at Sēvādī, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvira. It is what is called there a *surabhi* stone, i.e. a stone which is surmounted with

¹ From the original stone. ² Read 'सीहदेव'.

³ [On the estampage which Mr. Bhandarkar has sent me, the reading मंजि instead of राज is also possible.—Ed.]

⁴ [The *akshara* क of तिष्ठणक is not on the line. There is a letter or symbol above the line which Mr. Bhandarkar takes for क, and this is how he gets तिष्ठणक.—Ed.]

Read वालही प्रति; as the text was never intended to be grammatically correct, such inaccuracies will not be corrected unless it is absolutely necessary to do so.

⁵ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

⁷ Read एतलोप'.

⁸ Read ब्रह्म; the metre of these lines is violated.

⁹ [On the estampage the reading seems to be ॥ ११ ॥ कुल.—Ed.]

the sculpture of a cow and her calf and with the sun and the moon on each side. The inscription is mutilated in several places, and the letters have become very much worn out. The inscription is of no importance except for what is contained in the first three lines, about the reading of which there remains no doubt. They give the date Sam 31 Bhāda[va]dā [su]di 11, and state that Kaṭudēva was at that time Mahārājādhirāja and reigning at Nāḍlā (Nādol) and that Samipāṭi was being enjoyed by (his son) Jayatasiha, the Yuvarāja, or heir-apparent. This Kaṭudēva is the same as the Kaṭukarāja of Nos. III. and IV., above, and, as we know that he was the Yuvarāja from V.E. 1167 to 1172, the only era, to which we can refer the year 31, the date of this inscription, is that started by the Chaulukya sovereign Siddharāja-Jayasimha, commonly known as Simha-Samvat. It then becomes equivalent to V.E. 1200 or A.D. 1143. That the province of Gōdvād was included in the dominions of Siddharāja-Jayasimha is proved by the preceding inscription. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the year 31 of our record belongs to the Simha era.

TEXT.¹

- 1 सं ३१ भादद^२ [सु]दि ११ ऽद्येह श्रीन[डु]लि ।
- 2 ^३— [ह]ाराजाधिराजश्रीकटुदेवविजयोद[यी] त—
- 3 — — ^४[ज]यतसीहयुवराजभुज्यमानसमोपाटया^५ श्रीम-
- 4 — —रपा[ल]: समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिप[थयन्]^६ ।
- 5 [श्री]से[आ]भटसमस्तमहाजनप्रभृती[न्] । [त]-
- 6 — —[व]ार: सिंधुराज — — । तस्मिन् काले प्रव[र्त]माने
- 7 लि[प]ति च पूर्वधर्मशासन — — — यतु घाणक प्र-
- 8 [ति] सृण सर्वप्रमाण श्या—हलखेटलनिषे[ध:] एत-
- 9 — —प्रतिपालयंति [स] आत्मानं पुण्येन लिप्यते ज
- 10 कोपि लोप[य]स्यति स ब्रह्महत्यापापेन गृह्यते ॥ मंगलं
- 11 महाश्री ॥

VII.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1189.

This inscription was found in a Jaina temple at Nāḍlāi, 8 miles to the north-west of Dēsārī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Gōdvād Division. The temple is now dedicated to Ādinātha, but there can be no doubt, as will be seen from other inscriptions, that it was originally dedicated to Mahāvira. The inscription in question is engraved on a lintel standing on two pillars in the *sabha-maṇḍapa*. The lines of the inscription run parallel to one another but not to the edges of the lintel, and the tops of some of the concluding letters in the first line have been cut off, necessarily being outside the upper edge of the lintel. This points to the conclusion that the *sabha-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt some time after the date of

¹ From the original stone.² Read भाद्रपद.³ Read महा^०.⁴ Restore तस्मत्.⁵ Read ^०पाटया.⁶ Read परिपथयन्; further grammatical inaccuracies are better left uncorrected.

the inscription, and that the lintel on which it is incised is no longer preserved in its original form.

The record contains 6 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 5½" broad by 4½" high. The surface of the stone does not appear to have been dressed before engraving the inscription, and the letters also do not seem to have been carefully incised. The characters are Nāgari. Of these *y* is written as if it were *p*, as is often seen in Sanskrit manuscripts. Next, the form of the letter *ḍ* in *Nadūladāgikā*, l. 2, is worthy of note and is exactly like that noted in No. III. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting a verse at the end, which, however, offends against the metro. In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noticed first that there is but one *b* in the inscription and it is denoted by the sign for *v*, in *vrahama(hma)*°, l. 5, and secondly, that the final consonant is represented by the addition of the suffix *u* as, e.g. *yaḍ* by *yaḍu* in l. 5. The same orthographic peculiarity I have noticed in the later copper-plate inscriptions of the Guhilot princes, which are found in Gōdvāḍ. As regards lexicography, the words *pala* and *palikā* employed in l. 3 doubtless denote some kind of liquid measure. Details of it have been set forth in Berūni, *Indica*, Vol. I. p. 164. Attention may also be drawn to the abbreviated forms herein employed, *bham*°, l. 3, and *rā*° and *vi*°, l. 4. *Bham*°, of course, stands for *bhaṇḍārī*, the name of a well-known subdivision of the Ōsvāls, and *rā*° for *rāṇa*, which is supposed to be a corruption of *rājaputra*, and is the same as the modern *rāval*, one of the designations borne by Rājput jāgirdārs. I do not know the full form of *vi*°. In l. 3 is used the word *ghṛṇaka*, which corresponds to *ghṛṇī* and signifies an oil-mill. It is frequently met with in inscriptions.

The inscription is dated the 5th of the bright half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1180, and speaks of a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla, sons of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāyapāla of the Chāhamāna dynasty, in conjunction with their queen-mother Māṇaladēvi. The gift was of two *palikās* out of those due to the royal family from each oil-machine (*ghṛṇaka*) and was made for the (Jaina) saints in and outside *Nadūladāgikā* (Nādīlā). The witnesses to this religious benefaction were the villagers (*grāmīṇaka*) Ttimatā, a *rāṇa*, Sīriyā a *vi*°, Pōsari a *bania*, and Lakṣmaṇa, headed by Nāgasiva, a *bhaṇḍārī*. They apparently formed the *pañcha* of the village.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री° ॥ संवत् ११८८ माघसुदि पंचम्यां श्रीचाहमानान्वय(१) श्रीमहाराजा-
धिराज[रायपा]ल(१)-
- 2 देव° तस्य पुत्रो° रुद्रपालश्चतुप[ली] (१) ताभ्यां माता श्रीराज्ञीमा[न]ल-
देवी तथा [नदू]ल[डा]गिका-
- 3 यां (॥) सतां परजतीनां [रा]जकुलपल[म]ध्यात् पलिकाद्वय(१) घाण[कं] प्रति
धर्माय प्रदत्त° । भं० नागसि-
- 4 वप्रमुखसमस्तग्रामीणक (१) रा० तिमटा वि० सिरिया वणिक° पोसरि(१)
लक्षण एते सा ।

¹ From the original stone.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read °देवः.

• • Read पुत्री.

³ Read प्रदत्त.

• Read वणिक.

- 5 खि¹ क्त्वा दत्तं [] लोपकस्य यदु पापं² गोहत्यासहस्रेण । ब्रह्महत्या-
सतेन च (i) तेन
6 पापेन लिप्यते सः³ ॥ • ॥ श्री ॥

VIII.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1195.

This inscription also was found at Nādlāi, but in the temple of Nēminātha, locally known as Jādvājī, situated on a small hill to the south-east of the village. It is engraved on a pillar, and is, on the whole, well preserved. It consists of 26 lines of writing, and covers a space of 9½" broad by 1' 11¼" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *matu* for *mat(d)* in *matudattam*, l. 22. Of unknown or rare words *bhōktāri*, l. 9, *śēka*, l. 11, and *ābhāvyā*, l. 12, may be noticed. For the first I can suggest no meaning. *Śēka* is perhaps the same as the Sanskrit *śikya* meaning "a kind of loop or swing made of rope and suspended from either end of a pole or yoke to receive a load (also applied to the load so carried)." The word *ābhāvyā* has, in my opinion, the senso of "income, proceeds," and occurs in no less than three different compounds in a Māngrol inscription of V.E. 1202.⁵ It is also employed as a component of another compound in Bhīmāl inscriptions Nos. XII and XV.⁶ Perhaps another word may also be noticed, viz. *rāuta*, which occurs in ll. 8 and 21. It is evidently a corruption of *Rājaputra* and is the same as Rājput, but is here used to denote apparently a *jāgirdār*.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the Omniscient, who is here Nēminātha. It then gives the date, viz. Tuesday, the 15th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1195, and refers to the rule of the Mahārājādhirāja Rāyapaladēva over Nādūladāgikā (Nādlāi). It then states that for lamp, incense, offering, flowers, worship and so forth of Śrī-Nēminātha, the *thakkura* Rājadēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharana of the Gūhila family, granted for his spiritual merit one-twentieth part of the income (*ābhāvyā*) derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nādlāi. Then a request is made to future rulers for the preservation of the grant; and Pāmsila is given as the name of the individual who wrote the record. Then comes the sign-manual of Rājadēva, who is here called a *rāuta*, which is followed by the name of the witness Gūgi, son of the astrologer Dādūpā. The last three lines are not intelligible to me.

TEXT.⁷

- 1 श्री⁸ नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥ संवत् ११
2 ६५ आसउज⁹ वदि १५ कुजे ॥
3 अद्यैह श्रीन[डू]लडा[गि]कायां महा-
4 राजाधिराजश्रीराय[पा]लदेवे । विज-

¹ Read एतास्मादिणः.

² Read यरपापं.

³ Read ब्रह्म^० and ० ब्रह्मेन

⁴ This whole verse is corrupt. It also occurs at the end of some of the following inscriptions. Perhaps it may be restored as follows:—गोहत्यानां सहस्रेण ब्रह्महत्याशतेन च । लोपकस्य तु यरपापं तेन पापेन लिप्यते ॥

⁵ *Bharnagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 158-9.

⁶ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 40 and 486.

⁷ From the original stone.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read आसोज^०.

- 5 यी¹ राज्यं कुर्वतीत्येतस्मिन् काले श्री-
 6 मदुर्जिततीर्थः² श्री[ने]मिनाथदेव-
 7 स्य दीपधूपनैवेद्य[पुष्प]पूजाद्यर्थं गू-
 8 हिलान्वयः³(1) राउ० ऊधरणसूनु-
 * 9 ना भोक्तारि(?)ठ० राजदेवेन स्वपु-
 10 ष्यार्थं स्वीयादानमध्यात्⁴ मार्गे [ग]-
 11 ष्छतानामागतानां⁵ वृषभानां शेके[षु]⁶
 12 यदाभाष्यं भवति तस्मध्यात् विं[श]-
 13 तिमो⁷ भागः चंद्रार्क⁸ यावत् देवस्य
 14 प्रदत्तः ॥ अस्मदंशोयेनान्येन वा
 15 केनापि परिपंथना न करणीया ॥
 16 अस्मदत्त⁹ न केनापि लोप[नी]यं ॥
 17 स्वहस्ते परहस्ते वा यः कोपि लोप-
 18 यिष्यति¹⁰ । तस्याहं करे लग्नी
 19 न लो[प्यं] मम शासनमिदं¹¹ ।[*] लि०
 20 [पां]मिलेन ॥ स्वहस्तीयं साभि-
 21 ज्ञानपूर्वकं राउ० रा[ज]देवे-
 22 न मतुदत्तं¹² ॥ अत्राहं¹³ साक्षि[णा]
 23 ण्योतिषिक[दूद्र]पासुनुना गूगि-
 24 न[ः]¹⁴ । तथा पला० [प]ला० । पृथं
 25 वा १ मांगु[ल]ा ॥ देपसा । रा
 26 पसा ॥ मंगलं मही[श्रीः] ॥

IX.—NĀDŌL STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA ;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1198.

This inscription was discovered at Nādōl, about 10 miles north-west of Dēsūri, and is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmēśvara. A transcript of the first 3 lines has been given by the late Professor Kielhorn, above Vol. IX. p. 159. The record contains 39 lines of writing, which cover a space of 9" broad by 2' 3" high. The letters are so weather-worn that even a satisfactory estampage is not possible, but with a little care and patience the whole of the

¹ Read विजयि.

² Read 'दुर्जिततीर्थ'.

³ Read 'न्यय'.

⁴ The *sandhi* has here been disregarded. Such omissions will not be further noticed.

⁵ Read गच्छतानामागतानां.

⁶ The letter षु is engraved between lines 10 and 11.

⁷ Read विंशतितिमो.

⁸ Read चन्द्रार्क.

⁹ Read अस्मदत्त.

¹⁰ Read यिष्यति.

¹¹ The word इदं is superfluous and not needed for the metre.

¹² Read मया दत्तः.

¹³ Probably अत्रायं was intended.

¹⁴ Read गूगिना.

inscription can be read with certainty on the original stone. The characters are **Nāgari**. The language is **Sanskrit**, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. Some of the solecisms that occur in the record are *nirgamatē*, l. 20, *nirgamantānīm*, l. 15, and *nirgamāpayamāntānām*, l. 19. In respect of **orthography**, it is sufficient to note (1) that *t* is (correctly) doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *pravarttaminc*, l. 3, (2) that the dental *s* is frequently substituted for the palatal *ś*, (3) that the sign for *v* is used also for *b*, and (4) that there is a curious tendency exhibited here of ending proper names with *u* or *ū*. The *dēśi* words employed are (1) *vāḍī* or *vāḍū*, *vāṣu* and *pīḍi* (ll. 4-8) which still in Mārwar have the sense of wards or localities in a town; (2) *pēṭa*, a belly, (3) *avasara*, l. 24, i.e. *osrī* or *ōsrī*, ante-chamber or porch (above, Vol. I. p. 165), and (4) *chankadikā*, l. 13, of uncertain meaning, but apparently signifying a *pañchāyat*. The unusual words used in the inscription are (1) *kārpūṭika*, l. 12, a pilgrim or caravan of pilgrims, (2) *dauḍṛika*, doorkeepers of kings, known as *ḍūḍidārs* in Rājputānā, and (3) *kāyavṛata*, l. 21, which doubtless has the same sense as that of the word *trāgī* or *chāṇḍī*, i.e. a kind of privation and self-immolation so commonly practised once in Rājputānā and Gujārāt by Brāhmaṇas and Bhāts to force the kings to relent and grant their wishes. Two curious expressions occurring in the record also deserve to be noticed. The first is *pēṭam priṣṭhīm vā darśayati*, ll. 20-21, and the second *vā(bā)lō-pi gramhīr-n-āsti*, l. 23, both of which are *dēśi* idioms unknown to Sanskrit literature. The former consists of two separate expressions: (1) *pēṭam darśayati* — lit. "shows his belly" but really "asks for means of livelihood," and (2) *priṣṭhīm darśayati* — lit. "shows his back," i.e. "flies away and thus shirks his responsibility." The second exactly corresponds to the Hindi phrase even now in use, in Rājputānā at any rate, viz. *bāl par bhī gāṁḥ nahī*, which is employed for absolving a man from all blame.

The inscription opens with the date, viz. **Sunday, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] year 1108**, and refers itself to the blessed and victorious reign of the *Mahārāja-dhīrāja Śrī-Rāyapāladeva*. It then makes mention of sixteen Brāhmaṇas of the town of **Dhālōpa**, residing in eight different wards. Virigu and Prabhākara belonged to Merivādā, Āsadeu and Mahādū to Dipavādā, Dēu and Ghāhaḍi to Duṇḍapavāsu, Muhaṁkaru and Divākaru to Bhāṅgāravādā, Dēvāichu and Dhāraū to Pipalavādā, Nārāyaṇa and Mahāicha to Ambilavādā, Āsigu and Asapālu to Khaikhanalāvādā, and Dēvaṅgu and Ānvigu to Bhumḍavādā. Headed by all these Brāhmaṇas, two from each of the eight wards of Dhālōpa and with Dēvāicha as the mediator, the whole people of the town tendered a document written (i.e. signed) with their own hands. It contains a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country, by means of the *chankadikī* or *pañchāyat* system, whatever is lost by, or snatched away from, the *bhāta*, *bhāṭaputra*, *dauḍṛika*, *kārpūṭika*, *Vaṇijjāraka*, and others on their way. If it was, however, lost at their own place, i.e. at any particular ward in Dhālōpa, the responsible individuals thereof already named were to find it out in person. Money, weapons, watchmen, and so forth were supplied by the *Mahārāja Śrī-Rāyapāla* to them for tracing things lost, and so there was no need of assigning the duties of a watchman to any one amongst them. A declaration was also made to the effect that, if any Brāhmaṇa amongst them, when being asked by chiefs (*rāṇaka*), to find out some lost property, refused to do so, asked for means of subsistence or fled away, or, if apprehended, had recourse to *kāyavṛata* or self-immolation, he would die like a cur, donkey, or *chāṇḍāla*, and the chiefs (*rāṇaka*), such as Rāyapāla and others, would in no wise be open to blame. Then is given a list of the names of the individuals who bore witness to the document. They are as follow: (1) *Kaṭuka* and the Brāhmaṇa *Sajānu* come from, i.e., representing the *bhāṭāraka* *Īlā* (residing) in the *avasara* (*ōsrī*) of the temple belonging to *Śrī-Jayasimhadēva*, (2) the *bhāṭāraka* *Varuṇasiū* of (the temple of) *Anabilēśvara*, (3) the *bhāṭāraka* *Mahēśvarasiū* of (the temple of) *Jēndrarsjēśvara*, (4) the *bhāṭāraka* *Jñānasiū* of (the temple of) *Aṇupam-*

vēśvara, (5) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Īśānū attached (*pratibaddha*) to the *bhaṭṭāraka* Bhōpā of (the temple of) Prithvipālēśvara, (6) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Muktidēū of (the temple of) Jōjalēśvara (7) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Vināyaka and Sāntisiū of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (8) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Mūladēū of (the temple of) Āsalēśvara, (9) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Tatpurusha of (the temple of) Padmalēśvara, (10) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Kēdārū of (the temple of) [Tripālā]kēśvara, (11) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Brahmarāśi of (the temple of) Āsapālēśvara, (12) the *abōṭi* Sagāhāri belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Prithvipālēśvara, (13) the *abōṭi* Jagadlharū belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Āsalēśvara, (14) the *abōṭi* Śrī-Vachlū belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (15) the whole class of bankers (*mahājana*), such as Dēvadharā and others, belonging to Anahillapura, and (16) the whole class of bankers such as Seth Jasadhavala Katākvāla, and so forth. Then in ll. 37-39 we are informed that the record was written, i.e. drawn up, I think, by the *thakura* Pēthāḍa, son of Vādiga, a Gaṇḍa Kāyastha, with the consent of the people of Dhālōpa. At the end is a line, stating that the record is approved by all the people of Dhālōpa. ✓

Of the places mentioned, Dhālōpa is obviously the village of that name, about 4 miles to the south-south-west of Nāḍol. Anahillapura is, of course, Aphilvādā near the modern Pāṭṇā, in the Kaḍi Division, Baroda State. Dvāravati is doubtless Dvārkā on the western coast of Kāṭhiāvād. Of the caste names mentioned, *bhāṭa* is the same as *bhāt* or bards. *Bhaṭṭa-putra* is most likely intended for Bārhot, the higher class of professional panegyrists. *Daurārika* is probably not a caste-name, and signifies here what are known as *daḍidars* in Rājputānā. *Vanijjāraka* is Vanjāris, whose hereditary calling is that of carrying grains on pack-bullocks. The name occurs under the form of *vanajjāraka* in No. XI. below and *vanijjāraka* in a copper-plate grant of Tribhuvanapālādēva.¹ *Abōṭis* are an inferior class of Brāhmaṇas, who are generally temple servants, and are still chiefly found in Dvārkā. Of the names of the *bhaṭṭārakas* of temples, many end in *siū* (Śiva), two in *dēū* (*dēva*), and only one in *rāśi*. I have elsewhere said that of the four well-known sects of the followers of Śiva, those whose names ended in Śiva were Śaivas, and those whose names ended in *rāśi* were Lakulīṣa Pāsupatas. But to what sect the ascetics who bore the honorific suffix *dēū* (*dēva*) belonged, is not clear. Again, the gods, to whose temples the *bhaṭṭārakas* were attached, were, it will be seen, named after the kings. The god Jayasimhadēva was doubtless called after the Chaulukya sovereign Jayasimha. Anahilēśvara after Anahilla, great-grandson of Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Chāhamāna family of Mārwar; Jēndrarājēśvara after Jēndrarāja or Jindurāja, son of Anahilla; Prithvipālēśvara and Jōjalēśvara, after the first and second sons of Jēndrarāja; and Āsalēśvara, who is the same as Āsapālēśvara of l. 32, after Āśvapāla, elder brother of Anahilla. Anupamvēśvara, Padmalēśvara and [Tripālā]kēśvara must similarly have been named, but princes of these names have not yet been traced in inscriptions.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ संवत् ११८८ आषाढवदि ८ रवावयेह म-
- 2 हारा[जाधि]राजश्रीरायपालदेवः कल्याणविजय-⁴
- 3 राज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीधालोप-
- 4 स्थाने श्रीरीवाडा विप्र० वीरिगु प्रभाकर । डी[पा]-
- 5 वाडा चामदेउ महडू⁵ । दुंडणवास देउ घाहडि । भां-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 210.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The loop of the letter श्री is not entire.

² From the original stone.

⁴ Read °देवकल्याण°.

⁵ The reading महडू° is also possible.

- 6 गूरवाडउ सुइकर दिवाकर । पीपलवाडा देवाइ[चु]
 7 धारउ । आंवलवाडा नारायण महाइच । खइखसला-
 8 वाडा आसिगु आसपालु । भुंडवाडा देवंगु आंविगु । एवं
 9 पाडि ८ सत्कविप्रजन १६ आदी कृत्वा समस्तलो-
 10 को मध्यकदेवाइचसहितः खइस्ताक्षरपत्रं प्र-
 11 यच्छति यथा ॥ मार्गे गच्छमानभाट[भट्ट]पुत्रदी-
 12 वारिककार्पटिकवणिज्जारकादिसमस्तलोक-
 13 स्य च सत्कं गतमपहृतं च देशाचारेण चौकडि-
 14 काप्रवाह्णेनास्माभिः निर्गमनीयं^१ । तथा स्वस्थाने
 15 गतं स्वांगेनापि निर्गमनीयं । एतत् निर्गमंतानां^२ म[हा*]-
 16 राजाश्रीरायपालेनास्माकं रक्षाकारा[स्त्र]ाद्यं द्र[व्य]का-
 17 दिकं सुक्तं नास्माकं मध्ये रक्षाकारो मोक्षव्यः ॥ एतद-
 18 स्माभिः स्वयमपि लोहमयमंगीकृतं निर्गमनीयं च ॥
 19 अनया^३ विधिना राणकानां निर्गमापयंतानां^४ अस्माकं मध्या-
 20 त् यः^५ कोपि ब्राह्मणो^६ [न] निर्गमते^७ पेटं पृष्ठं वा दर्शय-
 21 ति गृह्यमाणस्तु कायव्रतं कृत्वा मृत्युते^{१०} च स च सर्वोपि
 22 स्वानगईभचांडालो^{११} भूत्वा मृत्युते^{१२} । राजाश्रीरायपालादी-^{१३}
 23 नां राणकानां वालेपि^{१४} ग्रंथिर्नास्ति न च दू[ष]णं किमप्य-
 24 स्तीति । अत्र साक्षि० श्रीजयसिंहदेवीयदेवगृहावसरी-
 25 यभट्टारकईलासत्कसमायातकटुकविप्र०साजणु । त-
 26 था^{१५} श्रीअणहिलेश्वरीभट्टारकवरुणसिउ । श्रीजेन्द्रराजे-
 27 स्वरीयभट्टारकमहेस्वरसिउ^{१६} । अणुपस्वस्वरीयभट्टारक-^{१७}
 28 ज्ञानसिउ ।^{१८} पृथ्वीपाले[स्व]रीयभट्टारकभोपाप्रतिवह्मभट्टार[क]-^{१९}
 29 ईशानू । जोजलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमुक्तिदेउ । चिपुरुषीयभ-
 30 ट्टारकविनायकसांतिसिउ । आसलेश्वरीयभट्टारकभूलदेउ ।
 31 श्रीपद्मलेश्वरीयभट्टारकतत्पुरुष । [चिप]ालाकेश्वरीय[भ]ट्टार-
 32 ककेदार । आसपाले[स्व]रीयभट्टारकव्र[ह्म]रासि^{२०} ॥ पृथ्वीपाले-

^१ Read गच्छहाट°.^२ Read °राज°.^३ Read मध्यायः.^४ Read म्रियते.^५ Read °राजश्री°.^६ Read °श्वरीय° and °महेश्वर°.^७ Read °प्रतिवह्म°.^८ Read °स्माभिर्निर्गम°.^९ Read अनेन.^{१०} Read ब्राह्मणी.^{११} Read ज्ञान°.^{१२} Read °वालेपि°.^{१३} Read °श्वरीय°.^{१४} Read °महेश्वर°.^{१५} Read एतन्निर्गमयतां.^{१६} Read निर्गमयतामस्माकं.^{१७} Read निर्गमयति.^{१८} Read म्रियते.^{१९} Read °श्वरीय°.^{२०} Read °श्वरीय°.

- 33 श्ररीयहार[व]तीसत्कषवोटीसागाहारि¹ । आसलेश्ररीहारव-
 34 तीसत्कषवोटीजगधर । त्रिपुक्षीयहारवतीसत्कषवो-
 35 टीश्रीवक्षू² ॥ श्रीभण्डिकपरीय — — देवधरादिसमस्तमहा-
 36 जन³ । तथा कटकवालश्रे० जसधवलादिसमस्तमहाजन[स्य](श्च) ।
 37 श्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य संमतेन लिखितं श्रीगौडा-
 38 न्वकायस्थठकुरपेयडेन⁴ वा[दि]गसुतेन ऊनाधि-
 39 कं प्रमाणमिति । समस्तश्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य मते⁵ ॥

X.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA;
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1200.

This inscription was found in the temple of Ādinātha at Nādlāi, and is engraved on a lintel just opposite to that on which No. VII is incised. It contains 5 lines⁷ of writing which cover a space of 1' 9" broad by 4½" high. The letters were filled with plaster when I first saw the inscription. The plaster had afterwards to be scraped off for enabling us to read the inscription. The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose excepting the verse at the end, the last *pāda* of which sets the metre at naught. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *jatu* for *yad* and (2) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant. In line 3 occur the curious words *vala* and *pli*, of which the first appears to be incorrectly used for *pala* and the second apparently an abbreviated form of *palikā*. In line 2 the word *pālā* is used, which seems to signify a certain kind of weight. The same word occurs in the same sense in No. XI. In the Śānak grant of the Chaulukya king Karnaḍēva, we have the following: *pālām* 12 *vahantī*(tī) *kala* 4 *iti kala-chatusṭhayā*—*bhūmi*. Here also the word has apparently the same meaning. Local inquiries in Gōdvāḍ have given me the following table:—

4 <i>pālā</i> = 1 <i>pāyalī</i> .	4 <i>mūṇā</i> = 1 <i>śēi</i> .
5 <i>pāyalī</i> = 1 <i>mūṇā</i> .	2 <i>śēi</i> = 1 <i>maṇ</i> .

Another word that may be noted is *viṣṣōpaka*, which not infrequently occurs in other inscriptions also. It is doubtless a coin, which is equivalent in value to ¼th of the rupee that was then current.

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Jēṣṭha (Jyaisṭha) in the [Vikrama] year 1200, when the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Rāyapaladēva was reigning. It then records that the *rāuta* Rājadēva, who had come on the occasion of the *rathayātrā*, i.e. the car festival, made, for the sake of his mother, in the presence of the bankers (*mahājanas*), villagers and the people of the province, a religious benefaction consisting of one *viṣṣōpaka* coin from the value of the *pālās* accruing to him and two *palikās* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghāṇaka* or oil mill.

TEXT.⁸

1 श्री⁹ ॥ संवत् [] १२०० जेष्ठ¹⁰ [सु]दि ५ गुरौ श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरायपाल-
 देवरान्ये — — हास — —

¹ Read °श्रीवोटी°.

² Read °गौडान्वय°.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read °श्ररीय° and °श्रीवोटी°.

⁵ Read मते.

⁷ [The number of lines in the impression is 6.—Ed.]

[For a Nāḍol inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, see above,

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Read °ज्येष्ठ°.

- 2 समए¹ रथयात्रार्या आगतेन (i) रा० राजदेवेन (i) आत्म(i)पाइलामध्यात् । [सर्व-
साउतपुत्र²] विंसी-
- 3 पकी³ दत्तः ॥ आत्मीयघाणकतेलव[ल]मध्यात्⁴ । मातानिमित्तं⁵ पलिकाइयं (i) श्री २
दत्तः(त्तं) ॥ म(ii)-
- 4 हाजन(i)ग्रमीण⁶ । जनपदसमन्नाय⁷ । धर्माय⁸ निमित्तं विंसीपकी⁹ । १
पलिकाइयं (i) दत्तं ॥ गौह(ii)-
- 5 त्यानां सहस्रेण¹⁰ ब्रह्म[ह*]त्यासतेन¹¹ च । स्त्रीहत्याभ्रूणहत्या च¹² जतु¹³ पापं (i)
तेन पापेन लिप्यते सः¹⁴ ।[i]¹⁵

XI.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1202.

The inscription is engraved on the same lintel as No. X. It contains 5 lines of writing, covering a space of 1' 8½" broad by 4½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the usual imprecatory verse at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that in l. 5 *jatu* is used instead of *yat*. Of rare and unusual words herein employed and not previously noticed, *dēśi* occurs in l. 3, and *kirāḍaū* and *gāḍu* in l. 4. The last is used in the sense of "cart," and *kirāḍaū* is, I am told, the same as *kirāḍavā* or *kirāṇā*, employed to denote substances, such as gum, dry ginger, black pepper, coriander, and so forth. The meaning of the word *dēśi* is not quite certain. It seems tempting to take it in the sense of a guild, in which it occurs in the Pēheva inscription of the imperial Pratihāra Bhājadēva I. (*above*, Vol. I. p. 187, l. 8) and the Harsha inscription of the Chāhamāna Vighraharāja (*above*, Vol. II. p. 124, l. 38). And this meaning suits here excellently. The same word occurs in another inscription found in the same temple as this, and apparently in the same sense. Another expression that requires to be noted is *la(la)ga-māna*, the meaning of which seems to be "the measure or proportion (*māna*) of cess (*lāga*)."

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Friday, the 5th of the dark half of Āsōja (Āsvinā) in the [Vikrama] year 1202, when Rāyapālādēva was the *Mahārājadhīrāja* and the *nāula* Rājādēva was the *thakura* of Nādūlādāgikā (Nāḍlāi). The object of the inscription is to record that the Vanajarakas (Vanjāris) of Abhinavapuri, Badāri and Nāḍlāi having assembled together into a guild (*dēśi*), Rājādēva granted, for the sake of the pious and the ascetics in the temple of Mahavīra, rupees two for each twenty *pāḷās* loaded on bullocks and rupee one for each cart filled with commodities, coming under the class of *kirāṇās*.

Badāri is probably Bōrlī, 8 miles north of Nāḍlāi. Abhinavapuri is unknown to me.

¹ Read समये.

² I am not quite certain of this reading.

³ Read "विंसीपकी".

⁴ Read "तेलपम्".

⁵ Read माह.

⁶ Read "ग्रामीण".

⁷ Read "समन्त".

⁸ Read धर्मस.

⁹ Read विंसीपकी. [The space between "की" and "पलिका" is too big for the numeral १ alone.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Read "हत्यासहस्रेण".

¹¹ Read "शतेन".

¹² Probably "हत्याभ्या" was intended.

¹³ Read यत्पापं.

¹⁴ The letters पापेन and सः are not needed for the metre.

¹⁵ [There are two more *aksharas* in this line and another line below the 5th which may be transcribed as follows:

(l. 5) लखि-

(l. 6) न वसे सरा जीणे(1)यः कीपि दपति[र्]देत् । तस्याहं च कर्त्तुं [ल]यः (1) श्रावणे न[व्य]तिक्कमे[त्] । ॥ ।
—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

- 1 ची³ ॥ संवत् १२०२ आसोजवदि ५ शुके (1) श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराय-
पालदेवराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने ॥
- 2 श्रीनटूलडागिकायां(1) रा० राजदेवठकुरेण प्रवर्त्तमानेन(1) [श्री]महावीरचैत्ये(1)
साधुत-
- 3 पोधननि[ष्ठार्थे] (1) श्रीअभिनवपुरीय(1)बदार्या(1) अ[त्रे]षु⁴ स[म]स्तवणजारकेषु(1)
देसी मिलित्वा⁵ वृ-
- 4 * [ध]भ[भ]रित(1)जतु⁶ पाइलालगमाने⁷(1) ततु⁸ वीसं प्रति(1)रुप्पा २ किराडउत्था(1)
गाडं प्रति रु १ वण-
- 5 जारकै⁹ [ध]र्माय प्रदत्तं ॥ लोपकस्य ज[तु]¹⁰ पापं [गो]हत्यासहस्रेण ॥ ¹¹ब्रह्म-
हत्यासतेन(1) पापेन(1) लिप्यते सः¹² ॥

XII.—KIRĀḌŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀLHANADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1209.

This inscription was found in a *Śaiva* temple standing amidst the ruins of *Kirāḍū* near *Hāthmā*, about 16 miles north-north-west of *Bādmēr*, the principal town of the *Mallāni* District, *Jodhpur* State. A transcript and translation of it have already been published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 172 ff. But this, like almost all the inscriptions in this book, is edited in a slovenly manner, and I, therefore, make no excuse for re-editing it here. •

The inscription consists of 21 lines, covering a space of 1' 5½" broad by 1' 2" high. The middle portion of the stone as far as line 17 has peeled off. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been destroyed, and the purport of the inscription is clear enough. The characters are *Nāgarī*. The language is *Sanskrit*, and the whole of the record is in prose. As regards *orthography*, it is sufficient to note (1) that a consonant following *r* is doubled and (2) that the sign for *e* is employed also for *b*, except once in *labdha* in l. 2. In l. 13 occurs the word *amāri-rūḍhi*, which, though known to *Jaina* scriptures, is foreign to *Sanskrit* literature. It means "the edict of the non-slaughter (of animals)."

The record opens with the date, *viz.* Saturday, the 14th of the dark half of *Māgha* in the [Vikrama] year 1209, when *Kuma(mā)rapāla* was the paramount sovereign and *Mahādēva* was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing up of documents, etc. Lines 4-6 speak of his feudatory, the *Mahīrāja Śrī-Ālanadēva*, who obtained *Kirātākupa*, *Lūtārhadā* and *Śivā*—through his (*i.e.* *Kumārāpāla*'s) favour. Then we are told that *Ālanadēva*, on the aforesaid date, which was the *Sivarātri* day, thinking the granting of security to animals to be the highest gift, issued injunctions, for the increase of his spiritual merit and fame, to the *mahājanas*, *tāmbūlikas*, and other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ From here onwards many grammatical inaccuracies occur, which need not all be corrected.⁴ Read अत्रेषु.⁵ देव्या मिलितेषु would have been expected.⁶ Read यत्.⁷ Read लालगमानं.⁸ Read तद.⁹ Read जारकैर्.¹⁰ Read यत्.¹¹ Read ब्रह्म and अस्तेन.¹² The verse obviously violates the metre.

8th, 11th and 14th days of both the fortnights of every month in the three towns named above and threatening with capital punishment those who killed or caused others to kill living beings. The Brāhmaṇa priests, ministers and others were also ordered to respect this edict of non-slaughter. And amongst these, he who commits the sin of taking life, should, it is stated, be fined five *dramma*s, but if the sinner be one attached to the king, he should be fined one *dramma* only. Then comes the sign-manual of the personage who issued the edict, who is here called *Mahārāja Śrī-Alhaṇadēva*, followed by the approval of the great princes (*mahā-rājaputra*) *Kōlhaṇa* and *Gajasimha*. The edict was written by the *śhakkura Khēlāditya*, minister for peace and war. Then we are informed, in a postscript, that this gift of safety to animals was caused to be proclaimed, with the permission of the king, by *Pūtiga* and *Śāliga*, sons of *Śubhaṅkara*, of the *Pōrvāḍ* caste and residents of *Nadūlapura* (Nādōl). The inscription ends with the information that it was engraved by the *śutradhara Bhāila*. *Pūtiga* and *Śāliga* are no doubt the same individuals that had a similar edict promulgated through *Girijādēvi*, queen of *Pūnapākshadēva*, a feudatory of *Rāyapāla* and ruling over the province of *Ratnapura*, the southernmost district of *Mārwar*.¹

It is worthy of note that the edict in question is to be made applicable to two distinct classes with varying degrees of rigour. The class to which it is to be applied with the greatest rigour is, of course, that of the merchants (*mahājānas*) and betel-sellers (*tāmbūlikas*), who doubtless must have, then as now, been Jainas and consequently supposed to be the greatest respecters of animal life. The class, with reference to which the rigour is relaxed, is that of the ministers and priests. Of the first of these we cannot be certain whether they were recruited from the Brāhmaṇa caste. But the priests unquestionably can be no other than Brāhmaṇas, and when they are asked to respect animal life, it is plain that some Brāhmaṇas of *Marwar* at any rate were then in the habit of eating flesh, which is now looked upon with abhorrence by them—due no doubt to the influence of Jainism which has been predominant in *Rājputānā* for the last six centuries, if not longer.

Next, the edict was to be in force at the three places, *viz.* *Kirātakūpa*, *Lātarhada*, and *Śivā*, the towns which *Alhaṇadēva* secured through the favour of *Kumārāpāla*. *Kirātakūpa* is undoubtedly *Kirādū*, where the present inscription was found. It is mentioned twice in another inscription, in the same temple, dated V.E. 1235, and pertaining to the reign of the *Chaulukya* sovereign, *Bhimadēva*. *Lātarhada* must doubtless be the same as *Lātarhada*, occurring in *Bhimāl* Inscriptions Nos. XI and XII, and *Rāṭahrada* in the *Sāndhā* hill inscription of *Chachigadēva*. Professor Kiehlhorn, when he edited the last inscription, was unable to identify it. But, as suggested to me by *Munshi Devi Prasad* of *Jodhpur*, it must be identified with *Rāddhadā*, which was the original name of the district round about *Nagar-Gudhā* in the *Mallāpi* province, *Mārwar*. The third place is *Śivā*.—The full form of the name is unfortunately not preserved, but I have no doubt that it must have been some name corresponding to the modern *Sheo*, a town of antiquity and even now of some importance, and the headquarters of a district of the same name.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री ॥ संव[त्] १२०८ माघवदि १४ मनी अयेह श्री[म] . . .
 हाराजाधिराजप-⁴
 2 रमेश्वरउमापतिवरलक्षप्रया(सा)दप्रौढप्रताप
 निर्जित[श]ाकभरी-

¹ *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 206.

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read °महाराजा°.

- 3 भूपालश्रीमत्कुमरपालदेवकल्याणविजय¹
 पश्रीमहादेवे [श्री]-
- 4 श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परि[र्ष]²
 [प्र]भुप्रसादावा-
- 5 मश्रीकिराटकूपलाटर्हदशिवा
 ³राजश्रीआलण-
- 6 देवः शिवरात्रिचंतुर्दृष्ट्यां शुचिर्द
 [पु]ण्ययशोऽभि-
- 7 वृद्धये प्राणिनामभयप्रदानं म⁴
 [ह्रा]जनतावूलि-⁵
- 8 कसमसप्रकृतीन्⁶ संबोध्य⁷ अभय⁸
 [से]⁹ मासे उभ-
- 9 योः पक्षयोः अष्टमीएकादशीचतुर्द[शी]
 दत्तं अतोऽनंत-
- 10 रं एतासु तिथिषु नगरत्रयेषु जी[व]
 [जा?] च व्यतिक्रम्य जी-
- 11 वानां वध¹⁰ कारयति करोति वा स व्यापा¹¹
 आचंद्रार्क्षं याव-
- 12 त् केनापि न लोपनीयं । अपरं पुरोहिता [अमा]¹²
 सर्वैरपरैश्च ए-
- 13 षा अमारिरुढिः प्रमाणीकार्या । [यः को]
 कालेन क्षीयते
- 14 फलं । एषस्याभयदानस्य¹³ क्षय
 स्य प्रदत्ताऽभ-
- 15 यदक्षिणा न तु विप्रसहस्रेभ्यो
 कोपि पापिष्ठतरो जी-

¹ Supply °राश्रे after "विजय°.² Restore परिपश्यति.³ Restore °महाराज°.⁴ Supply महादानं मत्वा°.⁵ Read तावूलि°.⁶ Read °समस्तप्रकृती°.⁷ Read संबोध्य.⁸ Supply °दानशासनं प्रदत्तं after अभय°.⁹ Read मासे.¹⁰ Read वधं.¹¹ Read व्यापाटनीय°.¹² Read अमास्याः.¹³ Read एतस्या°.

- 16 ववधं कुरुते तदा स पंचद्रुमीदंड[नीयः]¹
 [द्वयो] महाराजिकस्यैको
- 17 द्रुमोस्ति ॥² स्वहस्तोयं महारा[जश्रीमाल्लहणदेवस्य] ॥ श्री महा-
 राजपुत्रश्रीकेल्लहण-
- 18 देवमतमेतत् ॥+ महाराजपुत्रगजसिंहस्य [म]तं ॥ सांघिविग्रहिक ठ०
 खेलादित्येन लि-
- 19 खितमिदं ॥ ³श्रीनदूलपुरवासिप्राक्वाटवंशप्रभृतसु(शु)भंकराभिधानिश्रावकः
 तत्पुत्री क्षि-
- 20 तितलधर्मतया⁴ विख्यातो पूर्व(ति)गशालिगौ [।*] ताभ्यामतीवक्त[ग]पराभ्यां
 प्राणिनामभयप्रदानश-
- 21 शनं⁵ विज्ञप्य⁶ कारापितमिति⁷ ॥ ॥⁸ उत्कीर्णं सूच० भाइलेन ॥

XIII.—SĀṆḌERĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANĀDEVA;

[VIKRAMA,]SAMVAT 1221.

This inscription was found at Sāṇḍerāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bāli. It is engraved on a lintel in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvira.

The record contains 4 lines of writing, which covers a space of 3' 11" broad by 3½" high. The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards loxicography, *kalyāṇika* or *kalyāṇaka* occurs in ll. 1 and 3, and *yugāṇḍharī* and *hāḍa* in ll. 2 and 4, and *talārābhavya* in l. 2. *Kalyāṇika* is a term peculiar to Jaina theology. *Kalyāṇikas* are the auspicious days, five in number, on which took place (1) the *chyavana* (conception), (2) *janma* (birth), (3) *dikshā* (initiation), (4) *kēvalajñāna* (enlightenment), and (5) *nirvāṇa* (final beatitude) of each of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The expression occurs in No. II of the Mount Ābū inscriptions edited by Dr. Lüders;⁹ and on the door jambs of the subsidiary cells in the temple of Tejapāla at Dēlvādā, the *pañcha-kalyāṇikas* are specified of all the Tīrthaṅkaras, to whom they are dedicated. The meaning of *yugāṇḍharī* and of *hāḍa* is unknown to me. But I surmise that *hāḍa* here stands for *hala* and that *yugāṇḍharī* is the name of a specific kind of corn known as *juār*. The sense of the remaining word, viz. *talārābhavya*, is also not certain. The expression no doubt occurs in a Māngrāl inscription published in the *Bhāvnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 158, where it is translated by "the revenue of Talārā" which hardly helps us. The same inscription is published in *Bhāvnagar Prācīna-Sūthasaṅgraha*, *Bhāga* I. p. 5 ff. It is translated in Gujarātī on p. 9 by *khuṣaki jakātani-ūpaja*, i.e. the income or revenue from tolls. In the English rendering of it in the same volume, it is stated that *talārā* is the same as the modern *talodārā*. The same

¹ Read 'द्रुमीदंड'.

² This is followed by the mark of a spear.

³ Read 'प्राक्वाट'.

⁴ Read 'क्षितिले'.

⁵ Read 'शसन'.

⁶ Read 'विज्ञप्य'.

⁷ Read 'कारित'.

⁸ [There are some symbols engraved between the two double strokes; but they are not quite clear.—Ed.]

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 206.

word occurs as *talāra* or *talārakṣha* in the Chirwā inscription edited by M. Geiger in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, 1907, pp. 143 ff. The authority of Hēmachandra and Trivikrama is quoted there to show that it is equivalent in meaning to *purīdhyaṣṣaḥ* or *nagararakṣakaḥ*. This would correspond to the office of a *kotwāl* or city magistrate. But *tala* is often used in inscriptions to mean the "suburbs of a town." A *talāra* would thus be to the suburbs what a *kotwāl* is to a city.

The inscription is dated on Friday, the 2nd of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1221, and refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Kēlhanādēva. It states that Ānaladēvī, queen-mother of Kēlhanādēva granted one *hāṭla* (i.e. as much land as could be tilled by a single plough in one day) of *yugamdhari* or *jeār* corn from the king's personal property (*bhōga*), to the god Mahāvira, *mūlanāyaka*, the primeval leader, of the Shamḍēraka-*gachchha*, to celebrate the *kalyāṇika* corresponding to the 13th of the dark half of Chaitra. One *dramma* was also given from the revenue of *talāra* by the Rāshtrakūṭas Pātū and Kēlhana and their brother's sons Ūttamasihā, Sūdraga, Kālhana, Ahaḍa, Āsala, Anatiga and others with reference to the same *kalyāṇika*. Similarly one *hāṭla* of *yugamdhari* was also granted by the *rathakāras* or cart-builders, Dhanapāla, Sūrapāla, Jōpāla, Sigada, Amiyapala, Jishada, Dōlhaṇa, and so forth, all residing at Shamḍēraka, in connection with the *kalyāṇika* falling on the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra.

Ānaladēvī, mentioned in this inscription as the queen-mother of Kēlhanādēva must undoubtedly be the same as Annalladēvī spoken of in the Nāḍl plates as the consort of Alhana, father of Kēlhana.¹ In this last inscription, she is represented to have been the daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtraudra family. Rāshtraudra is obviously the same as Rāshtrakūṭa, and the Rāshtrakūṭas, Pātū, Kēlhana, and so forth, referred to in our inscription, must, therefore, be taken to be her relatives on her father's side.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ ॥ संवत् १२२१ माघवदि २ शुक्ले च्येह श्रीकेल्हनदेवविजयरा[ज्ये] ।
तस्य मातृराज्ञीश्रीभान[ल]देव्या⁴ श्रीपंडेरकीयमूलनायकश्रीमहावीरदेवाय
[चै]त्रवदि १३ कल्याणिकनि[मि]त्तं राजकीय-
- 2 भोगमध्यात्(।) युगंधर्याः हाएल एक[*] प्रदत्तः । तथा राष्ट्रकूटपातूकेल्हनत[ज्ञा]-
तृजजत्तमसीहसूद्रगकाल्हेणआहडआसलक्षणतिगादिभिः तलाराभाव्यथस(?)गट-
- 3 सत्कात्(।) अस्मिन्नेव कल्याणके द्र १ प्रदत्तः ॥१ तथा श्रीपंडेरकवास्तव्य-
रथकारधणपालसूरपालजोपालसिगडाअमियपालजिसहडदेल्हणादिभिः [चै]त्र-
सुदि १३ कल्याणके
- 4 युगंधर्याः [हाएल] एक १ प्र]— —⁵

XIV.—NĀḌLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANA;
[VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAT 1228.

The subjoined inscription was found near the temple of Mahādēva, about one mile south-west of Nāḍlāi. The shrine of it is really a natural cave, and this is the reason why it is also

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 68 ff. and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XL, p. 144.

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The letter *la* of "Ānala" is engraved above the line.

⁵ Supply °दत्तः

called *bhūmyar-kā-mandar*, i.e. a subterranean temple. It originally had a *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, which is now well-nigh destroyed. And the stone, on which the inscription is engraved, appears to have been a lintel somewhere in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*.

As I received news of this inscription just as I was on the point of leaving Nāḍlāl, I was not able to take any impressions of it nor to take its measurements. It contains 3 lines of writing. The characters are Nāgarī. The record is in prose. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly vernacular. One curious thing in this connection is that *svasti* is twice used like *śrī*, as an honorific prefix to the names of places. Thus the forms Svasti-Sōnāpā° and Svasti-Nāḍūlē are employed instead of Śrī-Sōnāpā° and Śrī-Nāḍūlē. As regards orthography, it may be noted that (1) *Kuṃvara*° is used for *Kumāra*° in l. 1, (2) *īṭakī* for *ishṭakī*, and (3) the date 1228 in l. 1 is written half in ciphers and half in letters. With reference to rare or unusual words, the following may be noticed : (1) *akshasīma*, (2) *lāpanīya*, (3) *ḍamā*, and (4) *chahūṭī-pana*, the meaning of none of which is known to me.

The inscription opens with the date viz. Monday the 13th of Mārgaśīrṣa in the [Vikrama] year 1228, during the victorious reign of the Chaulukya sovereign Kūmārapāla, when Kēlhaṇa was ruler of Nāḍūlya, and Rāpā Lakhamāṇa of Vōripadyaka, and Anasiha was the *thikur* of Sōnāpā. It then states that the *maṇḍapa*, *akshasīma*, and *ḍamā* of the temple of Bhivaḍēśvara were constructed by Pāhīṇi, son of the *sūtradhāra* Mahadūta and his wife Jasadevi. They consisted of stones and bricks, and their construction cost 330 *drammus*. He was helped in this religious work by the *sūtradhāra* Mahidara and Imdaraka.

Of the localities herein mentioned, Nāḍūlya and Sōnāpā are, of course, Nāḍōl and Sōnāpā. Vōripadyaka is probably to be identified with Bōrlī, about 8 miles north of Nāḍlāl.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ संवत् १२ अठा(१)वीसा वरषे⁴ मागसिर सुदि १३ सोमे श्रीभिव-
उेश्वरदेवस्य । १ श्रीकुंवरपालदेवविजयराज्ये । श्रीनाडूष्यपुरात्(१) श्री-
केल्लहणराजे⁵ वोरिपद्यके(१) राणा-
- 2 लखमण(१)राजे⁶ । स्वस्तिसोनाणायामे(१) ठा अणसीडूस्य । स्वस्तिनाडूले
सूचमहडूष (१) भार्या जसदेवि(१)सुतपाहिणी मंडपः करापनीयः⁷ ।
अक्षसामलापनीयः डमा
- 3 । कर्त्तव्या पाषाणइटकायां घटितः चट्टापने द्र ३३० लागि । धर्मसखा
इत⁸ सूच महिदरा तथा इंदराको घटितं कार्य । — — —
कापाडीय ।

¹ [On p. 42 above, Bōrlī has been identified with Badāri.—Ed.]

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ As the inscription does not aim at giving a grammatically correct Sanskrit text, it is not desirable to correct all inaccuracies.

⁵ Read °केल्लहणराज्ये.

⁶ Read °राज्ये.

⁷ Read कारणीयः

⁸ Probably अक्ष was intended.

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London, W.C. |
| University Library, Aberdeen. | L'École Française d'Extrême Orient at Hanoi. |
| University Library, Dublin. | Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna. |
| Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. | Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg. |
| University Library, Berlin, Germany. | Imperial Archaeological Society, ditto. |
| Royal Library, ditto. | Royal Academy of Hungary, Buda-Pest. |
| Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. | Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam. |
| University Library, Florence, Italy. | Society of Ethnology and Anthropology, 120,
Königsgrätzerstrasse, Berlin, S.W. |
| University Library, Christiania, Norway. | Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle a/S.,
Germany. |
| University Library, Upsala, Sweden. | Royal Society of Finland, c/o Dr. Donner, Univer-
sity, Helsingfors. |
| University Library, Tübingen, Germany. | Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, United States,
America. |
| University Library, Bonn, Germany. | University Library, Melbourne, Australia. |
| Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. | University Library, Sydney, N. S. Wales. |
| University Library, Leiden, Holland. | Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
Waspada, Batavia, Java. |
| Royal Society, Edinburgh. | Asiatic Society, Colombo, Ceylon. |
| Royal Asiatic Society, No. 22, Albemarle Street,
London. | |
| Philological Society, University College, Gower
Street, London, W.C. | |
| Anthropological Institute, 3, Hanover Square,
London, W. | |
| Indian Institute, Oxford. | |
| Société Asiatique, Care of E. Leroux, 28, Rue
Bonaparte, Paris. | |

INDIA.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Imperial Library, Metcalfe Hall, Calcutta. | Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. |
| Secretariat Library, Madras. | Presidency College Library, ditto. |
| Government Central Museum, ditto. | Asiatic Society of Bengal, ditto. |
| University Library, ditto. | Secretariat Library, Allahabad. |
| Presidency College Library, ditto. | University Library, ditto. |
| Christian College Library, ditto. | Provincial Museum, Lucknow. |
| Literary and Scientific Society, ditto. | Sanskrit College Library, Benares. |
| Secretariat Library, Bombay. | Secretariat Library, Lahore. |
| University Library, ditto. | Museum Library, ditto. |
| Anandashram Sanskrit Series, Poona City. | University Library, ditto. |
| Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Bombay. | Oriental College Library, Lahore. |
| Secretariat Library, Calcutta. | Secretariat Library, Nagpur. |
| Indian Museum, ditto. | Museum Library, Nagpur. |
| University Library, ditto. | Secretariat Library, Rangoon. |
| | Oriental and Mixed Library, Bangalore. |

XV.—LALRĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANĀDEVA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233.

This inscription was found amidst the scattered ruins of a Jaina temple at Lalrāi, 5 miles south-east of Bali. It contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space of 10½" broad by 1' 2½" high. Up to line 8, the inscription is intact, and of the two lines following only a letter or two are gone. But of ll. 11-18, the whole of the proper right half is destroyed. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *ḍ* is here throughout denoted by the curious sign which has been noted above, and which contains a loop on the left side. The whole of the record up to line 16 appears to have been in prose, and the last two lines, occupied by a well-known imprecatory verse. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is worthy of note that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the word *urahāri* and the expression *Gūjara[tri]-hāra[ka]* occurring in l. 8, and *jara*, in l. 9, may be noticed. *Urahāri* appears to me to be the name of an *araghaṭa* or a well with a wheel to raise water up. In fact, in Gāḍvād I found many such wells given strange names. *Gūjara[tri]*, I think, is the same as *Gurjaratrā*. *Hāraka*, as suggested above in No. III, denotes a certain kind of measure, and *jara*, of course, stands for *yava* or barley corn.

The record is dated Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Jyāishṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahirājādhirāja* Śrī-Kēlhanādeva, ruling at Nādūla. It then tells us that the *rājaputra* Lākhanapālha and the *rājaputra* Abhayapāla, proprietors (*bhoktri*) of Sinānava, and sons of Kirtipāla, doubtless younger brother of Kelhana and donor of the Nādāl plates (above, Vol. IX. p. 68 ff.) made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahibālādēvi in the presence of the village *pañcha* (*pañcha-kula*) for celebrating the festival of the god Śāntinātha. The grant consisted of barley corn measuring one *hāraka* as used in (the country of) Gūjarātri, from the *araghaṭa* or machine-well called *Urahāri*¹ and belonging to the village of Bhāḍiyāuva. The names of those who were witnesses to this benefaction are lost.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, Sinānava, which is also called Samnānaka in No. XVI, is doubtless Sōnānā, mentioned in the last epigraph. Bhāḍiyāuva also occurs in No. XVI, and is to be identified with Bādva (Barwa), 5 miles south-west of Lalrāi. Samīpātī, which occurs in l. 13, has been shown to be Sēvāḍī. Gūjarātri is mentioned also in No. XVI, and is the same as Gurjaratrā of the Daulatpurā charter of the imperial Pratihāra Bhōjadēva I., which comprised the modern districts of Parbatsar, Mārōt and Dīdwanā. Nādūla is, of course, Nādōl.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ ° ॥ संवत् १२३३ जे(ज्ये)ष्ठदि १३ गुरी [I*]
- 2 अद्येह [श्री]नडूले महाराजाधिराजश्री(॥)-
- 3 केल्लणदेवराज्ये वर्त्तमानः⁴ श्रीकी[र्त्ति](॥)-
- 4 पालदेवपु[त्रे]⁵ सिनाणवभोक्ताराजपु⁶(॥)-
- 5 [त्र]लाणणा[ल्ल]राजपुत्रअभयपाल⁷ रा-

¹ [Perhaps the field or fields irrigated by the machine-well had to supply the barley corn required for the festival.—Ed.]

² From inked impressions.

³ Read वर्त्तमाने.

⁴ Read °भीरु°.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read °पुत्रे°.

⁷ Read °पाल°.

- 6 त्रीश्रीमहिवलदेविसहितैः^१ श्रीशान्ति-
 7 नाथदेवयात्रानिमित्तं भडियाउव[अ]-
 8 रघटउरहारिमध्यात् गूजर[तृ]हार-^२
 9 ^२.१ जवा ग्रामपंचकुलसमन्ति^३ एतत्
 10 . . दानं^४ कृतं पुण्याय [।*] सान्ति^५ अत्र वास्त-
 11 [॥]ण . . .
 12 सी० देवल[ये]०
 13 समीपाटोय-
 14 पाजून ग्राम-
 15 [म]मत्तं आदानं
 16 मितस्य २ त
 17 हत्यापातकेन लि-
 18 ॥ [११]

XVI.—LĀLRĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LĀKHANAPĀLA AND ABHAYAPĀLA; [VIKRĀMA-] SAMVAT 1233.

This inscription was, like No. XV, found amidst the ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāi. It consists of 13 lines of writing, covering a space of 8½" broad by 11½" high. The characters are Nāgari. From the word *tathā* in l. 10 onwards, all the lines appear to have been afterwards added and are engraved in smaller characters. The peculiar form of the letter *ḍ* noticed above also occurs here. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, it may be noted that *sha* is used for *kha* three times (ll. 1, 2 and 6). In respect of lexicography, the following words deserve to be noticed: (1) *sira* in ll. 5-6 and 12, which seems to have been used in the sense of, not 'a plough,' but 'a ploughman or cultivator' and (2) *sē* in l. 7 which stands for *sēi*, a kind of weight mentioned in my remarks on No. X.

The record is dated on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and speaks of the princes (*rājaputra*) Lākhanapāla and Abhayapāla as the proprietors (*bhoktri*) of Samnānaka (cf. No. XV). It then states that Bhīvaḍā, Asadhara, and other cultivators granted for their spiritual merit, four *sēis* of barley-corn from (the field called) *Khāḍisira* to the god Śāntinātha in connection with the festival of the Gujaras. The postscript (ll. 10-13) records that Āsadhara, Sirāiya and other cultivators granted for the spiritual merit of Vilha, *sono harōthu* (*hīraka*?) of barley-corn from the machine-well of Bhāḍiyasua (Bāḍvā).

TEXT.⁶

- 1 संवत् १२३३ वैशाखसुदि ३(?)
 2 'संमाणकभोक्ता राजपुत्रलाखण-

^१ Read 'वलदेवी'.

^२ Read 'हारक'.

^३ Read 'समत्त'.

^४ Supply महा before दानं.

^५ Read सान्ति

^६ From inked impressions.

^७ Read 'भीकारो'.

- 3 पालराजपुत्रभयपाल¹ तस्मि-
 4 न् राज्ये वर्त्तमाने चा० भीवडा प-
 5 ङिदेह[व]सी सू० आसधर² सम[स्त]-
 6 सीरसहितै³ खाडिसीरजवमध्या-
 7 त् जवा⁴ से ४ गूजरीजाचानिमित्तं
 8 [श्री]शान्तिनाथदेवस्य दत्ता⁵ पुण्याय⁶ [।*]
 9 यः कोपि लुप्यते⁷ स पापोन⁸ ह्रिय-
 10 ते ॥ मं[ग]ल⁹ भवतू¹⁰ ॥ तथा भडियाउच-
 11 न्न[र]हदे आसधरसीरोद्भयसम[स्त]-
 12 सीरण जवा¹¹ ह[री]थु १ गूजरतृयाचहि¹²
 13 वील्ह[स्य] पुण्याय¹³ ॥१

XVII.- SĀṆḌĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1236.

This inscription, like No. XIII, was found at Sāṇḍērāv, and is incised on a pillar in the *sabhamāṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvira. The record contains 10 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 3½" broad by 8" high. The first 4 lines are well preserved and can be easily read, the remainder being too weather-worn to be deciphered with perfect confidence. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only point that requires notice is the doubling of a consonant following an *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the words *drāṭlā*, l. 8, and *sāri*, l. 9. The latter occurs also in the Mount Ābū inscription No. II (above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 9), where the sense of 'care, supervision' has been assigned to it by Prof. Lüders.¹⁴

The first line of the inscription is an independent record in itself, and speaks of a column having been presented by Rālhā and Pālhā, sons of Thāmthā, in memory of their mother. The second line contains the date, Wednesday, the 2nd of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1236, and the inscription refers itself to the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Kēlhanadēva of Naḍūla. Then we are told that his own house was placed by Rālhaka, son of Thāmthā, together with his brother Pālhā and his sons Sōḍhā, Śubhamkara and others at the disposal of Śrī-Pārsvanātha, the god of Shamḍēraka (Sāṇḍērāv) in the *bhukti* or personal property of the queen Jalhanadēvi. Four *drāṭlas* were to be given to the god annually by people residing in Rālhā's house. Lines 9-10 are apparently connected with line 1 and inform us that the pillar was restored for the spiritual benefit of Dhāramati on Saturday, the 12th of the bright half of Jyaisṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1268. Dhāramati is called *mātri* and was probably the mother of Rālhā and Pālhā.

¹ Read 'पाली.

⁴ Read ज(य)वाः.

⁷ Read लोपयति.

¹⁰ Read भवतू.

² Read 'आसधरः.

⁵ Read दत्ताः.

⁸ Read पापेन,

¹¹ Read ज(य)वाः.

³ Read 'सहितै.

⁶ Read पुण्याय.

⁹ Read मंगलं.

¹² I do not understand for what 'याचहि' is intended. Does it stand for याचाय ?

¹³ [See also above, Vol. VIII. p. 205, note 2.—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॥ [थां]थासुतराल्हापाल्हा[भ्यां] मातृप[द]श्रीनिमि[त्ति] [स्तंभको² प्रदत्तः³
 2 [सं]वत् १२३६ कार्ति[त्ति]कवदि [२] बुधे अ[दि]ह श्रीनडूले महारा[जा*]धिराजश्री-
 3 केल्हणदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने [राज्ञी] श्रीजाल्हणदेवि-
 4 भुको⁴ श्रीप[डेर]कदेवश्रीपार्श्वनाथप्रतापतः थांथासुतराल्हाके[न] भा[भ्रा]तृ-
 5 पाल्हापुत्रसोढासुभकररा[म]देवधरणि[यवो]ह्रीषवर्द्धमा[न]लक्ष्मी-
 6 धरसहजिगम[ह]देव[सह्यग]छा[?]रा[सांधीरणहरिचंद्रवरदेवादि-
 7 भिः युतेन म — — परमश्रेयोर्थे⁶ विदितनिजगृ[ह] प्रदत्तः⁷ ॥ राल्हाश(स)-
 8 [त्क]मानुषे⁸ वसद्भिः वर्षे प्रति द्राणला ४ प्रदेया⁹ [।*] शेषजनानां वस-
 9 तां माधुभिः गोष्ठिकैः¹⁰ सारा कार्या ॥ संवत् १२६६ वर्षे द्ये-
 10 ¹¹[ष्ट]सुदि १३ शनौ सो[यं]¹² मातृधारमति¹³ पुनः स्तंभको उधृ[त]¹⁴ [।*]

XVIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA ;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1239.

This inscription was found at Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jādhpur State. It is incised on two lintels, one above the other and standing upon pillars near the north end of the principal cloister of an old mosque, now used as a *tōpkhānā*. The mosque is evidently constructed of materials supplied by demolishing old temples, and these two lintels appear to have been brought from an old Jaina shrine, as will be seen from the contents. Portions of these lintels have been cut off on their proper right in order to suit their new surroundings. The inscription on the upper lintel consists of 3 lines, and covers a space of 8' 2½" broad by 4" high, while the lower one is composed of 4 lines, and extends over a space of 8' 5" broad by 5" high. But though the inscriptions are thus engraved on two different stones, they really form one record. The portion extant is in a perfect state of preservation. The letters are here and there filled with mortar, but that does not prevent any one deciphering the record. The characters are Nagari. The letter *sh* is incised at least twice instead of *kh*, as in later Rājputānā inscriptions. The sign for *b* occurs, and differs from *v* only by a minute dot in the loop of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, and are seven in all. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards

¹ From the original stone.² Read स्तंभको.³ Read प्रदत्तः.⁴ Read भुको. The akshara को may also be read को. Between the aksharas सु and को there is a small circle.⁵ [The reading may also be षड्भक्त.—Ed.]⁶ These six letters are doubtful. [Perhaps पराश्रयार्थे is meant.—Ed.]⁷ Read प्रदत्तः.⁸ Read संस्क्रमानुषे.⁹ Read प्रदेयाः.¹⁰ Read गोष्ठिकैः.¹¹ Read ज्यैष्ठ्ये.¹² [The reading here may be सोढासुभक्त.—Ed.]¹³ Some such word as श्रेयोर्थे has probably to be supplied after धारमति.¹⁴ Read स्तंभको उधृतः.

lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word (1) *krama*, l. 1, which is used in the rather rare sense of "a foot," and (2) *taskara*, l. 2, which seems to have been employed in the sense of "banditti" or "unsettled tribes."

- The record opens with an invocation (v. 1) to Nābhēya, i.e. Rishabhanatha, the first Tirthankara. It then refers itself in prose to the reign of the Mahārāja Samarasimhadēva, son of the Mahārāja Kirtipālādēva. The latter, we are told, was a son of the Mahārāja Añhapa, who belonged to the lineage of the Mahārāja Anahila, "the moon in the sky (i.e. the family) of Chāhumāna." It further speaks of the Rājput (rajaputra) Jōjala as rājya-chintaka, i.e. apparently a person looking after the administration of the kingdom. By the way we are informed that he held in scorn the multitude of the unsettled tribes (*taskara*) of the whole district of Pīlvahikā. Then follow two verses, the first of which bestows conventional praise on Samarasimha and the second states that Jōjala was his maternal uncle. Pīlvahika is probably Pīlva in the Parbatsar District of the Jodhpur State on the frontiers of the Kishangadh State, and the *taskaras* are perhaps the Bāvris, who still abound there. Then follows a prose passage (ll. 4-5) which says that 'this *maṇḍapa*,' referring, of course, to the *maṇḍapa* where the inscription was originally engraved and which had been dedicated to the first Tirthankara, as appears from the invocatory and also the last verse, was caused to be made by the devout Śrīvaka Soth Yaśōvira, son of Soth Yaśōdēva, of the Śrīmāla family. He had been joined in this work by all the members of the *goshālī* and apparently also by his brothers Yaśōraja and Jagadhara. Yaśōvira is spoken of as waiting upon Pūrṇabhadrasūri, pupil of Chamdrasuri, the foremost of the Chamdragachchha. The date of the erection of the *maṇḍapa* was Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1239. Three verses (4-6) are afterwards incised in praise of the *maṇḍapa*, and verse 7 expresses a wish for its permanence. Then we are told that the inscription was a composition of Pūrṇabhadrasūri, and the record closes with a benediction in favour of the *saṅgha* or Jaina community.

TEXT.¹

- 1 . . . [i] — — त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मीविपुलकुलगृहं धर्मवृत्तान्तवानं (1) श्रीमन्ना-
भेयनाथकमलमलयुगं मंगलं वस्तुनीतु । मन्ये मंगल्यमालाप्रणतभवभृतां
सिद्धिसौधप्रवेशे यस्य स्कंधप्रदेशे विलसति गवलश्यामला कुंतलाली ॥१
श्रीचाहुमानकुलांबरमुगांकश्रीमहाराजअणहिलान्वयोद्भवश्रीमहाराजआन्धगसुत
- 2 र्यावलीदुर्ललितदलितरिपुबलश्रीमहाराजकीर्ति-
पालदेवहृदयानंदिनंदनमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोप-
जीविनि निजप्रीडिमातिरेकतिरस्कृतसकलपील्वहिकामंडलत[स्क]रय्यतिकरे (1)
राज्यचितके जोजलराजपुत्रे इत्येवं काले प्रवर्तमाने [1*]
- 3 [f] रपकुलकमलेंदुः पुण्यलावण्यपात्रं नयविनयनिधानं
धाम सौंदर्यलक्ष्म्याः । धरणीतरुणनारीलोचनानंदकारी जयति समरसिंह-
क्ष्मापतिः सिंहवृत्तिः ॥२ तथा ॥ श्रौत्यत्तिकीप्रमुखबुद्धिचतुष्टयेन निर्णीतभूष-
भवनीचितकार्यवृत्तिः । यन्मातुलः समभवत् किल जोजलाह्वी

¹ From the original stone.

² Restore साधुलोच्ये.

³ Road पुत्र इत्येवं.

- 1 — — — 'खंडितदुरंतविपचलचः ॥३ श्रीचंद्रगच्छमुखमंडनसुविहितयतितिलकसुगुरुश्रीश्रीचंद्रसूरचरणनलिनयुगलदुर्ललितराजहंसश्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरचरणकमलपरिचरणचतुरमधुकरेण समस्तगोष्ठिकसमुदायसमन्वितेन श्रीश्रीमालवंशविभूषणश्रेष्ठियशोदेवसुतेन सदाज्ञाकारिनिज-
- 5 — 'तृयशोराजजगधरविधोयमाननिखिलमनोरथेन 'श्रेष्ठियशोवीरपरमश्रावकेण' संवत् १२३८ वैशाखसुदि ५ गुरौ सकलत्रिलोकीतलाभोगभ्रमणपरिश्रान्त]-कमलाविलासिनोविश्रामविलासमंदिरं अयं मंडपो त्रिर्मापितः ॥ तथा हि ॥ नानादेगममागतैर्नवनवैः स्त्रीपुंसवर्गैर्मुहुर्ग्यस्यै-
- 6 — — — सावलोकनपरेर्नो तृप्तिरासाद्यते । स्मारं स्मारमथो यदीयरचना-वैचित्र्यविस्फूर्जितं तैः स्वस्थानगतैरपि प्रतिदिनं सोत्कण्ठमावर्ष्यते ॥४ वि[श्व]-भरावरवधूतिलकं किमेतल्लीलारविंदमथ किं दुहितुः पयोधेः । दत्तं सुरैरमृतकुंडमिदं किमत्र यस्यावलोकनविधौ विविधा विकल्पाः ॥५ गर्तापूरेण पातालं
- 7 . . . [ण]^१ महीतलं । तृगत्वेन नभो येन व्यानये भुवनत्रयं ॥६ किं च ॥ स्फूर्जद्गोमसरः समीनमकरं कन्यालिकुंभा[कु]लं मेपाद्यं सकुलीरसिंहमियुनं प्रोद्यद्गुपालं कृतं । ताराकैरवमिंदुधामसलिलं सद्राजहंसास्पदं यावत्तावदिहदिनाथभवने नंद्यादमौ मंडपः ॥७ कृतिरियं श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरीणां ॥ भद्रमस्तु श्रीसंघाय ॥

NIX.—JALŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1242.

The inscription is incised on a lintel in the second storey over the *mihrab* of the mosque referred to in No. XVIII. It consists of 6 lines of writing, and covers a space of 2' 8½" broad by 5½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to notice (1) that the sign for *ṣ* is used both for *v* and *b*, and (2) that *n* is doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*.

The record contains four different statements, but all pertaining to one and the same temple. The first part speaks of a certain temple as having been built and consigned in the [Vikrama] year 1221 to the care of Devacharya for the dissemination of the true Jaina law (*sād-vīdhi*). The temple was known as Kuvara-vihara and contained the principal image (*mūla-bimba*) of Pārśvanātha. The temple, we are told, had been constructed by the Mahīrājadhīrāja Chaulakya Kumārāpāla, the devout worshipper of the Arhats (*param-ārhata*), the lord of the Gurjara country, after being enlightened by *prabhu* Hēmasūri, upon the fort of Kānchana-giri belonging to Jābalipura, i.e. Jālōr. It will thus be seen that it was called Kuvara-vihāra after the Sōlāṅkī king Kumārāpāla who built it. The second part says that it was rebuilt in V.E. 1242 by the *bhaṇḍārī* Yaśovīra, son of the *bhaṇḍārī* Pāsū, in accordance with the orders of the Mahīrāja Samarasimhadēva, the ornament of the Chāhamāna family and lord of "this

¹ Some such word as दीर्घम् might be supplied here.

² Read कृदि°

³ Restore °मात°.

⁴ Restore विसारिण.

country," i.e. Apparently southern Mārwar. The third part informs us that on the 11th of the bright half of Jyaisṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1256, the work of installation was done, according to the behests of the royal family, by Pūrṇadēvāchārya, pupil of Dēvāchārya, in the case of the *tīrṇa*, etc. of (the image of) the god Pārśvanātha and also of the hoisting of the flag on the golden flag-staff on the original spire. The fourth or last part states that in V.E. 1268, on the day of the lamps festival (*dip-otsava*), the ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the newly made central hall, intended for dramatic performances was carried out by Rāma-chāṇḍrāchārya, pupil of Pūrṇadēvasūri.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री ॥ संवत् १२२१ श्रीजावालिपुरीयकांचन [ग]रिगढस्थोपरि^३ प्रभुश्रीहेमसूत्रि-
 वोधितगूर्जरधराधीश्वरपरमार्हतचौल्लव्य(॥)^४
- 2 मङ्गारा[ज]ाधिराजश्री[कु]मारपालदेवकारिते श्रीपा[र्श्व]नाथसत्कमू[ल]विंवसहितश्रीकु-
 ,वरविहाराभिधाने^५ जैनचैत्ये(१) सहिधिप्रव[र्त्त]नाय "बृहन्नक्षीयवा-
 3 दींद्रश्रीदेवाचार्याणां पत्ने 'आचंद्रार्क' समर्पिते ॥ सं० १२४२ वर्ष एतद्देसा(शा)धिप-
 चाहमानकुलतिलकमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवादेशेन भा० पासपुत्र भा० यशो-
 4 वीरेण स[मु]वृते । श्रीमद्वाजकुलादेशेन श्रीदेचार्यशिशैः^६ श्रीपूर्णदेवाचार्यैः(१)
 सं० १२५६ वर्षे ज्येष्ठसु० ११ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवे तोरणादीनां प्रतिष्ठा-
 कार्यं कृते । मूलशिव-
- 5 रे व^७ कनकमयध्वजादंडस्य ध्वजारोपणप्रतिष्ठायां कृतायां ॥ सं० १२६८ वर्षे
 दीपोत्सवदिने अभिनवनिष्पन्नप्रेक्षामध्यमंडपे^{१०} श्रीपूर्णदेवसूत्रिशिशैः श्रीराम-^{११}
 6 चंद्राचार्यैः सुवर्णमयकलसारोपणप्रतिष्ठा^{१२} कृता ॥ सुभं^{१३} भवतु ॥ क ॥

XX.—BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASIMHĀDEVA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1306.

This inscription was found in the walled enclosure of the temple of Nilakanṭha-Mahādeva, about a mile from the city of Bhinmāl, in the Jaswantpurā District of the Jōdhpur State. It seems to have escaped the notice of the late Sir James Campbell when he visited the place, and has not, so far as I know, yet been published. It contains 25 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 4½" broad by 1' 9½" high. The inscription is somewhat weather-worn, and its proper right side is a little mutilated. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been lost, and, with the help of the other Bhinmāl inscriptions which have been published, nearly the whole of the record can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. It is worthy of note that in lines 12 and 19 occurs the fraction ½, and in l. 18 the fraction ¼, which are both denoted, according to the *rēkhā* system, the first by two and the second by one vertical stroke. Of these, the fraction ¼ occurs along with an integer, whereas the fraction ½ stands by itself, and hence the two strokes denoting ½ are preceded by a zero, represented by a small circle. Excepting the

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read "जावालि".⁴ Read "प्रबोधित".⁵ Read "विंव".⁶ Read "बृहन्नक्षीयवा".⁷ The *samādhi* is omitted here; such omissions need not be further noticed.

Read "देवाचार्य".

⁸ Read "स".⁹ Read "निष्पन्न".¹⁰ Read "राम".¹¹ Read "चार्यैः सुवर्णमयकलशारा".¹² Read "सुभं".

verse in lines 1-3, the record is in prose. The language is Sanskrit, interspersed with solecisms and provincialisms. With regard to orthography, it is sufficient to say that a consonant is but occasionally doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* and that in l. 17 *divasa* is used instead of *divasa*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *gōdhūma pakra*, l. 11, which seems, I think, to mean a crop of wheat ready for being reaped; (2) *muga* in ll. 11 and 19, obviously the well-known *muṅg* pulse; (3) *chōshā*, i.e. *chōkhi*, ll. 11 and 19, a *dōst* word meaning 'rice'; (4) *cyisa*, ll. 12 and 22, a Brāhmaṇa, who recites the Purāṇas in public; (5) *nirvāpa*, ll. 12 and 19, a dole; and (6) *aṅga-bhōga*, unguents to be applied to the body immediately after bathing. Again, abbreviated forms of some words are used. Thus, *dra* stands for *dramma*, *ka* for *kalaśa*, *mā* for *māṇā*, *pā* for *pāyala* or *pāyālī*, and *sē* for *sēi*. For the table of weights still observed in Gōdvād, see my remarks on No. X. *Kalaśa* is of course a measure of capacity.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Sūrya, and then follows a verse in praise of the samodeity. The date is afterwards given, which is the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1306. The *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Udayasimhadēva was the king and the *pañcha* consisting of the *mahamta* Gujasimha and others appointed by him was exercising local authority at Śrīnāla (Bhinmal). The object of the inscription is to record two benefactions. One was made by two brothers, the name of the first of whom is gone but that of the second is Mahanasiha. They were both sons of the *thakura* Udayasiha, and were Māthura Kāyasthas by caste. Forty *dramma* coins were deposited in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin, which was the name of the Sūrya divinity of Bhinmal, as is proved by other inscriptions and the *Śrīmālapurāṇa*. Out of it were to be defrayed the expenses of the *divasa-bali* and so forth on the 14th of the dark half during the *yātīra* festival of Āśvina. As regards the fixed allowance of provisions for the *bali*, there was to be wheat 2 *sēi*, and boiled ghee 8 *kalaśas*. For *naivēdya* or offering to the god, *muṅg* pulse 1 *māṇā*, rice (*chōkhi*) 2 *pāyalis*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalaśa* were to be taken. The *cyasa* and the *abōti* were to be given each a dole of 1 *dramma*. For the *aṅgabhōga* or application of unguents, aloe-wood, camphor and saffron were to be used each worth 2 *drammas*. Flowers were to be bought worth 2 *drammas*, and betel-leaves and betel-nut each worth 1 *dramma*. As regards the bevy of courtezans, each was to be paid 1 *dramma*. All this arrangement was to be carried out every year.

The second benefaction was made on the same day for his spiritual merit by one Tathāka, who deposited 15 *drammas* in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin. Out of it, the expenses of the *bali* on the 5th of the dark half of Māgha were to be borne. The allowance fixed for the *bali* was: wheat $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sēi* and boiled ghee (?) *kalaśa*. The *naivēdya* was to consist of *muṅg* pulse 3 *pāyalis*, rice 2 *pāyalis*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalaśa*. The dole for the *abōti* was 1 *dramma*. As to the *aṅgabhōga* or unguents, the ingredients were to be each worth 1 *dramma*. The *vyāsas*, *abōtis*, *sothas*, and members of the *gōshthi* are then conjured to look after this arrangement. The *prasasti* was written by Dhruva Nāgula, son of Bāhaḍa. This Nāgula is no doubt the same as Nāgvala, father of Dēdāka, who wrote some of the other published Bhinmal inscriptions.

TEXT.¹

- 1 नमः [सूर्याय] ॥ यस्योदयास्तसमये सुरमुकुट[नि]-
- 2 धृष्टचर*[णकमलोपि । कुरुतेजलिं त्रिनेत्रः स जयति[त]
- 3 [धान्नां नि*][धिः] सूर्यः ॥ संवत्(त्) १३०६(१)वर्षे अश्विन^३वदि १४ अश्वे-
- 4 [ह श्रीश्री*]माले महाराजाधिराजश्री[उद]यसिंहदेवकल्या-

¹ From the original stone.

² The *Jagata Jātaka* of Varāhamihira commences with this verse.

³ Read अश्विन

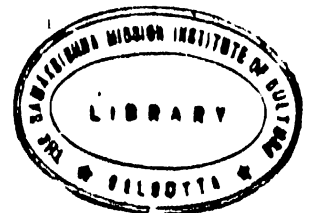
- 5 [णविक*] यराज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहं० [गजसीहप्र] भृतिपं [चकु] लप्र-
 6 [तिपत्तो*] मायुरान्वय[क]ायस्यजातीयठकु[रउद]यसीहप[च]
 7 — — — सीह [तथा] भा[भ्रा]तृ० महणसीहभ्यां [श्री]भान[वे] यीह
 8 — — [ज*][ग]स्वामिदेवीयभांडागरे [चेपित] द्र४० चत्वारि[श]-
 9 — — [i] अश्विने¹ या[च]ायां² 'अश्विनवदि १४ दिने दिवसव-
 10 [लि*]— —मालयो देवेन स्वकीयभांडागारात् कारापनी(कारणी)या [i*] व-
 11 [लिनि*]बंधे गोधूम शेर पक्के घृत क८ नैवेद्ये सुग मा१ [च]ी-
 12 [ष्वा*] पार घृत क०॥ तथा व्यासनिर्वाप १ अश्वोटीनिर्वाप १ तथा अंग-
 13 भोगे अगृहकपर[कु]कुमप्रत्यं द्र२ तथा पुफप्रत्यं द्र १ तथा पच-
 14 पुगप्रत्यं द्र १ तथा प्रमदाकुलप्रत्यं द्र १ एतत् स[र्व] प्रतिवर्ष [दि]-
 15 वेन कारापनीय³ । तथा दिने तथाकेन श्रीजगस्वामिदेवीय-
 16 भांडागारे आत्मन⁴ [श्री]यार्थ⁵ चेपित⁶ द्र १५ पंचादश द्रमा⁷ । [म]-
 17 [हा]मासे माघवदि ५ दिने दिव्यसवली⁸ देवेन स्वकीयभा[ंडा*]-
 18 गारात् कारापनीया¹⁰ । बलिनिबंधे गोधूम मे १। पक्के घृत क.
 19 [नै]वद्ये¹¹ सुग पा ३ चोषां पार घृत क० ॥ तथा अश्वोटीनिर्वाप १ [त*]
 20 [था] अंगभोगप्रत्यं द्र१ एतत् सर्व्यं ही बली [पाल ए]कामत्क-
 21 — भांडागारात् देवेन वर्ष वर्ष प्रति आचंद्रार्ककालं याव[त्का]-
 22 [रा]पनीय¹² । व्यासअश्वोटीश्रेष्ठिगोष्ठिकतथासमस्तप्रमदा[कु*]-¹³
 23 [लि]न वर्त्तापनीय¹⁴ । परिपंथा केनापि न करणीया । लिखितं¹⁵
 24 ¹⁶— ० बाहडसुत० ध्रुव० नागुलेन हीनाचरमधिकार[रं*]
 25 ¹⁶[प्र*]स्वाणमिति ॥

XXI.—SANCHÖR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHĀ ;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1345.

The stone on which the subjoined inscription is engraved was found at Sanchör, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It was lying loose in the prison-room attached to the local *kachhri*.

The inscription contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1', 2¼" high. Though a few letters are weather-worn, and some are here and there mutilated,

¹ Read आदिने.² Read पुष्य².³ Read कारणीयं.⁴ Read आत्मनः.⁵ Read श्रेयोर्थं.⁶ Read चेपितः.⁷ Read द्रमाः.⁸ [What is preserved of the first letter of this line looks like य. — Ed.]⁹ Read दिव्यसवली. [I think the reading is दिव्यस. — Ed.]¹⁰ Read कारणीयः.¹¹ Read नैवेद्यं.¹² Read कारणीयं.¹³ Read अश्वोटीनिर्वापः.¹⁴ Read वर्त्तनीयं. [The reading may also be च दापनीयं. — Ed.]¹⁵ Supply ध्रुव.¹⁶ Read प्रमाणं.

nearly the whole of the inscription can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of a consonant following an *r*, and (2) the use of the form *sāmanta*¹ for *sāmanta*². As to lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *sthitaka* in ll. 5, 7, 8 and 11, and (2) *sēlahāthā* or *sēlahasta* together with their abbreviated forms in ll. 10, 12, 13 and 15. The first word seems to have been used in the sense of "a grant in perpetuity," and occurs in other inscriptions also, e.g. the Cintra *praśasti* of Śāraṅgadēva,¹ verses 53, 60, 61 and 66. The meaning of *sēlahasta* is not certain. And I know of only two records, viz. the Bhinnāl inscriptions Nos. XII and XV² where the word occurs. In the first of these, line 12 has *Śrīkarapriya-pañchakula-sēlahatha-Dābhīnarapālān cha*. Here it is worthy of note that *sēlahatha* occupies a position between *pañchakula*, i.e. the modern *pañcha* and *Dābhīnarapāla*, i.e. a king of the Dābhi race. And it seems tempting, therefore, to suppose that *sēlahasta* was an officer of high rank, higher at any rate than the village *śrīkarana*, which was held by one of the *pañchakula*. Again, the expression *sēlahathābhārya* occurs in both the Bhinnāl inscriptions just referred to. It must be taken to mean "the income collected by a *sēlahatha*." Probably he was connected with the revenue department. Some of the abbreviations are worth noticing. Thus in l. 8 we have *Viśa*³ *dra*, which, I think, stands for *Viśalapriya-drama*, a kind of coin, mentioned in Bhinnāl Inscription No. XVI, ll. 23-24. Again, in l. 12 *ka* is used in connection with *muga*, i.e. *Phaseolus mungo*. Here *ka* cannot be taken to denote *karsha*, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ *karshas* of *muga* would be a ridiculously small quantity, but *kalāśa* which had till lately been employed for measuring corn.

The inscription commences by specifying the date, viz. Monday, the 14th of the bright half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1345. The Mahārājakula Sāmvasatīmhadēva was the king, and at the holy place (*mahāsthāna*) of Satyapura (Sānchōr), the *pañcha*, consisting of the mahāmāta Hīrā and others appointed by him, was exercising local authority. The epigraph then records a grant in perpetuity of 8 *Viśalapriya dramas* by the Mēharas⁴ Prabhā, Padama and Āsupāla. All the Mēharas are requested to see to the continuance of this grant. According to this endowment, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalāśas* of *mūga* were to be given annually, and the *sēlahasta* was requested to look after this matter. The *sēlahasta* is also desired to supervise personally the *yātrā* festival of the god Vāēśvara. Then follow, in token of approval, the sign-manuals of at least four Mēharas, of whom three were the donors named above and the fourth was the *sēlahasta* Pātala.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री⁵ संवत् १३४५ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि १४ सोमे
- 2 अयेह श्रीमत्यपुरमहास्य[ान] महा[रा]जकुल-
- 3 श्रीसाम्मतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तद्वि-
- 4 युक्त [म]हं. हीराप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ [।*] एव
- 5 काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [स्थितकञ्चराणि] प्रयच्छति [य*]-
- 6 था । मे० प्र[म]ा मे० पदम मे० [आ]सपाले[न] (॥).
- 7 थांगुभारहाङ्गलकस्य⁶ वर्षे प्रति स्थितके छ-

¹ Above. Vol. I. p. 280 ff.

² *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. pt. I., pp. 430 and 495.

³ For the tribe Mēhara or Mēr, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 360.

⁴ From the original stone.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The meaning of this is not apparent to me.

- 8 [त] वीस० द्र ८ षष्ट [द्रव्या][*] स्थितके कृता¹ । एतत् [स्थि]-
 9 तं वर्षानुवर्षे² मेहरै³ पालनीयं । केनापि न
 10 लोपनीयं ॥ अन्यत⁴ यः [कोपि से]ल[हाथा]⁵ अस्य
 11 'था[न]के भवि [1*] सांप्रतं सेल० सीधुराकेन स्थित[के]
 12 कृत⁶ वर्ष प्रति मुग क १॥ सेलह[स्ते]न पालनीयः ।
 13 सेलहस्तेन उपविश्य देवश्रीवाणस्त्र(श्च)रे यात्रा का[रा]-
 14 पनीया⁷ ॥ अस्य विधि⁸ मे० प्र[भ]ाम[तं] । मे० पदमम[तं] ।
 15 मे० आसपालमतं ॥ सेल० पातलमतं
 16 ज्ञामतं । मे० आम्बडमतं ।

XXII.—JUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA,
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1352.

This inscription was found at Junā or Junā Bādmēr, as the full name goes, in the Mallāp District, Jadhpur State, about 12 miles south-west of Bādmēr, the principal town. It is engraved on a pillar in the porch of a dilapidated Jaina temple and contains 10 lines of writing which cover a space of 11½" broad by 7¼" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting the benedictory verse at the end. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the employment of the sign of v for both v and b, and (2) the use of the number 2 after Śrī in l. 3 to mark the repetition. As regards rare or unusual words, those that deserve to be noted are *pāṭā* and *Bhīmapriya vi(n)śōpaka* in l. 7. *Pāṭā* and *vi(n)śōpaka* have been already explained. *Bhīmapriya* appears to have been the name of a kind of *vi(n)śōpaka* coin. Attention may also be drawn to the word *lāga* in l. 8, which means a cess, as previously explained (No. XI above.)

The record opens with the date, the 4th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1352. On the aforesaid day, during the victorious reign of the Mahārājakula Śrī-Sāmantasimhadēva, the mahānta Chirāsēla, Vēlāula, the bhūṇḍārī Migala, and others appointed by the king to draw up documents, made a religious grant at Bahādamēru to the gods Vighna-mardana-Khetrapāla and Chaumdarāja, in the temple of Ādinātha. The grant consisted of a *pāṭā* from every incoming or outgoing caravan exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks. In default of this payment in kind, ten *Bhīmapriya vi(n)śōpakas* were to be charged. The grant was to be distributed equally between the two gods. In l. 8 is recorded the approval of this cess (*lāga*) by the mahājanas or local bankers.

Bahādamēru is, of course, Bādmēr, not the place now known by that name which is comparatively a modern city, but Junā Bādmēr, the old Bādmēr where the inscription was found.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 श्री¹¹ ॥ संवत् १३५२ वैशाखसुदि ४ श्रीवाहडमेरो¹² महारा-
 2 [ज]कुलश्रीसामंतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्निधु-

¹ Read कृताः.

⁴ Read अन्यतो.

⁷ Read कृतो.

¹⁰ From the original stone.

² Read वर्षानुवर्षः.

⁵ Read सेलहाथीऽस्य.

⁸ Read कारणीया.

¹¹ Expressed apparently by two symbols.

³ Read मेहरैः.

⁶ Read स्थानके भविष्यति.

⁹ Read विधिः.

¹² Read 'वाहड'.

- 3 [त]श्रीशकरणे [मं०] चीरासेलवेलाउल भां० ि[म]ग[लप्रभृत]यो
 4 ध[र्मा]क्षराणि प्रयच्छति^१ यथा । श्रीआदिना[य]मध्ये संति-
 5 श्मानश्रीवि[भ्र]मर्दनक्षेत्रपालश्रीचण्डराजदेवयो[ः]
 6 उभयमापीयसमायातमार्थउद्ध १० हृष २० उभयादपि ऊर्ध्व^२
 7 सार्थ प्रति द्वयोर्देवयोः पाइला [१*] पक्षे [भीम]प्रिय दशविशेषक [१०]
 8 अर्द्धेर्द्धिन^३ अर्द्धीतव्याः । असौ^४ लागो महाजनेन मनित^५ ॥ यथोक्तं [१*]
 9 'वहुभि[र्व]सुधा युक्ता' राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य, यस्य यदा भू०
 10 मी तस्य^६ तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ छ ॥

XXIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1353.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar in the *tōphānā* at Jālōr in the main or western cloister near the south end. It consists of 27 lines of writing, and covers a space of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 8" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *sh* is used to denote *kh*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of *v* for *b* and (2) the doubling of *n* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *Suvarṇa-gīra*, l. 3. In respect of lexicography, attention may be drawn to the expression *nīsrā-nikshōpa-haṭṭa*, in ll. 22-23, the meaning of which is uncertain, and to the word *bhāṭaka*, in l. 24, which seems to have been used in the sense of *bhāṭa* or rent. The following sense of the phrase *nīsrā-nikshōpa-haṭṭa* may, however, be suggested as probable. *Haṭṭa* is, of course, a bazar. *Nīsrā* is probably the same as *nīsār*, which, in Mārwar at any rate, seems to mean an export in contradistinction with *pasār* which signifies an import. The expression might, therefore, mean a place in, or a portion of, the bazar for storing goods to be exported.

The record opens with the date, viz. Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1353. It then speaks of the *Mahārājakula Sāma(n)tasimha* as reigning at *Suvarṇagiri* and *Kāṇhaḍadēva* as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet and bearing the burden of administration (*rājya-dhura*)."¹⁰ *Suvarṇagiri* is the same as *Kāñchanagiri* of No. XIX., and is the name of the hill on which the fort of Jālōr stands. *Kāṇhaḍadēva*, as we shall see further on, was a son of *Sāmantasimha*. The object of the inscription is to state that a certain *Narapati* made, for the spiritual welfare of his wife *Nayakadevi*, the grant of a bazar building or warehouse for storing goods to be exported. Out of the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered the *pañchamī-bali* every year in the temple of the god *Parśvanātha* by the members of the *goshthi*. *Narapati*, in making this donation, had been joined by the members of his family and

¹ Read प्रयच्छति.

² Read 'मार्गीय'.

³ Read ऊर्ध्व.

⁴ Read अर्द्धेर्द्धिन.

⁵ [On the impression the reading seems to be श्रीसी.—Ed.]

⁶ Read मानितः.

⁷ Read बहु^०.

⁸ Read मुक्ता.

⁹ Read भूमिलस्य.

¹⁰ This shows that *Kāṇhaḍadēva* was the *gucarāja* or heir-apparent and had been given an actual share in the administration of the kingdom. This is quite clear from a short inscription found at Chōḥṭan, 30 miles south-west of Bādmēr, the transcript of which is as follows:—

- 1 श्री सं १३५५ वर्षे फागुण
- 2 [व]दि ११ [अ]र्द्धे महाराज-
- 3 कुल[श्री]साम्बतसिंहदेव-
- 4 राजश्रीकान्ध उदेवराज्य

by a certain *Guṇadhara*, who is called a *saṅghapati* and was a resident of *Suvarṇagiri* itself. A list of the members of his family is also given, as well as a genealogy of them. The father of *Narapati* was the *soni* *Mahanasiha*, who was a son of the *thakura* *Jasa*, who again was a son of the *thakura* *Āmbada*. *Mahanasiha* had two wives, named *Mālhaṇi* and *Tihunā*. From the first he had the sons *Ratanasiha*, *Nākhī*, *Mālhaṇa* and *Gajasiha*, who are called *sonis* and from the second, *Narapati*, *Jayatā* and *Vijayapāla*, who are also called *sonis*. *Narapati* had two wives named *Nāyakadēvi* and *Jālhapadēvi*. His sons from the former only are mentioned, viz. *Lakhamidhara*, *Bhuvapāla*, and *Suhapāla*. This and the mention of the spiritual benefit (*śrēyas*) of *Nāyakadēvi* as the object of the record perhaps show that, at the time of the donation, the latter was dead and the second wife had but recently been married and that he had no children from her. Of the members of his family, *Narapati* thus appears to have been joined, in making the gift, by his second wife and his sons from the first wife.

It is worthy of note that *Narapati* himself, his brothers and his father are called *sonis*. *Soni* cannot possibly mean a goldsmith here, as both the grandfather and the great-grandfather of *Narapati* are styled *thakura*. Now, *Soni* is a well-known clan amongst the three Bania classes of *Mārwar*, viz. *Ōsvāl*, *Sarāvgī*, and *Mahēsari*. The last may be left out of account, because they are not Jains. *Sarāvgis*, though they are Jains, are, however, not found in the southern parts of *Mārwar*. *Narapati* and others were consequently, in all likelihood, *Ōsvāl Sōnis*. Of the *Mahēsari Sōnis* it is stated that their *nakh* or original tribe was *Sōnigarā*. What is true of the *Mahēsari Sōnis* is, in all probability, true of other *Sōnis* also. It is a well-known fact that many *Rājput* tribes, for avoiding *Muḥammadan* oppression and so forth, became Jains, and merged themselves into the Bania classes. *Sōnigarā* appears to be the name of one of such tribes. It is the name of a celebrated clan of the *Chōhāns*, and is commonly but correctly derived from *Sōngar*, i.e. *Suvarṇagiri*, the hill of the *Jālōr* fort itself. *Narapati's* inscription was doubtless engraved in some temple on this fort, though the pillar, on which it is incised, seems to have been taken away to serve as material for the construction of the mosque, now called *tōpkhanā*, in the city of *Jālōr*. When *Narapati*, his father, and brothers are called *Sōnis*, what is meant is that they were *Ōsvāl Sōnis*, but that they were perhaps originally *Sōnigarās*, and that amongst them *Mahanasiha* first became a Jain, as he is called a *Soni* and his father and grandfather, *thakuras*.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री^३ ०॥ [सं]वत् १३५३ [वर्षे]
- 2 वै[शा]खवदि ५ [मीमे] श्री-
- 3 सुवर्णगिरौ^३ अद्यह महा-
- 4 राजकुलश्रीसामतसिंह^४-
- 5 कल्याणविजयराजे^५ त-
- 6 त्पादपश्रीपजीविनि (॥)
- 7 [रा]जश्रीकाण्डदेवरा-
- 8 ज्यधुरा[सु]दहमाने इहै-
- 9 व वास्तव्यसंघपतिगुणध-
- 10 रठकुराभाडपुत्रवकुर^६-

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The *saṁdhi* is here omitted; such omissions need not be further noticed.⁴ Read 'सामंत'.⁵ Read 'विजय'.⁶ Read 'ठकुर'.

- 11 जसपु[त्र]सोनीमहणमीह-
- 12 भार्यामाल्लणिपुत्र[सोनी]रत-
- 13 न[सि]हणाखोमाल्लणगजमीह-
- 14 तिहुणापुत्र[सो]नीनरपतिज-
- 15 यताविजयपाल[न]रपतिभा-
- 16 र्यानायकदेविपुत्रलखमीध-
- 17 रभुवणपाल[सु]हडपालदि-
- 18 तीय[भ]ार्याजाल्लणदेवि(वी)इ-
- 19 त्यादिकुटुंबसहिते[न]² भा-
- 20 र्यानायकदेवि[अ]योर्थ³
- 21 देवश्रीपार्श्वनाथचैत्ये पंच-
- 22 मीबलिनिमित्त⁴ निश्चा[नि]जे-
- 23 प[ह]इमेकं नरपतिना दत्त⁵
- 24 तत् भाटकेन⁶ देवश्रीपा[अ]-
- 25 नाथगोष्ठि[के] प्रतिव[र्ष]⁷
- 26 आचांद्राक⁸ पंचमीबलिः⁹
- 27 कार्या¹⁰ ॥ [गुभं] भव[त्] ॥ छ[॥]

XXIV.—KÔṬ-SÔLANKIYĀ INSCRIPTION OF VAṆAVĪRA;
[VIKRAMA.] SAMVAT 1394.

This inscription was found at Kôṭ-Sôlankiyā, about 15 miles north-east of Dēsārī. It is engraved on a pillar of a Jaina temple now in ruins. I edit the inscription from two excellent estampages, kindly supplied to me by Munshi Devi Prasad, Munsiff of Jōdhpur.

The record contains 8 lines of writing, which cover a space of 11" broad by 5½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose except one verse in ll. 7-8 at the end. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*, in *ā-chaṇḍrārkkam*, l. 6.

The inscription is dated Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1394 elapsed, and refers itself to the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Vaṇaviradēva. It then states that at Āsalapura, the *rāula* Mūlarāja, of the family of the *rāula* Malhaṇa, grandson of the *rāula* Sōma and son of the *rāula* Bāmbi and his wife Jākhaladevi, granted, for the spiritual merit of his parents, Dhikuyatī together with a *vāḍī* or orchard, on the occasion of hoisting the flag of the temple of Pārśvanāthadēva, in the presence of the *rāula* Bālā, Lumbhā and Nīmvā.

¹ Read 'देवी'.

⁴ Read 'निमित्त'.

⁷ Read 'गोष्ठिके' and 'वर्ष'.

¹⁰ Read 'कार्य'.

² Read 'कुटुंब'.

⁵ Read 'दत्त'.

⁸ Read 'आचांद्राक'.

³ Read 'देवी'.

⁶ Read 'भाटकेन'.

⁹ Read 'बलि'.

Dhikuyā¹ seems to be the name of a machine-well. Āsalapura occurs also in another inscription at Kōṭ-Solankiyā, and appears to have been the old name of that place.

TEXT.¹

- 1¹ श्री¹³ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमकालातोदसंवत् १[३]८४ व[र्ष] चैत्रशुदि १३
- शुक्ले
- 2 श्रीआसलपुरे(1) महाराजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदेवराज्ये [1*] राउत-
- 3 माल्लहणान्वये राउतसोमपुत्रराउतबांबीभार्याजाखलदेवि-
- 4 पुत्रेण राउतमूलराजेन [श्री]पार्श्वनाथदेवस्य ध्वजारोपणसमये
- 5 राउतबालाराउतहा[या]कुमरलूभानीवासमलं मातृपित्रोः⁵ पु-
- 6 ण्यार्थं दिक्कुयउ वा[ड]ीमहितः प्रदत्तः । आचंद्रार्क⁶ यावदियं व्य-
- 7 वस्था प्रमाणा⁷ ॥ बहुभिर्भुसुवा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । व-
- 8 स्य यस्य यदा भूमी(1) तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ॥

XXV.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAṆAVĪRADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1443.

This inscription was found at Nādlāi, and is, like No. VIII., engraved on a pillar in the temple of Nēminātha called Jādvaṇi, situated on a hillock to the south-east of the village. It contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 8" broad by 1' 2" high. The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. It is worthy of note that each line begins with two vertical strokes. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, and that the final *d* is twice represented as if it were *da*, *Śrīmada*, l. 7, for *Śrīmad* and *ṣṛjagada*, l. 15, for *ṣṛjagad*.⁹

The record commences by specifying the date, which is Friday, the 14th of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1443 elapsed. It speaks of the Rāja Raṇaviradēva, son of the Mahārājādhirāja Vaṇavira of the Chāhamana lineage as then reigning. It then records the rebuilding of the structure (*prāsāda*) of Śrī-Nēmisvara, the ornament of the Yadu race, by Vinayachandrasuri, the occupant of the *paṭṭa* or pontifical seat (*i.e.* the successor) of Dharmachandrasūri. The latter, we are told, belonged to the line of Manatūṅgasūri, the sun in the sky of the Bṛihadgachchha.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 श्री¹¹ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसम-
- 2 यातीत सं [१]४४३ वर्षं कार्ति-
- 3 कवदि १४ शुक्ले श्रीनडूलाई-

¹ From estampages kindly supplied by Maushi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur.

² Above the commencement of this line, the first eight syllables thereof are engraved.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read संवत्.

⁵ Read मातापित्रोः.

⁶ Read आचंद्रार्क.

⁷ Read प्रमाणं.

⁸ Read भूमिभय.

⁹ [In both of these cases as well as in the case of the त of नंदरात (l. 16) the impression seems to show a stroke at the bottom of the letter which may be meant for the *śrīmama*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ From the original stone.

¹¹ Expressed by two symbols.

- 4 नगरे चाहुमानाव्यमहा-
- 5 राजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदे-
- 6 वसुतराजश्री[र]णवीरदेववि-
- 7 जयराज्ये ¹अ[वस्य]स्वच्छश्रीमद-
- 8 वृद्धह[च्छ]नभस्तलदिनकरी-
- 9 पमश्रीमानतुंगसूरिवंशोद्भव[व]-²
- 10 श्रीधर्मचंद्रसूरिपङ्कजश्रीश-
- 11 वर्णोत्पलायमानैः³ श्रीविन-
- 12 यचंद्रसूरिभिरल्पगुणमाणि⁴-
- 13 क्यरत्नाकरस्य यदुवंशग्रंथा-
- 14 रत्नारस्य श्रीनेमोश्चरस्य निरा-
- 15 कृतजगदविषादः⁵ प्रामाद⁶ स-
- 16 मुद्घे⁷ आचंद्रार्कं नंदतात⁸ ॥श्री॥⁹

XXVI. AND XXVII.—SANCHÖR STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF PRATĀPASIMHA ;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1444.

These inscriptions are engraved on two pillars, which now form part of the stables attached to the *kachōri* at Sanchōr. Doubtless they originally belonged, as will be seen in the sequel, to an ancient temple, not a trace of which now remains. The first record contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1' 9¼" high, and the second 17 lines of writing which cover a space of 10" broad by 1' ¾" high. The latter is in good preservation, but the former has about the middle of it a few letters here and there mutilated. The two together really form one record. This is evident from the fact that the last verse which occurs at the end of the first part is numbered 3, and the verse with which the second part opens is marked 4, instead of 1 as it would have been if the latter had really been intended to be a separate record. We shall, therefore, speak of the whole as one inscription. The characters are Nagari. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the initial words *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse up to l. 32, and the rest in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note that a consonant is but twice doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and that *y* is substituted for *j* once in *Yyeshṭa* (the)¹, l. 33. In respect of lexicography, the following words may be noticed : (1) *grāsa*, l. 10, and (2) *pāilī*, l. 11. *Grāsa* here seems to be used in the sense of "gift," and not in its usual sense noted above in my remarks on No. V. *Pāilī* has already been explained (above No. X).

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Śiva, and then, curiously enough, is cited a verse which forms the well-known benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This is followed by a verse (2) which invokes the protection of Nīlakaṇṭha for the then reigning Chāhamāna prince Pratāpasimha, and of Pārvatī for his queen Kāmalladēvī, daughter of Subhata. In the

¹ Read अवस्य^१ and श्रीमद्दह^२.

² Read श्रीमर्ग^३. [The necessity for this correction is not apparent. —Ed.]

³ Read श्रीवर्णोत्पलाय^४.

⁴ Read ेरल्प^५.

⁵ Read जगद्विषादः.

⁶ Read प्रामादः.

⁷ Read समुद्घे.

⁸ Read नंदतात.

⁹ [There seem to be two more indistinct *aksharas* at the end of the line.—Ed.]

next verse we are told that in the family of Lakshmanasimha, the best of Chāhamānas and king of Naḍūla, which had many branches, there was one Sālha, son of Sōbhita. Verse 4 informs us that he liberated the people of Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl) from the Turushkas (Muhammadans). The verse following states that his son was Vikramasimha. The eldest son of the latter was Saṁgrāmasimha, who had at least one elder brother, viz. Bhima (v. 6). The son of Saṁgrāmasimha was Pratāpasimha, reigning at Satyapura (Sanchōr). We are then introduced to a different family, the family to which Pratāpasimha's queen belonged. And the verses descriptive of her family are separately numbered. Of these, verse 1 says that there was one Virasiha of Karpūradhārā, that his son was a king named Makaḍa, and that the son of the latter was Vairisālya. The son of Vairisālya was Suhadaśalya and his daughter was Kāmaladēvi, who was the wife of Pratāpasimha; and it was she who renovated the temple of Vāeśvara together with the *linga* inside (vv. 2-3). The second part begins with a verse, which says that the fruit accruing from restoring is eight-fold that of merely building a temple, well or tank. This is followed by the date, viz. Friday, the 8th of the dark fortnight of Jyaisṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1444. On this date we are again told in prose that Bāi Kāmaladēvi, the crowned queen of Pātā (i.e. Pratāpasimha), the ornament of the Chāhāmāna dynasty, and daughter of Suhadaśalya (Subhata or Suhadaśalya), the ornament of the Ūmaṭa family, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of the god Vāyēśvara. We are further informed that, for the daily offering to the god, a gift was made of (1) a field, and (2) two *pālās* on every maund of each commodity from the customs house. The grant was approved of by *sē* (i.e. *sēlahasta*) Vudradā, a Paramāra, Main^o Charaḍā, and Sāmāla, a Pratihāra. The *āchārya* in connection with this matter was Rāma, a *vyāsa* of the Satyapura *jātī*. The composer of the *prasasti* was *vyā*^o Narāyaṇadēva. The person who wrote it out was *vyā*^o Kanhāka, and the person who engraved it was the *sutradhara* Mādhaba.

- It is worthy of note that Suhadaśalya, father of Kāmaladēvi, is called an ornament of the Ūmaṭa family. Ūmaṭ is still the name of a *sākhī* or subdivision of the Paramāras, and we have still two tracts of land named after them, one Ūmaṭawādā in Malwa and the other Ūmṭāṭi round about Bhinmāl. As Bhinmāl is not far from Sanchōr where Pratāpasimha was reigning, it is more reasonable to suppose that his father-in-law was a chief of Ūmṭāṭi than of Ūmaṭawādā. Karpūradhārā, which had been held by the great-grandfather of Suhadaśalya, must be located somewhere near this Ūmṭāṭi. Next, Sāmāla, one of the persons who approved of the grant to the god Vāyēśvara, is in the inscription called a Pratihāra. Pratihāra must here be taken, I think, to be not a Paḍihār but a Paḍihāriyā, as only Paḍihāriyās are found in the southernmost parts of Mārwar, i.e. round about Bhinmāl and Sanchōr. Satyapura *jātī*, to which the *āchārya* Rāma belonged, is obviously what is now known as Sānchōrā, a caste of Brāhmaṇas, who abound in the districts of Mullāpi and Sānchōr.

TEXT.¹

XXVI.

- 1 ॥ श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या पि[ह]-
- 2 ८³ विधिद्वत् या हविर्या च होत्री ये द्वे कालं विध-
- 3 —[:]³ श्रुतिविषयगुणा⁴ या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वं । याम[1]-
- 4 द्वः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणव-
- 5 तः प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रसन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्तुभिर-

¹ From the original stone.² Read वहति.³ Read विधनः.⁴ Read श्रुति.

- 6 ष्टाभिरीशः ।[१*]१ श्रीनीलकण्ठोऽवतु चाहमानप्रता-
 7 पसिंहं रिपुदंतिसिंहं । गिरीन्द्रपुत्री सुभटस्य पु-
 8 त्रीं कामहृदेवीं ससुतां [पु]नातु ।[१*][२] नडूलभूमीप-
 9 तिचाहमानशिखामणेलं [स्त्र]णसिंहनाम्नः ॥ (१)
 10 अनेकधाविस्तृतं वंश[वृद्धेः] कुले बभौ सोभि-
 11 तसूनुसाल्हः ।[१*]१ यो जात[वांत]द्विसावदाने^१ (१)
 12 दाना[ह]सूनां यशसो — — । तुरष्कबंदीक-
 13 तवि[श्र]लोकान् श्रीमाल[त]ी मोचयति स्म धीरः
 14 ॥४ — — [त्सजो]^२ विक्रमसिंह आसीन्नाम शु[ति]-
 15 — — — — भोगी । यः श्रीयशोविक्रम[रागभो]-
 16 गैरम्पारय[रूपतिवि]क्रमाकं ।[१*]५ तदंग[जः शूरवरो]-
 17 तिदानि^३ भी[मा]ग्रजन्मा कुल[कैरवेन्दुः] । सं-
 18 ग्रामसिंहोऽभव[दुग्रवैरि]संग्राम[निराजकु]^४-
 19 [लै]कनेता ।[१*]६ [त]वंदनो नंदति सुप्रता[प]ः प्र-
 20 तापसिंहः [प]रचक्रमर्ही । यस्मिन्पुत्रे सत्यपुरी-
 21 [य]लोका लोकाय न स्वः सृष्टयंत्यशोकाः । [७]
 22 कर्पूरधाराधरवीर[सीह](१)सूनुस्तुरंगोद्भूत-
 23 [म]वर्षी । आसीन्पुत्रो माकडनामधेयस्तवंद-
 24 नोऽभूद्भुवि वैरिशल्यः ।[१]१ तस्यात्म[ज]ः सुहृड-
 25 शल्य इति प्रसिद्धः शुद्धः समर्द्धितजनोऽधिक-
 26 देशभोक्ता । देवद्विजातिबहुभक्तिपरः परो-
 27 पतापी मृधे नृपतिनीतिविचक्षणोऽस्ति ॥२ त-
 28 स्यात्माजा सञ्चरिता प्रतापसिंहप्रिया कामल-
 29 देविनाम्नी । प्रासादमेनं विधिव[त्स्व]लिंगं वाए-
 30 श्वरं जीर्णकमुद्धार ॥३

XXVII.

- 31 ॥ प्रासादकूपसरसां यत्फलं नवनिर्मि-
 32 तौ । ततोष्टगुणमाप्नोति जीवर्णेश्वरे पुनः
 33 कृते ।[१*]४ स्वस्ति संवत् १४४४ [व]र्षे व्यष्टे^५वदि-
 34 भृगौ चाह्मणकुलतिलकराजश्रीपाता-

^१ Read जातवांतद्विसावदाने.^२ I am not certain of this reading.^३ Restore तस्यात्मजो^४ Read सुहृड.^५ Read °दानो.

- 35 पद्मराज्ञी ^१कमटवंशभूषणराजश्रीसुहृड-
 36 सलसुता बार्दकामलदेविनाम्नी भगवती
 37 न्यायेन्द्रस्य प्रासादस्य जीर्णोद्धारं करो-
 38 ति स्म । अयं प्रासादः कामलदेवीसंतानेन स-
 39 द्वाचन्द्रार्क्षं नंदतु ॥ तस्य देवस्य नित्यं पू[जा]-
 40 नैवेद्यार्थं कृतो दासः(१) एकचेचं ॥०॥
 41 मंडपिकायां वस्तु(?)मणं प्रति पाइलार घडा स-
 42 वैः पालनीयं । से० परमारवद्रडामतं । मं०
 43 चरडामतं । से० प्रतीहारसामलम[तं] । श्रीसत्य-
 44 पुरश्चातीय व्या श्रीरामोऽचाचार्यः । [व्य]।
 45 नारायणदेवः प्रशस्तिकर्त्ता^२ । व्या० कान्हा-
 46 को लेखकः । सूत्रधारमाधवस्य कृतिः [१*]
 47 चेमं कल्याणं भवंतु । शुभं भवतु ॥श्रीः॥

HISTORY OF THE MĀRWĀR CHĀHAMĀNAS.

All records—epigraphic and bardic—agree in looking upon **Lakshmana** as the founder of the **Mārwar** branch of the **Chāhamānas**. The **Nāḍol** plates of **Kirtipāla**³ inform us that in the town of **Śākambhari**, i.e. **Sambhar** in the **Jodhpur** State, there was formerly, in the **Chāhamāna** lineage, king **Vākpatirāja**, and his son was **Lakshmana**, who was king at **Naddūla** (**Nāḍol**). This **Vākpatirāja** was, in all likelihood, the **Chāhamāna** king of that name mentioned as the grandfather of **Vigraharāja**, for whom we have an inscription dated **V.E. 1030** in a temple on the **Harsha** hill in the **Śekhāvāṭi** province of the **Jaipur** State.⁴ No record of **Lakshmana** has as yet come to light. But on the **Sūraj-paḥ** at **Nāḍol** is an inscription of the time of **Kēlhapā**, dated **V.E. 1223**, which incidentally mentions the name **Lakhaṇa** and the date **V.E. 1039** for him.⁵ The latter thus appears to have made some conquests for himself in **Gōḍvād** and established himself at **Nāḍol** where his memory is still preserved. The **Sūraj-paḥ** just alluded to is said to have been erected by him. The fort of **Nāḍol** also bears his name, and he is supposed to have constructed it. In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,⁶ Colonel **Tod** says: "I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from **Nadole**, one dated **S. 1024**, the other **1039**. They are of **Prince Lakha**, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of **Putun**, and levied tribute from the prince of **Cheetore**." But it is by no means clear how far **Tod's** statement as to the contents of these inscriptions is to be trusted.

Lakshmana's son was **Śōbhita**, also called **Sōbhita** and **Sōhiya**. He is represented in the **Sūndhā** hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of **Himādrībhaṇa**, i.e. **Abū**.⁷ From him sprang **Balirāja**, who is represented in the same inscription to have defeated an army of **Mūñjarāja**. The latter must be the same as the **Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōgha-**

¹ From here the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected.

² Read °कर्त्ता.

³ Above, Vol. IX p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 119 ff.

⁵ *Director General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II, p. 228.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 232, note (*S. K. Lahiri & Co.'s edition, 1894*).

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, p. 71.

varsha of Malava, for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 974 to 993. The invasion of Mañjarāja here referred to is in all probability the same as that mentioned in the Hathuṇḍī inscription of the Rashtrakūṭa princes.¹ Therein Dhavala is said to have checked the further progress of Mañjarāja when he attacked Mēdapāṭa (Mewār) and destroyed its capital called Aghaṭa.² Balirāja was succeeded by Mahēndra also called Mahindu, son of Vighrahapāla, who was the paternal uncle of Balirāja. As was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, this Mahēndra is no doubt the same as his namesake, referred to in v. 11 of the Hathuṇḍī inscription: It speaks of Dhavala as having protected Mahēndra when he was being harassed by the army of Durlabharāja. This Durlabharāja can be no other than the Chaulukya king Durlabharāja, the brother and successor of Vighraharāja of the Harsha inscription.³ Mahēndra's son was Aśvapāla.⁴ His son was Ahila, who, according to the Sāndhā hill inscription, defeated the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva I. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle, Anahilla,⁵ who was a son of Mahēndra. He, too, is spoken of as having vanquished Bhīmadēva I., seized Śakumbhari, slain Sādha, a general (*dand-ādhiṣṭa*) of the Mālava king Bhōja, and defeated a Turushka, i.e. a Muhammadan king.⁶ After him came to the throne his son Bālaprasāda. He compelled Bhīmadēva I. to liberate from prison a king named Kṛṣṇadēva. As shown by Professor Kielhorn, the last king is the Paramara Kṛṣṇarāja, son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Dēvarāja, for whom we have two inscriptions at Bhinmal dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067. It can hardly be doubted that he must have been a brother of the Paramara prince, Pūrṇapāla, who was a son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Mahipāla, and for whom we have the dates A.D. 1042 and 1045.⁷ Both the dates and the names of the father agree with one another. Kṛṣṇarāja must, therefore, be taken to be a younger brother and successor of Pūrṇapāla. The discrepancy in the names of their grandfathers—that of Kṛṣṇarāja's being Dēvarāja and that of Pūrṇapāla's being Mahipāla—is not of any serious importance, as we have several instances of one and the same prince bearing more than one name, not only of identical, but also of different import.

Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja also known as Jindarāja or Jendrarāja.⁸ He gained a victory at Sandēra, which, as I have already said, is Sandērāv in the Bali District, Gōdvād division, Jodhpur State (No. IV above). There is an inscription in the temple of Kāmēśvara-Mahadēva at Auwa in the Sōjat District. It is dated Saturday, the 15th of the dark fortnight (*amāvasyā*) of Aśvayuja (i.e. Āśvina) in [Vikrama-] Samvat 1132, and refers itself to the reign of Jindrapāla,⁹ son of Anahilla. Jindrapāla is the same as our Jindurāja,

¹ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXII, pt. I, p. 311 ff.; also see above, Vol. X, p. 18.

² Aghāṭa is the same as Ad or Āḍ now represented by the present Udaipur station. A well-known sept of the Gēhlōts called Āḍiṇyā is named after it. The place is described by Tod in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 745.

³ The author of the *Dṛyāśrayakōśa* says that, along with his brother Nāgarāja, he attended the *śrāgāmbara* of Durlabhadēvi, sister of Mahēndra, king of Nāḍōl in Mārwar. The princess chose Durlabha, and Mahēndra gave his younger sister Lakṣmi to Durlabha's brother, Nāgarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, p. 113). The hostilities between Durlabha and Mahēndra thus ended in matrimonial alliance, as was often the case in Rājputānā in later times. [See also above, Vol. X, p. 18. The Durlabharāja and Vighraharāja of the Harsha inscription were Chāhamānas—not Chaulukyas.—Ed.]

⁴ The Śiva temple of Aśalēśvara or Aśapālēśvara at Nāḍōl (No. IX above) was apparently called after him.

⁵ The Śiva temple of Anahilēśvara at Nāḍōl (No. IX above) seems to have been built during his reign and called after him.

⁶ This must refer to the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The *Tanārikh-i-Fīrishtāh*, according to Tod, refers to his fight with the king of Nāḍōl (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 656 and note).

⁷ [For this date of Pūrṇapāla see the *Director-General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II, p. 228.—Ed.]

⁸ In No. IX a Śiva temple called Jēndrarājēśvara is mentioned. It was built apparently during the reign of Jēndrarāja and called after him.

⁹ The name engraved appears, however, to be Khindrapāla and not Jindrapāla. It is again curious that no titles whatever are added to the names of Jindrapāla and Anahilla. The probabilities, however, are that these names are of the Chāhamāna kings referred to in the text.

and V.E. 1132 (A.D. 1075) is the earliest hitherto known date for a Mārwar Chāhamāna king derived from a contemporary record.

• His son and successor was Prithvipāla, who defeated an army of the Gurjara king Karna, i.e. the Chaulukya king Karna-Trailōkyamalla, son of Bhimadēva I, a contemporary of Ahila, Apahilla and Bālaprasāda. Like many of his predecessors, he too seems to have erected a temple to Śiva at Nādōl and called the deity Prithvipālēśvara after himself. He was succeeded by his brother Yōjaka, also known as Jōjala, or Jōjalla. He is mentioned as having by force occupied Apahillapura (Aubhivādā). Nos. I and II give for him the date V.E. 1147, i.e. A.D. 1090, which contain his mandate for the observance of festivals in connection with the gods Lakshmanasvāmī and others at Nādōl. Jōjala seems to have dedicated a temple to Śiva at Nādōl, and named the latter Jōjalēśvara after himself. After him came to the throne his brother Aśvarāja, also called Aśvarāja and Aśvaka. Three inscriptions of his time (Nos. III-V) have so far been discovered, with dates ranging from A.D. 1110 to 1143. Of these, two were found at Sēvaḍi in the temple of Mahāvīra and the third at Bāli in the temple of Bōlā or Bahugunā mata. The last speaks of him as subsisting on the lotus-like feet of the Mahārājādhirāja Jayasīha. • We have already seen that up to the time of Jōjala, brother of Aśvarāja, the Mārwar Chāhamānas were constantly at war with the Chaulukyas. They were consequently till then not subordinate to the Chaulukyas, but owed fealty to some other supreme power. And it was Jayasīha, son of Karna, who appears for the first time to have subjugated Gōḍvād and made the Mārwar Chāhamānas his tributaries. Of the two Sēvaḍi inscriptions the earlier is dated in A.D. 1110 and the later in A.D. 1115. The former refers itself to the reign of Aśvarāja and speaks of his son Kaṭukarāja as *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent. The latter records a grant made by Kaṭukarāja, but as he is not mentioned as king and as Sainipati (Sēvaḍi) is stated to have been in his *bhukti*, i.e. the district assigned to him for maintenance, it seems that even in A.D. 1115 he was not reigning as a ruler, but was merely, as *yuvarāja*, holding the province round about Sēvaḍi. But, from No. VI, it is evident that he did reign as king at Nādōla. He is there called mahārājādhirāja Kaṭudēva, and his son, Jayatasīha, is mentioned as *yuvarāja*. The date of this inscription is Sainvat 31, which, as stated above, must be taken to be Sīnha Sainvat. It thus becomes equivalent to V.E. 1200, i.e. A.D. 1143,—exactly the year in which the Bāli inscription of his father Aśvarāja is dated. Aśvarāja must, therefore, be supposed to have died and his son Kaṭukarāja succeeded him in one and the same year, viz. A.D. 1143. But here arises a difficulty in the chronological adjustments of this family. For no less than seven inscriptions have been found at Nādōl and Nādōl with dates ranging from A.D. 1132 to 1145, which refer themselves to the reign of one Rāyapāla. These overlap the period which other inscriptions give for the reigns of both the father and the son. In point of rank and dignity as determined by his titles, Rāyapāla appears to be in no way inferior to either Aśvarāja or Kaṭukarāja, and in No. VII. he is spoken of as belonging to the Chāhamāna lineage.¹ It is thus inexplicable how he reigned at the same place and synchronously with the father and son. Perhaps the following explanation may be offered for what it is worth. Instances are not wanting of friction taking place between a feudatory chieftain and his overlord, and consequently of the former being ousted by the latter, for some time at least, from the province held by him. Such a thing might perhaps have taken place here. Aśvarāja or Kaṭukarāja might have for some time lost the favour of their paramount sovereign and for

¹ During the excavations at Mandōr, 6 miles north of Jōdhpur, a few fragments of an inscription stone were found, which show that Prithvipāla, the eldest brother of Aśvarāja, had a son named Ratnapāla. Ratnapāla's son was Rāyapāla, and Rāyapāla's son was Subhāpāla, who apparently was reigning at Mandōr and to whose reign the inscription referred itself. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Rāyapāla of Nos. VII—XI. being this Rāyapāla, grandson of Prithvipāla.

that reason been replaced by Rāyapāla, one of their relatives. From No. VII. it seems that this Rāyapāla had a queen named Mānaladēvi, and at least two sons, named Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla by her. Under him was the *rāuta* Rājadēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharapa of the Guhila family. He was a *śhakur* of Naḍūlaḍāgikā, which, as stated above, was the Sanskritised form of Nāḍlāi. In an inscription found at Naḍol, a certain *rāṇaka* Bhūnana is mentioned as belonging to the Kaṇṇāta country and as a contemporary of Rāyapāla. This prince cannot be identified, but appears to have come to Naḍol to pay a friendly visit to the Chāhamāna king.

From V.E. 1203 (A.D. 1146) to 1218 (A.D. 1161) not a single inscription has been traced in Gōḍvād of the Chāhamāna princes of Naḍol, but we have found instead no less than four records of a person who is variously called *Vaijāka*, *Vaijā*, *Vaijalladēva* and *Vayajaladēva*. He is spoken of as a *daṇḍanāyaka* or general of Kumārāpāla and as reigning at Naḍol, i.e. exactly in the capital town of the Chāhamānas described above. This change of rule over Gōḍvād may perhaps be explained as follows. We know from Gujarāt accounts that Kumārāpāla invaded the Sāmbhar territory and defeated Arpōrāja.¹ This event is alluded to in a Chitōrgadh inscription of Kumārāpāla dated V.E. 1207,² and is spoken of as having taken place shortly before this date. Rāyapāla perhaps sided with Arpōrāja and brought about Kumārāpāla's indignation. And Kumārāpāla might have deprived him of his territory. At Pāli in the temple of Sōmēśvara there is a much abraded inscription of the reign of this Chaulukya sovereign with the date V.E. 1209. An epigraph in a dilapidated temple at Bhātupḍ in the Bālī District is dated V. E. 1210, refers itself to the reign of Kumārāpāla, and mentions his *daṇḍanāyaka* *Vaijāka* as being in charge of the district of Naḍūla (Nāḍol). The temple of Mahāvira at Sēvādī contains a record dated in Sainvat 1213, which speaks of *daṇḍa*³ (i.e. *daṇḍanāyaka*) *Vaijā* as ruling at Naḍūla. Another Jaina temple at Ghānerav in the Dēsūri District has an inscription dated the same year as the last and referring itself to the reign of the *daṇḍanāyaka* *Vaijalladēva*. On a lintel of the *sabhamāṇḍapa* of the temple of Bāla or Bahugana *mātī* at Bālī is engraved an epigraph which specifies the date Sainvat 1216, makes mention of the paramount sovereign Kumārāpāla and speaks of *daṇḍa*⁴ *Vayajaladēva* as exercising local authority at Naddrūla (Nāḍol). It will thus be seen that from about V.E. 1209 to 1216 Kumārāpāla deprived Rāyapāla, or some other Chāhamāna prince of his ancestral dominions, and stationed *Vaijalladēva* as *daṇḍanāyaka* over that province. But, though Kumārāpāla wrested Gōḍvād from the Chāhamāna ruler of Naḍol, he was well-disposed towards Ālhapadēva or Ālhapadēva, son of Aśvarāja and younger brother of Kaṭukarāja. For, an inscription in a Śiva temple at Kirādī-Mallāṇī (No. XII above) tells us that Ālhapadēva was then in possession of Kirāṭakūpa (Kirādī), Laṭarhada (Rāḍdhadā) and Śivā (Sheo) and that he obtained these places through the favour of his overlord (*prabhu*) Kumārāpāla.⁵

When exactly Ālhapadēva came into possession of his paternal dominions is not known, but certain it is that the Nāḍol province came under his sway some year between V.E. 1216 (A.D. 1159) the last date of *Vaijalladēva* in Gōḍvād that we know of⁶ and V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1161) the date of Ālhapā's Naḍol copper-plate grant which is the earliest of his inscriptions in Gōḍvād. Ālhapā is called Āhlādana in the Sūndhā hill inscription⁷. He is there spoken of as having assisted the Gūrjara king every now and then. The Gūrjara king at this time was Kumārāpāla; and as help was constantly given to him, it explains why Ālhapadēva stood high in his favour and was restored to his ancestral territory. Ālhapadēva is also mentioned in the Sūndhā hill inscription as having built a temple of Śiva at Naddūla and as having put down disturbances

¹ Above, Vol. I. p. 295.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 423.

³ No. 133 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol. V., above.

⁴ [The *mahāmāṇḍalēvara* *Vaijalladēva* of the Chābūyaga family is mentioned with the date Vikrama-Sainvat 1231, corresponding to A.D. 1175, in a copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 81).—Ed.]

in the mountainous part of Surāshṭra. The latter event is alluded to in the Nāḍol copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla noted above. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* speaks of Kumārāpāla as having sent his general Udayana against Sausara, king of Surāshṭra, with whom he was at war. In this fight Kumārāpāla's army was defeated, and Udayana was mortally wounded. In the end, however, Samara (Sausara), as the *Kumārāpālacharita* says, was defeated and his son placed on the throne. It was probably Ālhaṇa who proved instrumental in securing this victory for Kumārāpāla. Ālhaṇa seems to have suffered for his allegiance to the Chaulukya dynasty at the hands of Vighraharāja, son of Arṇōrāja of the imperial Chāhamana family. For the latter, as the Bijolia inscription¹ informs us, made Naddūla (Nāḍol) a *naḍḍala*, i.e. a bed of reeds and Jābālipura (Jālōr) *jvālāpura*, i.e. a city of flames. Ālhaṇa is there said to have married Annalladēvi, daughter of Sahula of the Rāshṭraud² family. Ālhaṇa had three sons by her, viz. Kēlhaṇa, Gajasimha and Kirtipāla. Ālhaṇa appears to have given a share in the administration of his kingdom to his first two sons. For, in No. XII, the sign-manual of Ālhaṇadēva is followed up by the approval of both his sons, Kēlhaṇadēva and Gajasimha. Even the villages round about Nāḍlāi, made over to Kirtipāla for his maintenance in the Nāḍol plate, were granted to him not by his father Ālhaṇa alone, but also by Kēlhaṇa, his brother. It is curious that Gajasimha is not mentioned in this connection. He must doubtless have been alive at this time; otherwise his name would not have been specified in this inscription in l. 14.³ Probably Kēlhaṇa's name alone is here mentioned because he was the *yuvārāja* or heir-apparent, as is quite clear from l. 16 of the record.

Of Kēlhaṇa no less than six inscriptions were found by me with dates ranging from V.E. 1221 to 1236. Ālhaṇadēva thus died in some year between V.E. 1218 and 1221. Kēlhaṇa appears to have remained tributary to Kumārāpāla, for No. XIV refers itself to the reign of Kumārāpāla, and speaks of Kēlhaṇa as ruler of Nāḍūlya (Nāḍol). This record is dated in Sainvat 1228, which is, in fact, the latest authentic date we have for the Chaulukya sovereign, who, according to Gujarat chronicles, died a year later. The Sāndhā hill inscription represents Kēlhaṇa to have routed a Turushka king and erected a golden *tōraṇa*, "like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmēśa." His brother Kirtipāla also is spoken of in the same inscription as having vanquished a Turushka army at Kasahrada. Both these descriptions must refer to one and the same event, for about this time only one

¹ No. 154 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol. V., above.

² Rāshṭrauda, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is the same as Rāshtrakūṭa. There were two Rāshtrakūṭa families reigning in Rājputānā. Munshi Devi Prasad, in his Hindi work entitled "Antiquarian Discoveries in Rājputānā," tells us that at Dhanpā, 16 miles north of Shāhpurā, two inscription stones had been found as early as A.D. 1873, which gave an account of a Rāshtrakūṭa family ruling there. Four names had therein been traced, viz. those of Bhallila, his son Dantivarmā, and his sons Buddharāja and Gōvinda. One of the inscriptions was dated Sainvat 1063 *Vasāṇa sudi 5 Saurē* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 175). Another inscription was found at Hāthūṇḍi near Bijāpur in the Bāli District which describes a new Rāshtrakūṭa family. This has been referred to above. A part of this inscription was published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVII, part 1, pp. 309-314, and the complete text has recently been edited by Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur (above, Vol. X. pp. 17 ff.). This contains three dates, the last of which is V.E. 1053 (A.D. 997), and pertains to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṇḍi (Hāthūṇḍi). It is reasonable to suppose that the Rāshtrakūṭa family, to which Annalladēvi belonged, was the one reigning at Hāthūṇḍi in Gōdvād, and not the other one reigning so far north as Shāhpurā. We have already seen that it was a king of this Hāthūṇḍi Rāshtrakūṭa family, viz. Dhavala, who helped no less than two princes of the Mārwar Chāhamana dynasty. The two families were thus reigning close to, and were also allied to, each other. But this matter is placed beyond all doubt by No. XIII, which records a grant of Annalladēvi, unquestionably the same as Annalladēvi, who is called mother-queen (*mātri-rājñi*) of Kēlhaṇa. This inscription also records a benefaction by certain Rāshtrakūṭa princes. The mention of Rāshtrakūṭa in the same epigraph with that of Annalladēvi or Annalladēvi, who was of the Rāshṭrauda dynasty shows that Rāshṭrauda is the same as Rāshtrakūṭa and that these Rāshtrakūṭas were not far from Sāndērāv where No. XIII. was found. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to suppose that these Rāshṭraudas or Rāshtrakūṭas, of whom Sahula, father of Annalladēvi, was one, reigned at Hāthūṇḍi, or Hastikūṇḍi as it is called in inscriptions.

³ Above, Vol. IX. p. 69.

Muhammadan invasion took place. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭah* tells us that in A.H. 574, i.e. A.D. 1178, **Muhammad Ghōri** "marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The prince Bhimadēva (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood (Ghiznev), advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter."¹ Now, at **Kirādū** there is, in the temple of **Sōmēśvara**, a mutilated inscription, which is dated in **Saivvat 1235** and refers itself to the reign of the **Chaulukya king Bhimadēva II**. It makes mention also of his feudatory chieftain **Madanabrahmadeva** and his subordinate **Tējapāla**. We are farther told that the image of **Sōmēśvara**, which was in the temple, had been broken to pieces by the **Turushkas**, but a new one was caused to be made and installed by **Tējapāla's** wife, whose name is unfortunately lost. It will be seen that the image must have been broken by **Muhammad Ghōri**. For, the date of his expedition is A.D. 1178 or V.E. 1234-35, and the date of the **Kirādū** inscription, as we have observed, is **Saivvat 1235**. There is thus a correspondence of dates. Secondly, as stated in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭah*, the route of **Muhammad Ghōri** lay through the sandy desert. This means that on his way to Gujarāt he passed through the **Mallāpī District** of the **Jodhpur State**, which is nothing but a *thal* or desert. And, as **Kirāṭakūpa** or **Kirādū** was in ancient days a place of great importance in that region, it is natural to suppose that the Muhammadan emperor captured the town and destroyed the image in the principal temple there. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭah* further says that **Bhimadēva II** defeated the Muhammadan army with great slaughter. **Kēlhaṇa**, being a feudatory of the **Chaulukya** family, must have gone to the help of **Bhimadēva** and must have been accompanied also by his brother **Kīrtipāla**. And, as is very often the case with tributary princes, who take the credit of winning a battle fought by their overlord whom they have but assisted, both **Kēlhaṇa** and **Kīrtipāla** are represented to have vanquished the **Turushkas** at **Kāsahrada**. Now three **Kāsahradas** are mentioned in inscriptions, and there are at least three places which may be modern equivalents of them. Thus there is a place called **Kāsindra-Palaḍī** near **Ahmedābād**, and this may represent the **Kāsahrada** of the **Kapaḍvanj** grant of the **Rāṣṭrakūṭa** prince **Kṛishṇa II** and the **Kāsahrada** of the **Baroda** grant of **Dhruva II**. There is again in the **Sirohi State** a village, at the foot of **Mount Ābū**, of the name of **Kāyadrām**, which is also known as **Kasadrām**. With this must be identified the **Kāsahrada** of the inscriptions in **Tējapāla's** temple at **Dilwādā** on **Mount Ābū**. There is yet a third place named **Kāsandrā** on the road from **Dhōlkā** to **Palitānā**. This must be the **Kāsahrada** of **Arisimha's Sukritasamkirtana**. Which one of these is the **Kāsahrada** of the **Sūndhā** hill inscription depends upon the route taken by **Muhammad Ghōri** after leaving **Kirādū**. In the *Tāj-ul-Ma-Āsir* it is stated that when **Qutub-ud-Din** left **Ajmēr** to direct an attack on **Aphilvādā**, the Hindus 'had collected under their leaders **Rāi Karan** and **Dārābars** in greater numbers "at the foot of **Mount Ābū** and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The **Musalman**s did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place **Sultān Muhammad Sam Ghōri** had been wounded, and it was considered a bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander.² From this it is evident that **Muhammad Ghōri** sustained a reverse at the foot of **Mount Ābū**, and **Karan** and **Dārābars** mentioned here can be no other than **Kēlhaṇa** and **Dhārāvarsha**. The **Kāsahrada** of the **Sūndhā** hill inscription 'where **Kēlhaṇa** and **Kīrtipāla** defeated a **Turushka** army' must, therefore, be identified with **Kāyadrām** (**Kasadrām**). The **Sūndhā** hill inscription describes **Kēlhaṇa** as having also defeated the southern king **Bhilima**, who, as recognised by **Professor Kielhorn**, is the **Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhīllama**. There are at least two inscriptions, which belong to the reign of this last king and which bear the date A.D. 1189. This date, it is expressly stated,

¹ Briggs' *Firishṭah*. Vol. I. p. 170

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 230.

was the third year of his reign. From this it is concluded that Bhillama came to the throne in A.D. 1187. The last date we have for Kēlhaṇa is V.E. 1249 = A.D. 1192, supplied by an inscription found at Pāḷaḍi in the Sirohi State. Kēlhaṇa and Bhillama were thus contemporaries, and the Bhilima of the Sūndhā hill inscription can only be this Bhillama. One of Kēlhaṇa's queens is named **Mahibaladēvi** (No. XV). The name of another, *viz.* **Jāḥanadēvi**, is given in No. XVII.

*Kēlhaṇa was succeeded by his son **Jayatasiha**, for whom two inscriptions have been found, —one at **Bhinmāl** and the other at **Sādaḍi**. The first is dated V.E. 1239 and calls him *mahar-*, *rājaputra*, indicative of his position as heir-apparent.¹ The second gives the date V.E. 1251 and styles him *mahārājādhirāja*.² This shows that he became king after the death of Kēlhaṇa. About three years after this date, *i.e.* in A.D. 1197, we hear of the invasion of **Qutub-ud-Din Ī-bak** in Mārwar. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishtih* has the following: "Kootb-ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nohrwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadol."³ Baly, of course, refers to Pāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State, and Nadol is obviously Nāḍol. The *Taj-ul-Ma'āsir* says that "when he reached the lofty forts of Pāli and Nandul, he found them abandoned and the abode of the owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Muslims."⁴ This means that Nāḍol and the surrounding district were for some time at least lost to the Chahamana family called Nāḍoliya. An inscription found at **Achalēśvara** on Mount Ābū says that **Jaitrasimha** of the **Guhila** dynasty destroyed **Nadula** and defeated a **Turushka** army.⁵ From epigraphic and other records it appears that Jaitrasimha reigned from about V.E. 1270 to 1309. He thus comes quite close to the date when Qutub-ud-Din conquered eastern Marwar. Jaitrasimha, therefore, seems to have destroyed Nāḍol when it was in the possession of the Muhammadans, and the Turushka army defeated by him must have been headed, if not actually by Qutub-ud-Din, at any rate by his governor at Nāḍol.⁶ From V.E. 1265 to 1283 Gōḍvād was held by a prince named **Dhāmdhaladēva**, son of **Viśadhavaladēva**.⁷ He was no doubt, as an inscription at **Nānā** tells us, a **Chhahama**, *i.e.* I think, a **Chahamana**, but probably not of Kēlhaṇa's lineage. From the same inscription it seems that in V.E. 1283 he was tributary to **Bhyiva(Bhima)dēva**, son of **Ajayā(ya)pala**, *i.e.* the **Chaulukya** sovereign **Bhīmadēva II**. Kēlhaṇa had, as we have seen above, a brother named **Kirtipāla**, who was the originator of the **Sonigūrā** branch of the Chahamanas. From his Nāḍol copper-plate inscription we learn that twelve villages, such as Nāḍlāi and others in Gōḍvād had been assigned to him for maintenance by his father **Āḥanadēva**, and he must have continued to enjoy the revenues of these villages during his brother's régime also. His defeat of the Turushka army at **Kasahrada** has already been alluded to. In addition to it he is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have conquered a **Kirāṭakupa** chief named **Āsala**. **Kirāṭakūpa** is undoubtedly **Kirāḍū**, and **Āsala** was perhaps the successor of **Madanabrahma** mentioned above. It is also

¹ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 474.

² This inscription is in the temple of Jūgēśvara, Deśrū District, Jodhpur State. It is engraved on one of its pillars, which, no doubt, originally belonged to some temple at Nāḍol.

³ Briggs' *Firishtah*, Vol. I. p. 196.

⁴ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. pp. 229-30.

⁵ *Bharuagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 93; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 48.

⁶ From verse 16 of the Chirvā inscription (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXI. p. 143 ff.) it appears that Nāḡabrada or Nāḡlā, the ancient capital of the Guhilots, was destroyed by a Muhammadan army, when Pamerāja son of Yūgēśvara, who was appointed a *talāra* of Nāḡlā by king Padmasimha, fell in the battle. This event must have happened in the reign of Jaitrasimha, for we are distinctly told in the *Hamīra-mada-mardana* that the Turushka army burnt the whole of Mōwār, which was then held by Jayatka, alias Jaitrasimha (Professor S. R. Bhattacharya's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, pp. 20 and 22). The subsequent defeat of the Turushka army by Jaitrasimha is also mentioned. It was at this time perhaps that Nāḍol was seized by him.

⁷ Two inscriptions of this prince have been found, one at Nāḡā and the other at Belār, both in the Bāli District, Jodhpur state (*Prog. Rep. Archaeol. Surv. Ind., West. Circle*, for 1908, pp. 49-50).

said about him that, although he was the lord of the Naddūla (Nāḍōl) kingdom, he established himself at Jālabipura, i.e. Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the southern part of Mārwar. According to Mūta Nēṇsi, he wrested it from the Paramāras. Certain it is that Jālōr was in the possession of the Paramāras till A.D. 1117, as an unpublished inscription found there shows.¹ One of the inscription slabs of Kumbhakarga originally found at the temple of Māmādēva at Kumalgadh² informs us that the Guhilōt prince Kumarasimha expelled Kitū, who had occupied his country. In all the Sonigārā chronicles Kirtipāla is called Kitū, and Kumarasimha was only two generations prior to the Guhilōt chief Jaitrasimha for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1213-1252. Kumarasimha can thus very well be a contemporary of the Chāhamāna Kirtipāla, who must, therefore, be supposed to have carried an expedition of conquest in the Guhilōt territory.

Kirtipāla had at least three sons and one daughter. Of the three sons, one was Samarasimha who succeeded him, and the other two were Lakhanapālha (or -pāla) and Abhayapāla mentioned in No. XV as the *jagirdārs* of Sināṇava or Samnāṇaka, which, I think, has to be identified with Sōnāṇā. Sōnāṇā, it will be remembered, was one of the villages granted to Kirtipāla by Alhamadēva, and Kirtipāla further seems to have made it over during his brother's régime to two of his sons. The name of his daughter was Rūḍaladēvī, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, built two temples to Śiva at Jālabipura (Jālōr).

After Kirtipāla, his son Samarasimha, as stated above, became king. Two inscriptions of this prince have been found at Jālōr (Nos. XVIII and XIX). One of these is dated in V.E. 1239 and the other V.E. 1242. The Sūndhā hill inscription says that he built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala. In the second of the Jālōr epigraphs just alluded to, the following words occur : *śrī-Jālabipuriya-Kamechanagiri-gaḍhasy-opari*, etc. From this it is plain that Kamechanagiri or Kanakāchala was the name of the hill, on which the fort of Jālōr is situated. When Kirtipāla carved out a kingdom for himself, he established his capital at Jālōr, whose fortifications were commenced by him. But as he did not live long after it, this work had to be carried out by his son Samarasimha. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of him as having weighed himself against gold and having afterwards founded the city of Samarapura, which has not yet been identified. A copper-plate charter of the Chaulukya sovereign Bhimadeva II., dated V.E. 1263, makes mention of his queen Lilādēvī, who is spoken of as *Chāhu' rāṇa Samarasīhasutā*,³ i.e. the daughter of the Chōhān *rāṇa* Samarasimha. Professor Kielhorn was the first to identify him with the Mārwar Chāhamāna king of that name.

The Sūndhā hill inscription represents his son Udayasimha to have succeeded Samarasimha. But Udayasimha was not his eldest son, because a Mount Abū inscription speaks of Manavasimha, who is called a son of Samarasimha and the elder brother of Udayasimha.⁴ Up to the time of Samarasimha, the power of the Sonigārā family had been confined to the Jālōr District and the territory intervening between it and Kīraḍū. And it was Udayasimha who greatly extended these dominions, which now included the districts originally held by the Nāḍōliya branch. For, in the Sūndhā hill inscription, amongst the places held by him, Naddūla (Nāḍōl) is distinctly mentioned. The other places named are Jāvālipura, Maṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭamēru, Sūrāchanda, Rāṭahrada, Khēḍa, Rāmasaīnya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura and Satyapura. Almost all these places have been identified by Professor Kielhorn. Jāvālipura is Jālōr, Maṇḍavyapura Maṇḍōr, 6 miles north of Jodhpur ; Vāgbhaṭamēru is Bādmēr, not

¹ This inscription stone is in the *tōpkhānā* at Jālōr and is put up upside down. This inscription will shortly be published by me.

² These slabs have now been deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, pl. II, l. 1.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX. p. 80.

however the place which at present goes by the name, but Junā Bādmēr or simply Junā, as it is also called, about 12 miles south-west of the modern Bādmēr.¹ Surāchamḍa is, of course, Surāchand in the Sānchor District. Rāṭahrada has its name still surviving in Rāḍḍhaḍā, by which the district round about Nagar-Guḍhā in Mallāṇi is still popularly known.² Khēḍa is obviously the place of the same name in Mallāṇi, the ancient capital of that province. Rāmasainya is Rāmsen, Śrīmālā Bhinmāl, and Ratnapura Ratanpur, all in the Jaswantpurā District. And, lastly, Satyapura is Sānchor. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of Udayasimha as having put an end to Sindhurāja and as not having been conquered by the Gurjara kings. Sindhurāja may either be a ruler of Sindh, as Professor Kielhorn takes it, or an individual prince of that name. In the case of the latter supposition, he may be identified with the prince of that name, whose son Śaṅkha was defeated near Cambay by Vastupāla during the Vāghelā king Lavanaprasada's reign. Udayasimha is also described in a general way as having curbed the pride of the Turushka. This must simply be taken to mean that he had come into hostilities with the Muḥammadans, and not necessarily that he obtained any decisive victories over them. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* refers to it as follows: "Soon after this event, Oodyo-Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwar, having refused to make the usual payments, the king was induced to march and reduce him to obedience."³ The king here alluded to is Shams-ud-Din Altamash, and Oodyo-Sa of Jalwar is unquestionably Udayasimha of Jālōr. The same event is described in greater detail in the *Taj-ul-Ma-Āsir* as follows: "After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jālewār (Jālōr) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shams-ud-din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the state, such as Raknu-d-din Hamza', Izzu-d-din Bakhtiyār Nasiru-d-din Mardān Shāh, Nasiru-d-din 'Alī and Badru-d-din Sankartigin," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jālewār by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Uḍi Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewār, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shams-ud-din, Uḍi Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultān granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rāi presented respectfully a hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. "The Sultān then returned to Dehli. . . ."⁴ This event came to pass between A.D. 1210 and 1216.

We have seen above that Udayasimha is spoken of in the Sūndhā hill inscription as not having been defeated by the Gūrjara kings. This no doubt refers to the fact mentioned in the *Kirtikaumudī* that four kings from Mārwar conspired to advance against Lavanaprasada while from the south the Yādava sovereign Siṃghana was marching against him. The *Kirtikaumudī* further says that the Vāghelā prince succeeded in driving back the Mārwar chiefs, of whom Udayasimha must undoubtedly have been one. A few years later, Lavanaprasada's son, Vira-

¹ [On page 59 above, Bāhaḍamōra is identified with this Bādmēr.—Ed.]

² See page 41 above.

³ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. I. p. 207.

Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 238.

dhavala, had been placed in almost the same predicament, as we learn from the *Hammīra-madamadana*, when Simhara again marched against him on one side, the Turushka called Milachhikara on another, and Dēvapāla, king of Mālwa, on the third. The kings of Murudēva were on the point of joining the Turushka army, when Viradhavala at once marched and won them over to his side. The names of these kings are Sōmasimha, Udayasimha, and Dhāravarsha.¹ Of these, Udayasimha is doubtless the Chāhamāna chief of Jālōr.

A manuscript of Rāmachandra's *Nirbhayabhīnaryāyoga* has the following :

*Saṃvat 1306 varshē Bhīmrava-vadī 6 Ravāṭ-ady-ēha Śrī-mahārājakula-Śrī-Udayasimha-dēva-kalyāṇa-rājya-rājyē.*²

It will be perceived at a glance that the Udayasimha here referred to is the Chāhamāna prince Udayasimha, for whom we have inscriptions with dates ranging from V.E. 1262 to 1306. Similarly, at the end of his work entitled *Vicēkavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapala of the Vāyaḍa family, who was looked upon as son by Dēvapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasimha of the Chahvana dynasty and the lord of Javalipura.³ It can hardly be doubted that the prince here alluded to is the Chāhamāna Udayasimha of Jābalipura (Jālōr).

Udayasimha's queen was **Prahlādanadēvī**, who bore to him two sons, **Chāchigadēva** and **Chāmunda-rāja**. From Bhinnāl Inscription No. XIII. we learn that Udayasimha had one more son at least, *viz.* **Vahadasimha**.⁴ From other accounts it appears that he had also a daughter. For, it is stated by Rājasekhara in his *Prabandhachaturvīṃśati* and by Harshagani in *Vastupī-lacharitra* that the Vaghela king **Viradhavala** had two sons, *viz.* **Virama** and **Visala**. The cause of the latter was espoused by **Vastupāla**, and the former had to flee for refuge to his father-in-law Udayasimha, chief of Jābali, but was treacherously murdered at the instigation of **Vastupāla**.⁵

Udayasimha was succeeded by his son **Chāchigadēva**. In the Sāndhā hill inscription he is described as "destroying the roaring **Gūṛjara** lord **Virama**, hating the enemy **Śūlya**, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking **Patuka**, depriving **Saṅga** of his colour, and a thunder-bolt to the mountain, *viz.* the furious **Nahara**." Virama, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, is doubtless the son of Viradhavala just mentioned. Perhaps he was assassinated by Chachiga at the instigation of Vastupala during his father Udayasimha's reign. Śūlya may be, as suggested by the learned doctor, the prince of the same name mentioned in verse 19 of the Dabhōi inscription as an enemy of Javunaprasada.⁶ Patuka is perhaps a *dēśī* form of the Sanskritised name **Pratāpa**. The only Pratāpa, who, I think, can be a contemporary of Chachiga, is his cousin, who was the son of Mānavasimha, the eldest brother of Udayasimha. Saṅga is perhaps **Saṅgaṇa**, a ruler of **Vanthali** near Junāgaḍh, who was a brother-in-law of Viradhavala and was slain by him.⁷

Of the reign of Chāchigadēva five inscriptions have been found. The earliest is engraved in the temple of *mātī* on the Sāndhā hill in the Jaswantpurā District. It is dated in the **akshaya-tṛitīyā** of the month of **Vaiśakha** of the [Vikrama] year 1310. The second is dated

¹ Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, p. 16 ff; Dhāravarsha and Sōmasimha were, of course, Paramīra kings and were father and son. Sōmasimha was, in all likelihood, the *purarāja* at that time and had some share in the administration.

² Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 156.

⁴ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 482; here Chāmunda-rāja is also referred to.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 199; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 156.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, page 23.

⁷ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 200.

V.E. 1326. It was found by me at Sāvādī, but was originally lying at Karādā in Mewār, doubtless Karahēdā mentioned therein. No less than three of his records have been discovered at Bhinmāl, with the dates V.E. 1328, 1333 and 1334. In the last inscription are mentioned his brothers Vāhaḍasiha and Chāmūṇḍaraja, the last of whom has, as we have already seen, been referred to in the Sūndhā hill inscription.

From an inscription originally found at Budhatrā but now deposited at the Ajmēr museum it appears that Chāchigadēva or Chācha, as he is there called, had a queen named Lakshmidēvi from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādēvi.¹ The latest date we have for Chāchigadēva is V.E. 1334, and after it we find inscriptions of a king who is named Sāmāntasiṃha, Sāmvatasiṃha or Sāmyantasiṃha with dates ranging from V.E. 1339 to 1353. Unfortunately no epigraph has been found which tells us how he was related to his predecessor Chāchigadēva. But all the bardic chronicles that I have seen in Marwār are unanimous in saying that Sāmāntasiṃha was a son of Chāchigadēva. He was thus a brother of Rūpādēvi, to whose reign her inscription belongs. The last of Sāmāntasiṃha's records dated V.E. 1353 is interesting (No. XXIII). It expressly refers itself to the conjoint reign of Sāmāntasiṃhadēva and Kānhaḍadēva. The same thing is done in another inscription found at Chōṭṭan and noted in connection with No. XXIII. Bardic chronicles tell us that the latter was a son of the former. Kānhaḍadēva must, therefore, have been *gururaja* or heir-apparent since V.E. 1353, the date of the latter inscription. No inscription has as yet come to light of this prince when he was on the throne. But he is twice referred to in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh*. While speaking of the conquests, in A.D. 1304, of Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, a chieftain of Alā-ud-Din, it says: "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition."² I am informed by Munshi Devi Prasad that for "Nehr Dew" the published Persian text of the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* has Gātar Dev, which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kānir Dēv. Kānir Dev of Jalwar can be no other than Kānhaḍadēva, son of Sāmāntasiṃha, of Jālōr. For about four years he remained a feudatory of Alā-ud-Din. The account of his death and the capture of Jālōr are given in the same work as follows: "It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew (Kānir Dev), as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly. One day the king was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms; on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the king's troops to take the fort of Jalwar." The king directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwar; and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisbt "the Rose of Heaven." She evinced great bravery and nearly succeeded in taking the fort, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly. Allā-ood-Doen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under Kumal-ood-Doen, a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwar by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures. The news of this event created great joy at the capital."³ The exact date of this event is not specified in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh*, but the latter implies that it must have come to pass shortly before A.D. 1309.

According to the chronicle of Mūtā Nensi, which is looked upon as of the highest authority throughout Marwār, Chāchigadē had three sons, viz. Sāmvatasi Raval, Chahadadē, and Chāndra. Sāmvatasi's son was Kānhaḍadē, who was the lord of Jālōr and was also

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 313.

² Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. I. p. 362.

³ *Ibid.* p. 370.

styled the tenth **Salagarāma** (Śāligarāma) and **Gugulinātha**. He and his son **Virama** died three days after fighting with the **Pātasāha** (i.e. **Alā-ud-Din**), who then captured Jālōr. This event happened in V.E. 1368. **Jinaprabhasuri**, author of the *Tirthakalpa*, tells us that the temple of **Mahāvira** at **Satyapura** (Sāñchōr) was polluted by Alā-ud-Din's army and the image carried off in V.E. 1367. As Sāñchōr is not far off from Jālōr, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the army, which captured Jālōr, polluted the temple of Sāñchōr also. And as the sack of this Jaina fane occurred in the lifetime of Jinaprabhasuri, the date given by him must be accepted as correct. Between this and the date of the capture of Jālōr given by Mūta Nēnsi, the difference is but one year, which is of no consequence, for, as we learn from the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh*, the siege of Jālōr lasted for a long time, and it is possible that, while the siege continued, a detachment of the army proceeded to Sāñchōr for pillaging the temple whose fame must have spread all over southern Mārwar. The date 1368 V.E.=1311 A.D. may thus be taken to be the year when the fort of Jālōr fell into the hands of Alā-ud-Din.

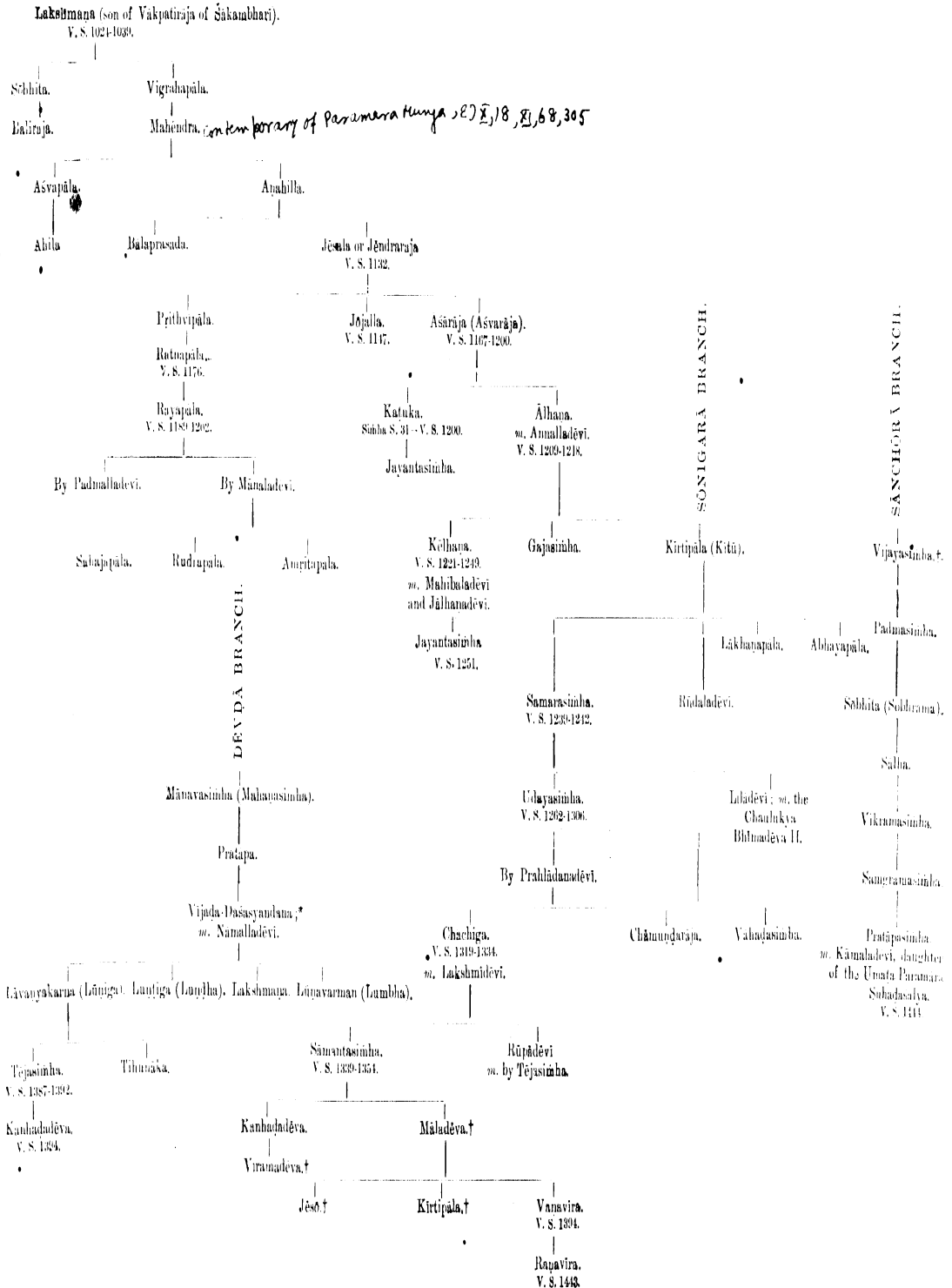
Mūta Nēnsi says that, when Jālōr was on the point of being taken, **Kānhaḍadēva** managed to send off his brother **Maladeva** from the fort in order that the **Sōnigarā** family might not be completely destroyed. **Māladēva** continued to live a migratory life for some time, but soon succeeded in winning the favour of the Muḥammadan emperor, who was pleased to assign to him the fort of Chitōr which remained in his possession for seven years. After describing the flight of the **Guhilōt** prince **Ratnasimha** from Delhi, the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh* says as follows: "At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew (sister's son) of the Raja. The Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."¹ **Abool Fazal**, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, gives the same account, but mentions **Māladēva** as the name of the Hindu prince. **Māladēva** is mentioned by Tod also in connection with the fall of Chitōrgaḍh, with regard to which he says that Alā-ud-Din "delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalor, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals."² Mūta Nēnsi tells us that **Māladēva** had three sons, viz. **Jēsō**, **Kitapāla** and **Vaṇavira**. Of Jēsō we know absolutely nothing. As regards Kitapāla, he may perhaps be the same as the **Chahumāna Śrī-Kituka**, whom together with Alā-ud-Din, **Rānā Bhuvanasiṃha** is represented to have conquered in the Rānpur inscription.³ **Vaṇavira**, the third son of **Māladēva** is no doubt the **Mahārājadhīrāja Śrī-Vaṇaviradēva** of the **Kōṭ-Solānkiyā** inscription (No. XXIV), dated V.E. 1394 (A.D. 1338). Both **Māladēva** and **Vaṇavira** are referred to by Tod while speaking about the marriage of the widowed daughter of the former with **Rānā Hammira**. Tod has also described how, with the help of his wife and a scribe whom he had obtained as part of the dower, Hammira succeeded in making himself master of his ancestral fort, Chitōr. He further says that "Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeeran, Ruttunpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity. . . . Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsrore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewar." It is impossible to say how far this account, based solely on bardic chronicles, is true. It is indeed curious how **Gōḍvād**, which comprises **Kōṭ-Solānkiyā** where **Vaṇavira's** inscription was found, is not mentioned amongst the provinces assigned to him by Hammira. It is also

¹ Briggs' *Firishtāh*, Vol. II. p. 363.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 248. I do not know what authority is forthcoming in support of Tod's statement that Maldeo (**Māladēva**) was the Chief of Jhalore (**Jālōr**), though this is by no means impossible.

³ *Bhavnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 114.

GENEALOGY OF MĀRWAR CHĀHAMĀNAS.



* In the bardic chronicles of Sirohi, Vijada is also called Dhvārāja, from whom the name Devdā was derived.

† These names have been taken from Mūta Naga's chronicle.

inexplicable how the Kōṭ-Solankiyā inscription referred itself to the reign of Vaṇavirādēva alone, if the latter was subordinate to Hammira.

Mūta Nēṣi's chronicle informs us that Vaṇavira's son was Raṇavira or Raṇadhira. Of the latter an inscription (No. XXV), has been found at Nāḍlai in the temple of Jādvāji on a hillock close by. It specifies the date V.E. 1443 (A.D. 1287), and speaks of Raṇavirādēva, son of Vaṇavirādēva of the Chahamana lineage as then reigning. According to Mūta Nēṣi, Raṇavira had two sons, viz. Kēlaṇa and Rājadhara. The latter is represented to have been killed in V.E. 1482 while fighting with Rava Raṇamalla. The same event appears to be alluded to in the following words of Tod about this prince, whom he calls Rimmul: "With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the Viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chōhāns, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar."¹

Here closes my account of the Sōnigarā dynasty. Sōnigarā is a *sākhā* or division of the Chōhāns, and derives its name from Songar, i.e. Suvarṇagiri, by which the fort hill of Jālōr was known. We have seen above that Kirtipāla, son of Ālhaṇa, established himself at Jālōr. And consequently all the Sōnigaras trace their descent from Kirtipāla, who is known by the abbreviated form Kirtu in their records. The descendants of Chōhān kings who preceded Kirtipāla are called Naḍolīyas, very few of whom are now found in Mārwar. They are now settled, I am told, in the Palampur Agency at such places as Thirād and others. A third *sākhā* of the Mārwar Chahamānas was the Dēvdā, to which the present prince of Sirohi belongs. It sprang from Manavasimha, alias Mahānasimha, the eldest son of Samarasimha and the grandson of Kirtipāla. All the Chahamāna inscriptions found on and round about Abū belong to this dynasty. There is yet a fourth sub-division of the Mārwar Chōhāns, which is known as Sānchōrā. They were unquestionably connected with Sānchōr, in which district they are still found in large numbers. And it cannot be seriously doubted that Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. are records of this dynasty. They are dated in V.E. 1444 and belong to the reign of Chāhuāṇa Pratapasimha, also called Pātā. A history of five generations is here given, and we are even told that they belonged to the family of Lakshmasimha, king of Naḍūla. But beyond saying that it was one of the branches sprung from Lakshmaṇa, we are not informed how exactly they were connected with the Sōnigarā *sākhā* and whence they branched off. Mūta Nēṣi, however, gives the following genealogy of the Sānchōrā Chōhāns: (1) Rāva Lākhaṇa, (2) Bali, (3) Soli, (4) Mahāda Rāva, (5) Apahala, (6) Jind Rāva, (7) Āsa Rāva, (8) Maṇaka-Rāva, (9) Ālhaṇa, (10) Vijaisi, who captured Sānchōr, (11) his son Padama-si, (12) his son Sobhrama, (13) his son Sālō, (14) his son Vikāma-si, and (15) his son Pātō. It will be seen from this account that it was Vijaisi, who first made himself master of Sānchōr. And amongst the names that follow his may be recognised those given in Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. Thus Sobhrama, Sālō, Vikāma-si and Pātō of Mūta Nēṣi's list are Sobhita, Sālha, Vikramasimha, and Pratapasimha. The order of succession also is correct except for the omission of the name of Saṁgrāmasimha, father of Pratapasimha. Mūta Nēṣi's account again agrees with the inscription in deriving the descent of these princes from Lakshmaṇa, but further gives the additional information that the founder of the Sānchōrā branch of the Chōhāns as such was Vijaisi, apparently son of Ālhaṇa. There appears to be a little confusion in the order of succession between Lakshmaṇa and Vijaisi as given by Mūta Nēṣi, but there is no difficulty in recognising Ālhaṇa to be the name of that Chōhān prince, who was father of Kēlhaṇa and Kirtipāla. Just as his son Kirtipāla seized Jālōr, established himself there, and became the founder of a Chōhān branch called Sōnigarā, so another son, named Vijaya-si, appears to have captured Sānchōr, where he reigned and originated the Sānchōrā line.

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. p. 15.

No. 5. —PALITANA PLATES OF DHARASENA II.; [GUPTA]-SAMVAT 252.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates are one of seven sets of copper-plates which were discovered some 40 years ago in an underground chamber at Palitānā in Kāthiavār, and which now belong to the State of Palitānā. Like the plates of Simhaditya (No. 2 above), they were first described by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 130, No. V, and I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr. Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the original plates.

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr. Venkayya, 11½ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height. Each plate bears 18 lines of writing on its inner side. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second, but it is impossible to say whether the existing seal belongs to this or to one of the other five Maitraka grants discovered along with it.¹

The writing on the plates is well preserved, and the alphabet is of the usual Valabhī type. The letter *ē* occurs in *eta* (l. 29) and *Ekalika* (l. 24). The sign of *jikrāmaliya* is employed once (l. 21). The date (l. 36) is expressed in numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit prose; two verses from the *Mahabharata* are quoted near the end (l. 35 f.). The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded, especially in the grant portion, and the whole inscription teems with orthographical mistakes of every description. The *anusvāra* is replaced by guttural *ā* in *siāha* (twice in l. 7), *i* by *yi* in *yira* (l. 5), the vowel *ri* by *ru* in *pīru* (l. 23) and by *ri* in *kriṭa* (ll. 3, 36), etc. The doubling of *chh* after short vowels or the preposition *a* is disregarded throughout (ll. 3, 29, 33, 34 (twice), 35), and *ttra* is replaced by *tra* in *tatra* (l. 8) and *sattra* (for *sattrā*, l. 12). The following **Prākṛit** forms deserve to be noted:—*paṇṭi* for *paṇkti* (l. 4), *Mahēśara* for *Mahēśvara* (l. 16), *viśadhika* for *viṃśatyadhika* (l. 26), *triśadhika* for *triṃśadadhika* (l. 27), *devtriśa* for *devtriṃśat* (l. 26), *varisha* for *varsha* (l. 35), *darisayitā* for *darśayitā* (l. 20), *prāpiya* (l. 28) or *prāpiya* (ll. 24, 26) for *prīpya*, and *sapariyya* for *saparyya* (l. 11).

The inscription records a grant of land by the Maitraka king Dharasēna II. of Valabhī and is dated on the very same *tithi* of the same year as four other grants of the same king.² The panegyrical introduction is practically identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The only point worth mentioning is that the name of his grandfather is spelt **Dharapaḍa** (l. 11), while his remaining grants read either *Dharapatta* or *Dharapadda*.³

The grant portion runs as follows:—

(Line 1.) From Valabhī,—

(L. 21.) the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious *Mahārāja* Dharasēna (II.), being in good health, commands all (*officials*), (*viz.*) *āyuktakas*, *vinīyuktakas*, *drāṅgikas*, *mahātīaras*, irregular and regular soldiers, *dhruvādhikaranikas*, *dīndapāśikas*, *chorōd-dharapikas*, *rājasthānīyas*, *kumārāmītyas*, etc. and others according as they are concerned:—

(L. 23.) “Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain rewards in this (*world*) and in the next, I have granted:—

(L. 24.) “180 *pādārcatas*,⁴ (*held by*) Chari (?), on the north-eastern boundary of the village

¹ See Mr. Jackson's remarks, *loc. cit.*, bottom of page.

² Nos. 469-472 of Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*.

³ *Gupta Inscr.* plate xxiv. l. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 72, plate, l. 11.

⁴ On this term see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 395, etc. 21, and above, Vol. III. p. 323, note 3.

Nātyōtaka belonging to¹ the [Baṁvū]vānaka district (*sthali*),² and in the west of the field of Dāraka in the village **Ēkalika**, and in the north of the field of Āditya; 120 *pādāvartas*, and the Nimba pond (*vāpi*) containing³ 32 *pādāvartas*, in the east of the road on the north-western boundary (of *Nātyōtaka*); 130 *pādāvartas*, held by⁴ Gōkṣha, on both banks of the (river) **Vatṣa-vāṇaka**⁵ and within the upper part of the Kṣaṇḍabhāḥlaka tank (*taṭaka*) on the south-western boundary of De[va]rakṣhitapātaka belonging to the Nimbakupa district (*sthali*); 100 *pādāvartas*, held by Dharmika, on the northern boundary of the village Chitrakasthalya belonging to the Kadambapadma district (*sthali*); and the Avatara pond (*vapi*), held by Kōdhaka, on the eastern boundary of the ground⁶ of Kadambapadma;—

(L. 29.) “this (*land*), with the *udraṅga*, with the *uparikara*, with the *vata-bhūta-dhanya-Nranyādṛya*, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhīdra*, to the two Brāhmanas Rōgha and Śyena of the Vājasaneyya-Mādhyandina (*school*) and of the Kauśika *gōtra*, for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *baṭi*, *charu*, *vaśradāṭṭa*, *agṇihotra*, and *atithi*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth shall exist, to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, grandsons, and (*further*) descendants, with libations of water, as a *brahmadṛya*.” •

Then there follow the usual admonitions, and two verses of Vyāsa. The last line runs:—

“(This is) the signature of Myself, the *Mahārāja Śrī-Dharaśeṇa*. (*This edict was*) written by the *sandhivigrahadhikṛita* Skandabhāṭa. The *duṭṭaka*] (*was*) Chirbira. The year 252, the 15th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Vaiśakha.”

The date has to be referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era of A.D. 319, and the specified month places the record in A.D. 571. The *duṭṭaka*, Chirbira, is mentioned in five other grants of Dharaśeṇa II.⁷ The writer, Skandabhāṭa, served both Dharaśeṇa II.⁸ and his father and predecessor Guhasēṇa.⁹ I am unable to identify the geographical names mentioned in the grant.

TEXT.¹⁰

First Plate.

- 1 [श्री]¹¹ स्वस्त¹² [॥*] वलभीत[:*] प्रमभप्रणतामित्राणां¹³ मैत्रकाणांमत्तुलवलस-
पत्रमण्डल[॥]भोगसं(म)सक्तसंप्रहृ[॥*]रगतलब्धप्रता-
2 प[:*] [प्र]तापोपनतदानम[॥*]नाज्जवोपाज्जिता[नु*]रागोनुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रीणी-
बलावास(॥)राज्यश्री[:*]¹⁴ परममाहेश्वरः

¹ The gerundive *prāpya* (spelt *prāpiya* or *prāpiya* in this grant) is synonymous with *udargata*; it occurs again in ll. 26 and 28. Compare above, Vol. III, p. 323, note 2.

² The same term is found in other Valabhī grants. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, p. 212, text line 23; Vol. VI, p. 12, text l. 5; Vol. XIV, p. 330, text l. 23; Vol. XV, p. 187 f.; *Bharnagar Inscr.* p. 37, text l. 6.

³ For *parisara*, ‘extent or area of a pond,’ see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, text l. 25; above, Vol. IV, p. 80, text l. 55; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 239, text l. 6; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 299, text l. 20 f.

⁴ For *pratyaya*, ‘holding,’ see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 170, note 5; above, Vol. IV, p. 80, text ll. 55 and 61; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, p. 205, text l. 10, and Vol. XIV, p. 330, text ll. 23-25; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 299, text ll. 17 and 19.

⁵ Compare *Piñchhukūpikā-vaha*, above, Vol. IV, p. 80, text ll. 55 and 59.

⁶ For *svatata* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 15, text l. 11; Vol. IX, p. 239, text l. 4; Vol. XIV, p. 330, text l. 25; Vol. XV, p. 187, note 9.

⁷ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 70; Vol. VIII, p. 303; Vol. XV, p. 188; *Bharnagar Inscr.* p. 37.

⁸ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 12; Vol. VII, pp. 70 and 73; Vol. VIII, p. 303; Vol. XV, p. 188; *Bharnagar Inscr.* p. 37.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, p. 175, and Vol. V, p. 207.

¹⁰ From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

¹¹ Read स्वस्ति.

¹² Read मैत्रकाणां.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ Read ॐ श्री.

- 3 श्रीसेनापतिभटाकस्तस्य¹ सुतस्तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपविचिक्रितशिरा[:*]² शिरावनत-
श्चुचुडामणिप्रभाविङ्ग-³
- 4 रितपदन्खपन्तिदिधितिदीनानाथक्रिपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभव[:*]⁴ पर[म*]माहेश्वरः
श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानु-
- 5 जस्त[त्*]पादाभिप्रणामप्रस्ततस्ततरविमलमौलिमणिर्म(र)त्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानध-
र्मा⁵ धर्मराज यिव⁶ वि[हि]तविन-
- 6 यव्यवस्थापततरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभगैकस्वामिना⁷ परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्या-
भिषकमहा⁸ विश्राणनाव-
- 7 पूतराजश्री[:*] परममाहेश्वर⁹ महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिङ्ग[:*] सिङ्ग¹⁰ इव तस्यानुज[:*]
स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघ-
- 8 टानीकानामकविजयि¹¹ शरणेपिणि¹² शरणमवबोढा शास्त्रार्थतत्वाना¹³ कल्प-
तररिव¹⁴ सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिना¹⁵ यथाभि-
- 9 लपितकामफलोपभोगद[:*] परमभागवत[:*] श्रीमहाराजधुवसेनस्तस्यानुजस्त-
शरणार[वि]न्दप्रणतिप्रविधता-¹⁶
- 10 शेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्वचरितोदकक्षालित(र)सकलकलिकलंकः प्रसभनिर्जिताराति-
पक्षप्रथितमहिमा¹⁷ पर-
- 11 मादित्यभक्त[:*] श्रीमहाराजधरपडस्तस्य[र*]भजस्तत्पाद(र)सपरिव्यावाप्तपुण्योद-
य[:*]¹⁸ शैशवा[त्*] प्रभृत¹⁹ खड्गहितय-²⁰
- 12 बाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस्वत्वनिक्षयः²¹ तत्प्रभाव(र)प्रणताराति-
चूड[र]खप्रभासंस-
- 13 क्तसव्यपादनखरश्मिसंहति[:*] सकलस्मृतिप्रणितमार्गसम्यत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदय-
र[ञ्ज]नादन्वर्थराजशब्दो²² [रू]-
- 14 पकान्तिस्थिर्यगाभिर्य(र)बुद्धिसम्यङ्गि[:*]²³ स्मरशश[र*]ङ्ग[र*]द्रिराजोदधिचिदशगुरु-
धनशान(र)तिशयान[:*]²⁴ शरणगताभय-
- 15 प्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्त[र*]शेषस्वकार्यफल[:*]²⁵ प्र[र*]र्थन[र*]धिकार्थप्रदा-
नानन्दितविहङ्गुह[त्*]प्रणयिहृद-

¹ Read 'सेनापति'.

² Read 'पादन्खपङ्क्तिदीधितिदीनानाथक्रिपण'.

³ Read 'इव'.

⁴ Read 'श्वरो'.

⁵ Read 'शरणे'.

⁶ Read 'ना'.

⁷ Read 'सपथी'.

⁸ Read 'सर्व'.

⁹ Read 'रथैर्यगाभिर्य'.

¹⁰ The 'द' of तृणवद²⁵ was corrected by the engraver from 'व'.

¹¹ Read 'पवित्रीकृत'.

¹² Read 'पङ्क्ति' and 'लार्भगैक'.

¹³ Read 'सिङ्ग; सिङ्ग'.

¹⁴ Read 'स्तिरवाना'.

¹⁵ Read 'विधीता'.

¹⁶ Read 'प्रथति'.

¹⁷ Read 'स्मृतिप्रणीत' and 'सम्यक्परि'.

¹⁸ Read 'शशङ्गादि'.

¹⁹ Read 'शिरा' and 'विङ्गु'.

²⁰ Read 'प्रशस्ततर'.

²¹ Read 'भिषक'.

²² Read 'नामिकविजयो'.

²³ Read 'तत्तरिव'.

²⁴ Read 'मा'.

²⁵ Read 'वित्तिय'.

ii.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

- 16 य[:*] पादचारिव¹ सकलभूवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोद[:*]² परममाहेश्वर[:*]³
श्रीमह[र*]राजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्या-
17 दन[ख]मयूखमन्त[र]ननिव्रितजाह्नविजलोषविचालिताशेषकल्पपः⁴ प्रणयिशतसहस्रो-
पजी-
18 व्य[:*]भोगसम्प[द*][रू]पलोभा[दि]वाश्रीत[:*]⁵ सरसम[र*]भिगामिकैगुणे⁶ सहज-
शक्तिशीक्षाविशेषविमापिताखिलधनु[र्हर*]⁷

Second Plate.

- 19 प्रथम[न]रपतिम[मतिरु]ष्ट[र]नामनुपालयता⁸ धर्मदायाना[म*]पकर्त्ता प्रजोपघ[र*]-
तकारिणां(न)मुप[प]०
20 भवानं[र]दरिश्यिता⁹ श्रीमरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहृतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मिपरिलोभ-
दक्षविक्रम[:*]¹¹ क्रमोप[प]-
21 संप्र[र]मविमलपारिर्वश्री[:*] परममाहेश्वर[:*] श्रीमहाराजधरसेन(॥)कृशली
सर्वानिवायुक्तकविनियुक्तद्रांगिक-
22 महत्तरचाटभटभ्रवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपाशकचोरोहरणिकराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्यादी-
(नां)नन्यां¹³ य[था]-
23 सबद्धमानका[न*]¹³ समाप्तापयत्यस्तु व[:*] संविदित¹⁴ यथा मया म[र*]-
तापिपुण्याप्यायना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिक[र]मुष्मिकफ-¹⁶
24 ल[र*]वाप्तये ॥ [वंदू]वानकस्थलिप्र[र*]पीये¹⁶ नाद्योटकयामि पूर्वोत्तरसिन्धि¹⁷ तथा
एकलिकयामि च [द]रकसत्कक्षेचाद-
25 परत[:*] [च]रिपादावर्त्तशतं शशीत्यधिक¹⁸ तथा आदित्यक्षेचाचोतरत[:*]¹⁹ ॥
तथा(द)परोतरसीन्धि²⁰ पथा²¹ पूर्वत[:*] पादावर्त्तशत²²
26 विशधिक²³ हात्रिशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा²⁴ निम्बवापो [र*] तथा निम्बकुपस्थलिप्र[र*]-
पीये²⁵ दे[व*]रक्षितपाटके अवरदक्षणसीन्धि²⁶
27 वत्सवहकस्योभयतटेपु²⁷ खण्डभेदकतटाकाशोदरे च पादावर्त्तशतं विशधिक²⁸ गोक्ष-
प्रत्ययं [र*] तथा कदम्बप-

¹ Read 'चारिव'.⁴ Read 'संताननिर्वासाज्जलीष'.⁷ Read 'दरिश्वा', and 'विमलपिता'.¹⁰ Read 'दरिश्वा'.¹¹ Read 'संबध्यमान'.¹⁶ Read 'कृशलीप्राये'.¹⁹ Read 'क्षेचाचोतरतः'.²² Read 'शत'.²³ Read 'कृषलीप्राये'.²⁸ Read 'विशधिक'.² Read 'भूवन'.⁵ Read 'वाशितः'.⁸ Read 'नामनुपालयिता'.¹¹ Read 'लक्ष्मीपरिभोग'.¹⁴ Read 'त'.¹⁷ Read 'पूर्वोत्तरसीन्धि'.²⁰ Read 'रोतर'.²³ Read 'विशत्यधिक'.²⁶ Read 'अवरदक्षिण'.³ Read 'हेश्वर'.⁶ Read 'कैगुणे'.⁹ Read 'कारिणामुप'.¹³ Read 'पाशिक'.¹⁶ Read 'पित'.¹⁸ Read 'शतमशीत्यधिक'.²¹ Read 'पथ'.²⁴ Read 'हात्रिशपादा'.²⁷ Read 'तटयो'.

- 28 द्रव्यलिप्रापिये¹ चित्रकस्थल्यग्रामे उत्तरसीन्नि पादावर्तशतं धार्मिकप्रत्ययं
[१*] तथा कदम्बपदस्वतले पूर्वसीन्नि कोधकप्रत्यया [अवतर]-
- 29 वापी [१*] एत[त्*] सोद्रङ्गं सोपरिकर² सब[१*]तभूतधान्यहिर[र*]ण्यादेयं .
सोत्पद्यम[१*]नवेष्टिकं समस्तराजक्रिय[१*]न[१*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणियं³ भूमि-
क्षिद्रन्याये[न]⁴
- 30 (न) वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनकौशिकसगोत्रव्र[१*]ह्मणरोघश्येनाभ्यां बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा-
ग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायाज्ञिकानं[१*]
- 31 क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्काणं[व]सिरक्षितस्थितिसमकालिनं⁵ पुत्रपौत्रा-
न्यभोग्यं उ[द*]कातिस[गं]ण ब्र-
- 32 अद्भ्यं निमिष्ट⁶ [१*] यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भूजत[:*]
क्रिपत[:*] कर्षिपयत[:*]⁷ प्रदिश(य)तो वा न कैश्चि[त्*] प्रति-
षेधे वर्त्तित[व्य]-
- 33 मागामिभद्रनिपतिभिश्चास्वदशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्यान्वस्थिरं⁸ म[१*]नुष्यं सामा-
न्यञ्च भुमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[:*]⁹
- 34 परिपालयतव्यञ्च¹⁰ [१*] यश्चैनमाकिन्द्य[१*]दाक्षिद्यम[१*]नं(त)¹¹ वातुमोदेत .
स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै[:*]¹² सोपपातकै[:*] संयुक्त[:*]¹³ म्यादित्युक्त¹⁴
च भगवता वेदव्या-¹⁵
- 35 सेन व्य[१*]से[न ॥*] षष्टिवरिषसहस्राणि¹⁶ स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भुमिद[:*]¹⁷ १*]
आक्रेत¹⁸ चानुमन्त[१*] च तान्येव नरेकै¹⁹ वसे[त्*] । [१*] बहु-
भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[:*] १*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु-
- 36 मि[त]स्य²⁰ तस्य तदा [फ]लमिति ॥ [२*] स्वहस्ती मम महाराज-
[यो]धरसेनस्य ॥ लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिक्रितस्कन्दभटेन²¹ ॥ दू²²
चिब्बिर[:*] ॥ स २०० ५० २ वैश[१*]ख व १० ५ [॥*]

¹ Read °स्थलीप्राप्य.⁴ Read भूमिच्छद्र.⁷ Read भूजतः कृषतः कर्षयतः.⁸ Read भूमि°, गच्छ°, and °स्मदायो°.¹² Read °भिर्महा°.¹³ Read वेद°.¹⁶ Read आच्छेत्ता.²¹ Read °धिकृत°.² Read °कर°.⁵ Read °सरिर्क्षित° and °कालीन°.⁸ Read °नृपतिभिश्चास्वदशजैरनित्यानैश्वर्यान्वस्थितं°.¹⁰ Read °पालयित°.¹³ Read संयुक्त°.¹⁹ Read °वर्ष°.¹⁹ Read नरेकै°.³ Read °राजकोय° and °प्रक्षेपणीय°.⁶ Read निमिष्ट°.¹¹ Read °माकिन्द्यादाक्षिद्य°.¹⁴ Read °क्त°.¹⁷ Read भूमि°.²⁰ Read भूमिसस्य.²² This is an abbreviation of दूतकः. Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167, note 8; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 70, text line 18, and Vol. VIII, p. 303, note 12; *Bharnagar Inscr.* p. 37, text l. 18.

POSTSCRIPT.

I avail myself of this opportunity for correcting certain mistakes which I have committed in two former articles on Valabhi grants.

1. In Vol. III. p. 323, l. 11, read : “**Hariyānaka**, which belongs to **Akshasarako**, (a subdivision) of the **Hastavaprāharani**.” On *prāpiya* (for *prāpya*) see now above, p. 81, note 1.

2. When reading with me the Nōgawā plates (Vol. VIII. No. 20), Mr. T. K. Laddu justly observed that *uchyamāna* cannot mean ‘said,’ but means ‘being said, about to be mentioned.’ Consequently, the expressions *uchyamāna-bhuktan* and *uchyamāna-vishayē* (Vol. VIII. p. 189) are intended for *Navagrāmaka-bhuktan* and *Chandraputraka-vishayē*. Likewise, on p. 193, text lines 38 f. and 40, *uchyamāna-chāturvidya-sāmānya* stands for *Navagrāmaka-chāturvidya-sāmānya*; and on p. 198, text line 43, the same term represents *Chandraputraka-chāturvidya-sāmānya*. In the Index to Vol. VIII the two districts **Navagrāmaka-bhukti** and **Chandraputraka-vishaya** have to be entered accordingly.

No. 6.—JANKHAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIRASENA.

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

This inscription was found by Mr. R. Burn in the village of Jānkhat in the Tirwa tahsil of the Farukhabad District, United Provinces, and he gave a brief notice of it in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 553. It is engraved on the back of a carved stone, which was among the collection of carved stones called the *Gawān Ūri* or “village gods.” Mr. Marshall sent Dr. Fleet an ink-impression and an estampage of it, together with a photograph of the collection of village gods, which shows the stone amid a quantity of carved stones and fragments of all kinds; and at Dr. Fleet’s request I have edited the record.¹ The front of the stone appears to present in bold relief the head and open mouth of some animal.

Above the inscription are three emblems occupying a triangular space 2½” high and 3” wide. The middle and highest emblem represents a tree, and on each side is that of a “*chai-tya*.”—The inscription occupies a space 7½” high and 4½” wide, and is arranged in seven lines: there seem to be some traces of an eighth line, but the tops of the letters do not always maintain a level. The letters are in good preservation except at the beginning of the lines. The first letter is partially obliterated in each of the first four lines. The last three lines have suffered most, for the first letter in each has disappeared, the final letter is blurred, and most unfortunately the middle letters have gone entirely. From the appearance of this middle portion of the lower half of the inscription Mr. Burn inferred that it had been used to sharpen chisels on. This defacement extends also into the fourth line where one or two letters have been obliterated. The only lines therefore that are fairly complete are the first three.—The characters are Brāhmī, well made and clearly cut, most of which are about ⅓” high. I will consider their form when discussing the age of the inscription: here I need only say that they include the numeral symbols for 3, 4 and 10, and that the short superscript *i* is made to do duty for the long vowel.—The language may be either mixed dialect or Prākṛit; perhaps rather the latter. We have the genitive singular in *sa* twice, and the genitive plural in *nam*. The genitive plural *gishmānam* is peculiar; we should expect the genitive singular. The same genitive plural, however, is found in the form *gimhāna* in inscriptions at Nasik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 1, and p. 73, line 12; and we have also *hēma(n)tāna*, p. 94, line 1, where, again, we should expect the genitive singular. These genitives were perhaps devised on the analogy of the quite correct *vasāna* = *varshānām*, *ibid.*, p. 73, line 12.

¹ I have to thank him for various corrections and emendations.

The inscription has suffered so much damage that we can form no opinion as to what its purport was after the opening part of it. Its interest lies in the point that it is a lithic record of a king, the Svāmin Virasēna, who may be identified with practical certainty with a king Virasena of whom we have coins. Professor Rapson has described and figured one of the coins in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 115, and notes there certain symbols on it which have some general resemblance (but nothing specific except the tree) with the symbols on this stone. And Mr. V. Smith has described fourteen of them, and figured two, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 197, and conjectures there (p. 191 f.) from the provenance of them that Virasēna was a king in the Gangetic Doab about A.D. 300.

The record is dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Virasēna,¹ and on the eighth day in the fourth fortnight of the hot season. As no year of an era is given and the date of Virasēna is not known, we can only fix on palaeographic grounds the period to which the record may be referred; and the following remarks are offered towards elucidating this point. The letters that occur clearly are *k, g, t, n, p, m, y, r, v, sh* and *s*, and they may be compared with the Brāhmi forms in Tables II and III in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*. The facts to be ascertained must be, not what are the earliest records with which letters found in this inscription tally, for particular forms, such for instance as those of *k* and *n*, persisted with little or no modification for several centuries, but rather what was the period when any later or new forms found in this inscription came into use.² The forms of certain of these letters, namely, *m, y, r*, and *sh* do not occur in Table II and are first found in Table III; hence these letters deserve most notice and attention may be confined to Table III. The form of *m* resembles most those in columns VI and VIII of that table; that of *y* those in columns I, II, IX and XIII; that of *v* those in columns I and VIII; and that of *sh* the form in column XIV. The forms of *y* and *v* are therefore found in inscriptions varying in date from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.; that of *m* in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.; and that of *sh* not until the second century A.D. The most significant therefore of these letters is *sh*, and its form shows that the inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century A.D. There are two other features which point to a somewhat later period. First, the mark for the long vowel *ā*, in the letters portrayed in Table III, is formed by a short horizontal bar drawn to the right from the head of a consonant, but here the bar always shows a slight curve upwards—a tendency that became more pronounced in one form of this vowel in the later Gupta alphabet. Secondly, the heads of the letters in this inscription are slightly, yet quite distinctly, wedge-shaped, and this feature also became well developed in the Gupta alphabet. It would therefore appear that this record should be assigned to a time later than the second century, that is, to the 3rd century A.D., and very possibly to the latter part of it; and this agrees with Mr. V. Smith's conjecture regarding Virasena's age, mentioned above.

TEXT.

- 1 Svamisā³ Virasēnasa
 2 samvatsarē 10 3 gishmā-
 3 nam pākshē⁴ 4 divasō⁵ 8

¹ Mr. Burn read the year rightly, as 13, in his account mentioned above. Mr. V. Smith read it as 113; but the character before that for 10 is clearly *rē*, the last syllable of *samvatsarē*.

² [This principle, however, must be applied with caution: any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them.—J. F. F.]

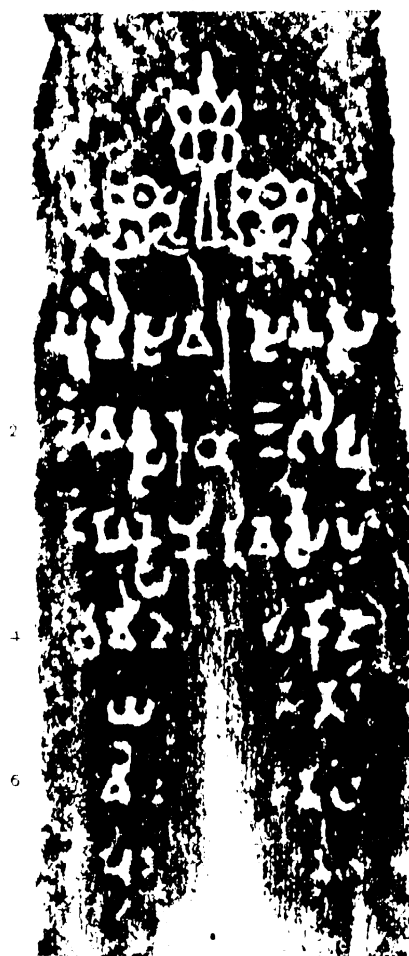
³ Read *svāmisa*. There is a dot above the *sva*, which looks like an *anuvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

⁴ Read *pākshē*.

⁵ There is a dot above the *sō*, which looks like an *anuvāra*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

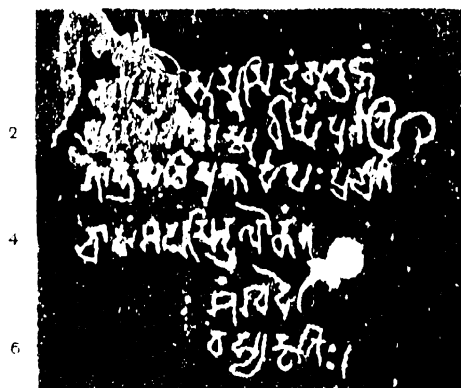
Jankhat Brahmi inscription and Kosam pillar inscriptions.

Jankhat inscription of Virasena.



SCALE. ONE-HALF.

Kosam pillar inscription.—A.



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH.

Kosam pillar inscription.—B.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH.

4	.. ¹	mi	mō	..	..	[y]ikā	[vā]-
5	..	ya	..	..	..	tata	..
6	..	vi	..	..	..	n[ā]ya	
7	..	epn[sa]	..	..	..	ni[ma]	

TRANSLATION.

In the year 10 (and) 3 of Svāmin Virasōna, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season,¹ on the day 5

No. 7.—TWO RECORDS ON THE PILLAR AT KOSAM.

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

The two following inscriptions were noticed by General Sir A. Cunningham in his description of the pillar at Kosam in his *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. I, p. 310. Ink-impressions of them were sent me by Dr. Fleet which he received from Dr. Konow, and at his request I have written this paper on them.

A.—A verse of the 7th or 8th century, A.D.

This is described by General Cunningham thus:—"The next inscription in point of time consists of six lines in characters of the 6th or 7th century. As this record is placed on the lower part of the shaft, from 3 to 4 feet beneath the present ground level, and as the lines are perpendicular to the sides of the shaft, I infer that at the time when it was inscribed, the pillar was still standing upright in its original position, and that the surrounding buildings were still in perfect order. This inference is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang's account, etc."

It is written in the Gupta character of the latter part of the 7th century. The letters are large and somewhat irregularly formed, varying from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is a verse in the *upendrarajrā* metre written in four lines with the author's name added in the fifth and sixth lines. But the engraver has marred the appearance of the verse by the manner in which he has inscribed it. The first line contains the first *pāda* of the verse, but in consequence of his making the first 8 *aksharas* of the second line somewhat small and close he got into it not only the second *pāda* but also the first 3 *aksharas* of the third *pāda*. The third line then contains the remainder of the third *pāda* and the first 3 *aksharas* of the fourth *pāda*; and the fourth line, receiving only the remaining 8 *aksharas* of that *pāda*, looks not only incomplete but also erroneous in beginning with the word *cha*. Consequently also the metre appears faulty and the meaning is obscured. When properly adjusted the *pādas* read aright and the metre is correct. The end of the second line is ornamented with a peculiar scroll, in which the symbol for the vowel *i* in the final *ti* has been continued in a line which bends around beneath the letter *t*, ascends on its right and finishes in a right-handed curve further to the right. The incorrect structure of the lines suggests an explanation of this scroll. The portion of the scroll along the right side of the letter *t* is an upright line. The first half of the verse ends with *su-dhīryam*, but the engraver, thinking that it ended with

¹ This *akshara*, judging from what remains of it and from the space which it occupies, would seem to be a double consonant, of which *kā*, *cā* or *vā* is the second member. It may perhaps be *sra* or *śā*.

² The fourth fortnight of the hot season would be the last fortnight of it, if we should reckon six seasons in the year, and would be (for the time of our record) about the first half of June: with the year of three seasons this fortnight would be about the first half of April.

the second line, put the usual bar there, and the mistake was rectified by turning the bar into a meaningless scroll, continuing its lower portion backward beneath the *l* into the vowel *i* and its upper portion forward in the curve to the right. There was not sufficient room to insert the single bar after *su-dhīryam*, but the double bar at the close of the verse occurs correctly at the end of the fourth line.

The letters are of the Gupta character and resemble most closely those of the Apshead inscription of about A.D. 675, portrayed by Bühler in his *Indische Palæographie*, Table IV, cols. XVIII and XIX (especially the former), with a tendency in some cases towards the shapes in the Multai inscription of A.D. 708-9, and of the Dighwā-Dubauli inscription of A.D. 761-2, cols. XX and XXI in that Table, such as the *dh* (l. 2). At the same time some of the letters have the earlier forms found in the Kāhām inscription of A.D. 459, col. V in that Table, such as *i* and *bh* (l. 1), *v* (l. 3), *ś* (ll. 4 and 5) and *k* (l. 6), though *k* also appears in its form in col. XVIII in the fourth line. The *n* has a peculiar shape, an upright line with a horizontal bar attached to its left side, as in *punāti* (l. 2), and *Indra* (l. 4), thus approximating to its modern form. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, A.D.

Cunningham inferred from Hsien Tsang's account of this spot that this pillar was standing erect at that traveller's visit there during the early part of the 7th century in Harsha's reign, and the manner in which he says this verse is engraved (quoted above) shows that the pillar was also erect when it was engraved, which appears to have been at the end of that century or the beginning of the 8th century. He says the pillar is a Buddhist structure, and the earliest inscription which it bears is an incomplete record which he ascribes to the 4th or 5th century.¹ Buddhism must have retained its possession of this spot during Harsha's reign, for Mr. V. Smith says "Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family, Śiva, the Sun and Buddha: . . . But, in his later years, the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place in his affections: and the eloquence of the Chinese Master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teaching of the Mahayāna sect to the more primitive Hinayana doctrine of the Sammitiya school with which he had been familiar previously."² The question arises whether this verse half a century or more later is a Buddhist or brāhmanical inscription. I am not sure whether the reference to Indra's world could be a Buddhist beatitude. It seems more like a brahmanic benediction, and this is supported by the facts that the verse is in Sanskrit and that the author's name is Śaṅkha-dēva, which might be a synonym for Vishnu. If then this verse be a brahmanical inscription, may we infer that it marks the time when Brahmanism ousted Buddhism from this spot?

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm³ Ya [ikṣat]ē stambham=idaṁ su-tuṅgam
- 2 [grah-āruṇaṁ] pāti⁴ naraḥ su-dhīryam⁵ punāti
- 3 gottram sa vimukta-pāpāḥ⁶ prayāti
- 4 ch-āsaṁśayam=Indra-lokaṁ ||
- 5 Śaṅkha-dē-
- 6 vasya kṛitih |

¹ A. S. I. Vol. I. pp. 300-10.

² *Early History of India*, p. 291.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ These two words and the following *na* are so much blurred that they are far from clear, but what remains of the letters viewed according to the requirements of the metre suggests the reading given.

⁵ Read *dhīryam*.

⁶ The first of these two *p*'s differs considerably from the normal shape, but there can be no doubt that it is a *p* badly formed.

TRANSLATION.

The man, who fixes his look on this very tall pillar, preserves great fortitude when the planets are adverse :¹ delivered from sin, he purifies his kindred and proceeds without doubt to Indra's world.

The composition of Śaṅkha-dēva.

B.—An inscription of A.D. 1565.

This is described as two inscriptions by General Sir A. Cunningham in the following words² :—“This [that is, a brief record of Akbar's time] is followed by a short record of a *soni*, or goldsmith, in three lines, below which is a long inscription dated in Samvat 1621, or A.D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name *Kosimbipura* occurs, the founder of the family, named Anand Rām Dās, having died at Kosam.” He thus pronounced the first three lines of this record to be one inscription and the remainder a separate inscription, but they appear to me to be one, for the following reasons. First, the style of the writing is exactly the same throughout. Secondly, the space between *Sri-Gaṇēśaḥ* in line 1 and *Samvat* 1621 in line 4 is merely the size of a single row of letters and is just about the interval that would ordinarily be left between the invocation to a deity and the body of the composition. The remainder of line 1 and lines 2 and 3 have been inserted by curving the writing upwards to the right so as to widen out the space to the right between lines 1 and 4: thus there is just room for the word *mukha* between *bānū* in line 1 and *samvat* in line 4, and as lines 1 and 2 curve away upwards, room is found to insert *dēv Bhairav* beneath *darpan sonika* and above the end of line 4. The whole inscription looks as if it had been written at first thus—*Sri-Gaṇēśaḥ* as the heading and then *Samvat* 1621, etc., to the end; and as if the words *bānū* to *dēv Bhairav* had been added afterwards, the writing being curved upwards so as to make room for these latter words in the manner described above. Thirdly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate inscription, there was no reason to curve the writing, whether it were written before or after lines 4-18: because, if written before, there would have been a clear space and the inscription would naturally have been written compactly in two or three straight lines conformably to its invocation; and if written afterwards, it would have been placed higher (for there is sufficient unused space above) and then written straight similarly. Fourthly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate composition, it contains no personal name but merely refers vaguely to the “city goldsmiths”; whereas, if the whole is one inscription, the addition in lines 1-3 would be a natural after-thought as a preface to the subsequent names and in order to record a prayer to Bhairava on behalf of them collectively. No argument can be based on the fact that the prayer to Bhairava follows the invocation to Gaṇēśa, because the invocation and the prayer are in one and the same inscription according to either theory. Lastly, the inscription seems, when read as a whole, to give a better sense than when treated as two separate compositions—a point referred to more particularly at the end of this article.

The inscription is written in characters, well-made and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, which (that is, such of them as occur) have a close resemblance to ordinary Nagari. The chief puzzle occurs in the letter *sh*, which, if read as such, produces meaningless words. The key to explain this difficulty lies in the fact that in the modern vernacular of Upper India this letter, when non-initial and uncompounded, is very commonly pronounced *kḥ*; thus, *purush*, ‘a man’, appears as *purukh*, *rishi*, ‘a rishi’, as *rikhi* and *rikh*, *tushar*, ‘mist, frost’, as *tukhār*, and so on. This modification of the letter *sh* appears to have been so generally established, that the character

¹ This is a possible Sanskrit expression, though certainly peculiar. It is not, however, stranger than various compound words found in the Kāvya literature, and the author was limited in his choice of words by the metre.

² A. S. I. Vol. I. pp. 310-11.

for it is used here uniformly to express *kh*.¹ The proper character for *kh* seems to be that, which is used only once, namely, in the word *Lakhimī* (=Lakshmi) in line 7, and which approximates to the form of *kh* in Bengali.² Everywhere else *kh* is expressed by the character for *sh*; and this is done whether *kh* represents an original *sh* as in the word *purukh* (l. 9), or whether it is a genuine *kh* as in the words *mukha* (l. 2) and *likhitē* (l. 5), or whether it represents an original *ksh* as in the words *Lakṣmanu* (l. 5), *khēma* (l. 8), and *Lakhimī* (l. 17). When this peculiarity is observed, the inscription becomes intelligible.

The inscription is in the vernacular. No distinction is made between the sibilants *ś* and *s*, and both are written as *s*, thus, *Mahēsa* appears as *Mahēsa* (l. 11) and *Kausāmbī* as *Kausāmbī* (l. 7), and *Śrī-Gaṇēśaḥ* as *Srī-Gaṇēśaḥ* (l. 1). Similarly *sh* when compounded is written *s*, as in *Baisnav* for *Baiṣṇava* (l. 6, and 15-18). Nor is any distinction made between cerebral and dental nasals (with one exception), thus, *darpana* appears as *darpan* (l. 2), *kripana* as *krapan* (l. 8) and *Baiṣṇava* as *Baisnav*. The one exception occurs in the invocation *Śrī-Gaṇēśaḥ*, and the scribe's knowledge was so faulty that, though he has written the *ṇ* right, he has turned the *ś* twice into *s*. It seems possible further that he did not distinguish between the other cerebral and dental letters, for *Chamanda* (l. 13) looks as if obtained from *Chamunda*.

The character for *v* appears in its ordinary Nāgarī form and also with a dot beneath it. The latter form occurs only at the end of words, as in *dēv Bhairav* (l. 3) and *Baisnav* (ll. 6, and 15-18). In words ending in *va*, the *v* in the present vernaculars drops its inherent *a* and is commonly pronounced with a vowel sound like *w* or *o*, thus, *dēva* becomes *dēw* or *dēo*. The dotted form therefore appears to represent *v* (with that sound), and the undotted form no doubt represents *b*, as seems clear from its use in the name *Kausāmbī* (l. 7), the ancient form of which is always *Kausāmbī* in Sanskrit writings, and also in the word *bānān* (l. 1), which is obviously a verb corresponding to the existing verb *bānā-nā* (Hindi) and *bānā-īlē* (Bengali), 'to make, fabricate,' and in which the initial *b* is so well established that no form with an initial *v* ever appears, so far as I am aware. In a similar way final *ya* drops its inherent *a*, and the *y* is then often pronounced as *ē*, and this no doubt explains why the character for *ē* appears instead of *y* in *samaai* (l. 4).

As the language is the vernacular and the vernaculars have generally dropped the *a* inherent in the last consonant (if uncompounded) of a word, the presumption is that the words here must be read without the final *a*, and this is corroborated by the words *bānān* (l. 1) and *darśān* (l. 2) which, as discussed later, cannot have a final *a*. The nominative is the same in the plural as in the singular, as in *sōnī* (l. 1) and *purukh* (l. 9); and the plural base for the oblique cases is formed by adding *nha* to the singular base, as in *sōnīnha* (l. 2) and somewhat similarly in the pronoun *tōnha* (l. 9). The accusative-dative is formed with the suffix *kau* (l. 2) and the genitive with *kē* (l. 9, 15). The *kē* appears to undergo no modification, for it is the same with the nominative plural *purukh* (l. 9) and the apparently nominative singular *put* (l. 15). *Samaai* (l. 4; probably for *samayē*) appears to be the locative singular of *samay* or *samaē*. *Bānān* (l. 1) apparently = Hindi *bānān*,³ the 3rd person plural of the aorist tense. This verbal base appears with *ā* in Bengali *bānā-īlē*. The second *darpan* in line 2 should, it seems to me, be *darśān*, that is, *darśān*, because there must be a verb in this sentence and the second *darpan* is meaningless; and *darśān* is so much like *darpan*, that the engraver might easily have confused the two by oversight and so have written *darpan* twice. *Darśān* would = Hindi *darśān*,³ the 3rd person plural of the imperative, used honorifically for the singular. This causal verbal base appears in Hindi *darśā-nā* and Bengali *darśā-īlē*. *Likhitē* (l. 5) seemingly = Hindi *likhitē*, the plural of the tense *likhta*, which though called by some a conditional is very often used as a present tense. The pronoun *ya* (l. 1) = Hindi *yāh*, and *pachhīn* (l. 9) = Hindi *pichhlā*.

¹ Compare Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on pp. 50, 52 and 60 above.—Ed.]

² It cannot be the character for *ksh*, because Sanskrit *ksh* is modified into *kh* uniformly in this inscription.

³ According to the method of the paliteration genera *y* adopted in Hindi grammars.

The words *sōnarā* (l. 5) and *sōnī* (l. 1, 10—15) deserve notice as they appear to be distinguished. Though the signatories are mentioned collectively as *sonis* (l. 1), yet those who sign as *sōnīs* are definitely stated to be the *purukh*, 'men,' that is workmen, of Lakshman *sōnarā* and of four other persons to whose names no description is added. *Sonar* therefore seems to be a higher term than *sōnī*, and if *sōnī* designates the workman, *sōnarā* must obviously mean the master or employer; so that, if the former is translated 'goldsmith,' the latter should be rendered 'master goldsmith.' *Soniya* in Hindi means 'one who separates gold from ashes, etc., in the mint,' but there appears to be no word in Hindi corresponding to *sōnarī*, unless it be *sōnār* or *sunār*, the ordinary term for a goldsmith.

As regards the personal names, the inscription shows that much the same custom obtained in the sixteenth century as prevails now in using names shortly, familiarly or colloquially. The vowel *u* was often substituted for a final *a*, thus we find *Lakṣhimanu* (l. 5), *Naligu* (l. 10), *Ratanu* (l. 14) and *Anadu* (l. 16, 18).¹ *Lakṣhimanu* would be the colloquial form of *Lakṣhiman*, that is, *Lakṣhmana*; and *Ratanu* of some name beginning with *Ratna*, such as *Ratnadattu* or *Ratnachandra*. *Anadu* may be short for *Annada*, and the full name might be *Annada-dās* or *Annada-prasād*. *Birtī* (l. 6) is probably short for some name beginning with *brīṭī*, that is, *erīṭī*. *laghu* (l. 8) may = *Raghu*, the letters *r* and *l* being frequently interchanged in the colloquial; and the full name might be *Raghu-nāth*. *Chamanda* (l. 13) seems to point to some name like *Chāmundā-dās*, and *Chāmbila* (l. 15) to *Chandrēśu* or *Chandirēśu*. *Dhanē* (l. 15) is no doubt short for *Dhanēśa* or *Dhanēśvara*; and *Karam* (l. 16) may be abbreviated from *Karam-chānd* (= *Karma-chandra*). I cannot resolve *Hōril* (l. 12) or *Munā* (l. 17), nor *Naligu* or its variants (l. 10); but *Hōrila sinha* is given as a name in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

As regards the date of this record, Dr. Fleet observes as follows:—"It is not capable of actual verification, because the inscription does not include the weekday or some other detail necessary to that end. But, with the year taken as the expired year and the month as the *purṇimānta* month,—in both respects in accordance with the practice which prevailed generally at that time in the locality to which the record belongs,—the equivalent of the given details, (Vikrama)-samvat 1621, Chaitra vadi 5, is 20 February A.D. 1565."

It appears from this examination that the purport of the inscription differs from Sir A. Cunningham's surmise. It shows that five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employees put up this address to Gaṇeśa and Śiva-Bhairava for favour to the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī town. Only three of the leading goldsmiths belonged to that town, and two were strangers apparently. The fact that these two are named first suggests that they were men of more importance than the three residents, and perhaps they were gold-merchants rather than goldsmiths. One of these two was a Vaiṣṇava and so were four of the employees, yet they also joined in this invocation to Gaṇeśa and Śiva-Bhairava. Surely no ordinary occasion would have caused all these men, that is, the whole local guild of goldsmiths, to join in recording such an inscription on this pillar. At that time, early in 1565, several of Akbar's chief nobles and commanders had revolted against him, hostilities were still going on, and the whole country from Delhi to Allahābād must have been in a lawless condition. Kauśāmbī was presumably a town of no great size or strength then, and its goldsmiths as men of some wealth must have been in danger of extortion or pillage at the hands of the soldiery. In such circumstances was it not natural that they should invoke Gaṇeśa as the god of wisdom, and pray that Śiva-Bhairava the terrible god of destruction, would display to them a face calm and bright as a mirror?

Lastly, it is particularly worthy of notice that this record mentions Kōsam as Kauśāmbī, that is, Kauśāmbī, at a period long before the time when archaeologists began to identify the place with the Kauśāmbī, Kōsambī, of the Sanskrit and Buddhist books.

¹ [This practice seems to have been prevalent in Rajputana already in the 12th century A.D.; see Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on p. 38 above.—Ed.]

TEXT.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Sri-Gaṇeśaḥ Bānān ya nāgarik sōnī | |
| 2 | mukha-darpan darpan ¹ sōninha kan | |
| 3 | dēv Bhairav | |
| 4 | Saṁbat 1621 samaai ² nām Chaitra-badi ³ | |
| 5 | pañchami ⁴ likhite Lakhimān ⁵ sōnarā | |
| 6 | Baiṣṇav ⁶ Ananda ⁷ -snt Birti | |
| 7 | Kausāmbi-purī Lakhimī-dās tathā | |
| 8 | Khēma-kṛpaṇ ⁸ Laghu bhāi | |
| 9 | tēnha kē purukh paehhlō | |
| 10 | Naligu ⁹ sōnī | |
| 11 | Mahēśu-das ¹⁰ sōnī | |
| 12 | Hōril sōnī | |
| 13 | Chamanda sōnī | |
| 14 | Ratanu sōnī ¹¹ | |
| 15 | Chandilē sōnī kē put | 4 Dhanē Baiṣṇav |
| 16 | Anadu Rām-das | Karam Baiṣṇav |
| 17 | Lakhimī-dās | Manā Baiṣṇav |
| 18 | Basānta-Rām ¹² | Anadu Baiṣṇav |

TRANSLATION.

Śrī Gaṇeśa ! The town goldsmiths make this. May the god Bhairava show a mirror-like face to the goldsmiths !

Saṁvat 1621, at the time by name¹³ the fifth day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra, write — Lakshman the master goldsmith, the Vaiṣṇava Birti son of Ananda, Lakshmi-dās of the town of Kausāmbi,¹⁴ (*and*) of the same town the brothers Khēma-kṛpaṇ (*and*) Laghu.¹⁵

Their men (*write*) afterwards — Naligu the goldsmith, Mahēśu-dās the goldsmith, Hōril the goldsmith, Chamanda the goldsmith, Ratanu the goldsmith, the son of the goldsmith Chandilē, Anadu Rām-das, Lakshmi-dās, Basānta-Rām, (*and*) four (*others*), Dhanē Vaiṣṇava, Karam Vaiṣṇava, Manā Vaiṣṇava, Anadu Vaiṣṇava.

¹ Read probably *darsān* (for *darsān*); see remarks on the grammar.

² Read *samayē* probably.

³ That is, Sanskrit *vadi*.

⁴ Read *pañchamī*.

⁵ Or perhaps *Lakhimna*.

⁶ Read *Baiṣṇav*.

⁷ Read *Ananda*.

⁸ That is, *kṛpaṇ*.

⁹ Or *Nanīgu* or *Nalīgu* or *Nanīgu*.

¹⁰ Read *dās*.

¹¹ Read *sōnī*.

¹² The last letter looks something like *mhēm*, but the extra marks may be due to injury.

¹³ Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to the constant occurrence of the expression "*Saṁvat — varshē*" in inscriptions, which is calculated to suggest that *samāai* is a synonym for *varshē* and should be applied to the preceding "*Saṁbat 1621*". Such a rendering however presents two difficulties to my mind; first, it would entail treating *nām* as a mere expletive, whereas the insertion of a mere expletive in this laconic inscription (for the preceding words, *bānān to bhairav*, were put in afterwards) would be strange; and secondly *samāya* is not ordinarily an equivalent of *varsha*, vernacular *barsa*, (which might well have been used here), but would apply quite correctly to a day, the *pañchamī*.

¹⁴ *Kausāmbi-purī* is an adjective formed from *Kausāmbi-pur*.

¹⁵ *Tathā* seems to refer to the adjective *Kausāmbi-purī*; otherwise there appears to be no reason for its insertion in 1. 7. It applies obviously to both Khēmakṛpaṇ and Laghu, and so the word *bhāi* is probably plural agreeing with both, though the meaning will be the same if we translate "*Khēmakṛpaṇ (and) Laghu (his) brother*."

No. 8.—THREE COPPER-PLATE RECORDS OF SONPUR.

By B. C. MAZUMDAR, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., SAMBALPUR.

The three copper-plate charters which I now publish were all found in the Feudatory State of Sonpur, attached to the district of Sambalpur. It was in the year 1898 that I deciphered them, as well as another charter which was found at Satalma (called Satallamā in the inscription) in the same district. Mr. Slocock, the then Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, who gave me the Satalma charter to get deciphered, took it back from me with the transliteration and translation of its text, and forwarded it to the Museum at Nagpur.¹

In the sequel I shall have to refer to the Satalma plates as well as the copper-plate charters of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak which have been edited by Dr. Fleet.² For convenience of reference, the subjoined three inscriptions will be denoted by the letters A, B and C, respectively; the Satalma plates by S; and the records published by Dr. Fleet by F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, F 5 and F 6.

As regards orthography, there are two points to be noticed before I proceed to deal with the individual inscriptions. The vowel *ri* was pronounced as *ri* and not as *ru*, as it is now done, by the inhabitants of Sambalpur and Orissa; see, e.g. *pravrita* for *pravritta* (C, l. 15), *riṣaya* for *riṣayah* (C, l. 25). A few similar cases have also been noticed in the Satalma³ grant and in the Kudopali plates.⁴ *Trikalīṅga* occurs for *Trikalīṅga* (A, l. 4; F 1, l. 3) and *Riṣikēśa* for *Hiṣikēśa* (F 1, l. 15). There was only one letter current to denote both *v* and *b*. Owing to the fact that *b* is the pronunciation for both of them in Bengal and Orissa, it cannot be said that *v* is used wrongly for *b*, or *vice versa*.

A.—Vakratantali charter of Mahābhavagupta I.

These are three plates (of four sides), of which the first and last are written on the inner sides only. They are narrower at the margins than in the middle. The height varies from $4\frac{1}{4}$ " to $4\frac{3}{4}$ " and the breadth from $8\frac{3}{8}$ " to 9". The plates are strung together on a nearly circular ring, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, which is passed through circular holes cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " from the edge. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper which bulges out on either side along the ring for a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". In addition to this, a copper pin appears to have been driven through the lump of copper. In the upper portion of this lump is a deep impression, nearly circular, about 2" in diameter. Here is the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting apparently on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with its trunk uplifted. The elephant on the left side is not quite distinct. Close to it is a much defaced legend. I have read it tentatively as *Śrī-Janmējyadēva* [*rājasya* ?]. Considering that the legends on most of the seals of this family are illegible and have not been deciphered, this reading must be looked upon as a mere conjecture.

The plates belong to the time of the *Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P. Śrī-Śivaguptadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamahēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of Trikalīṅga. The grant was issued from the camp of victory pitched at Suvarṇapura. In line 36, the date is given as the third year of the victorious reign of the *P. M. P. Śrī-Janamējyadēva*. This is the earliest known record of Mahābhavagupta I. as well as of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak, as no inscriptions of his father

¹ These have been published by Prof. Hultzsch; above, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43.² Above, Vol. III, pp. 323-59.³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 139.⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 256.

Mahāśivagupta I. have been so far discovered. It records the gift of the village of **Vakratentali** belonging to the **Lupattarā-Khaṇḍa** to the *bhaṭṭaputra* **Jātarūpa**, who was a resident of **Merāṇḍa** and an immigrant from **Rādhāpham¹vallikandara**. He belonged to the **Kauṇḍinya-gotra** and the **Chhandōga-charaṇa**. His *pravaras* were **Maitrāvaruṇa** and **Vāśiṣṭha**.² **Kōi-Ghōṣa**, the writer of these plates, is identical with that of **F 1**, dated in the 6th year of **Mahābhavagupta I.**³ and the engraver, **Samgrāma**, son of **Rayana Ojjhā**, is the same as that of **S**, which belongs to the 8th year of the reign of the same king.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] **Suvarṇṇapura-samavāsita**[b*] śrīmatō vijaya-skandhāvārāt para-
- 2 mahattāraka-mahārājādhiraja-paramēśvara-**Śrī-Śivaguptadēva**-pād-ānudhyā-
- 3 tā-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhiraja-paramēśvara-**Sō-**
- 4 **ma-kula-tilaka-Tri**(tri)kālīṅgādhipati-**Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvaḥ** kuśali
- 5 **Lupattarā-Khaṇḍiya Vakrat[ō]ntali**-grāmō brāhmaṇān sampūjya tat-pra-
- 6 tinivasi-kuṭumbinas-tad-[v]ishayiya-yathā-kālādhyāsinah samāhartṛ-sa-
- 7 nūdhārtri(dhārtri)-dāṇḍapāsika-piśuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājavallabhādīn anyānś-cha
- 8 cha-bhaṭa-jātiyān samājñāpayati [r*] Viditā[m=a*]stu bhavatām yath-āsmābhir=ayam
- 9 mah sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sarvva-bādha-vivarjitat sa-gartōsharah s-āmra-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 mudhukah sa-jalasthalah sarvv-ōparikar-ādāna-sahitah pratinishiddha-chāta-
- 11 bhata-pravēśas-[cha⁷tuh⁷-sima-paryantah Kauṇḍinya-gotrāya M[ai]trāvaruṇa-Vāsi-
- 12 shtha-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charaṇaya **Rādhāpham¹vallikandara**-vinirgatāya
- Merāṇḍa-va-
- 13 stavyāya bhaṭṭaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnō bhaṭṭaputra-**Śrīvachchha**-su(sū)navo saliladhārū-
- 14 parabsaram-ā-chandra-tārak-arkka-kshiti-samakāl-ōpabhōgārthān matā-pitrō-
- 15 r-ātmanś cha puṇya-yasō-bhivṛddhayō viśumati-saṁkrāntyām tāmra-sāsana-
- 16 n-akarikṛitya pratipādita ity-avagutya samuchita-bhōga-bhāgākara-hiraṇy-ā-
- 17 dikam-upanayadbhir-bhavadbhiḥ sukhēnā prativastavyam-iti [r*] Bhāvibhiś-cha
- 18 bhūpatibhir-dda-
- 19 ttir-iyam astōdīyā dharmma-gauravād-asmad=atu(nu)rōdhach-cha svadattir=iv-ānupālā-
- 20 myā [||*]
- 21 Tatha ch=ōktam dharmma-sāstrō [r*] Bahubhir=vvasudha dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar=
- ādibhiḥ [r*] yasya ya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 20 sya yadū bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd-aphala-saṅkā vaḥ
- 21 paradatt=ōti
- 21 parthivāḥ [r*] sva-dānat-phalam-ān[āntya]m para-datt-ānupālano [||*] Śashtim⁸
- varsha-sahasrāni

¹ The akshara *pha* is almost the same as *gā* in ll. 18, 80 and 83.

² See above, Vol. IV, p. 256.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Read *shashṭim*.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 344.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

⁷ The akshara *ta* looks like *ttā*.

[illegible][illegible]

- 22 svargē modati bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē vaśēt
[II*] Agnēr-apa-
- 23 tyam prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=Vvaishṇavi Su(Sū)rya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ [I*] yah
kāñchanam gāñ-cha mahiñ-cha
- 24 dadyāḍ=dattās=trayās=tēna bhavanti lōkāḥ [II*] Āsphōṭayanti *pitarah prava-
- 25 lgayanti pitāmahaḥ [I*] bhūmidatā kulō jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhavishyati [II*]
- 26 Bhūmim yah pratigrihṇā(hṇa)ti yaś-cha bhūmim prayachchhati [I*] ubhau tau
' puṇya-karimāpau niya-
- 27 tam svarga-gāminau [II*] Taḍāganām sahasrāpi vājapeya-śatāni cha [I*] gavām
koṭi-pradā-
- 28 nēna bhūmi-hartā na śuddhyati [II*] Huratō hārayatō yas-tu manda-buddhiś-
tanovṛitaḥ [I*] sa baddhō
- 29 Vāruṇaḥ pāśais-tiryag-yōnim cha gachchhati [II*] Sva-dattām para-dattām va
yō harēd¹-vasu-

Third Plate.

- 30 ndharām [I*] sa viśṭbhayām kṛimir=bhutvā pachyate pitṛibhi[h*] saha [II*] Adityō
Varuṇō Vishṇur=Bba(Bra)-
- 31 hmā Sōmō Hutāśanaḥ [I*] Śūlapāpis-tu bhagavaḥ² ābhi(abhi)raṇḍanti(nandanti)
bhūmidam [II*] Sa(sā)mānyō=
- 32 yam dharmma sētur-uripānam kala(lō) kala(lō) pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [I*]
sarvvān=ētān-bhāvino bhūpati-
- 33 ndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchate Rāmachandraḥ [II*] Iti kamala-dalambu-hindu-
lōkaḥ(ām) śriyam=u-
- 34 nachintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [I*] sakalam-idam-u[dā*]hṛitañ=cha budhvā na
hi pu-
- 35 rushaiḥ parakirttayō vilōpyāḥ [II*] Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajadhira-
- 36 ja-parameśvarn-Śrī-Janamejayadevasya vijayarājyē samvatsarē tṛitīyē Śrā-
- 37 vaṇa-māsā³-sitapaksha-pañchamyam yatr-āṅkatō Samvat 3 Śrāvāṇa śudi 5
[I*] likhi-
- 38 tam=idam śasanam mahās[ā]ndhivigraha-pratibaddha-kāyastha-Kōi-Ghōshēṇa Vallā-
Ghōsha-
- 39 sutēna Samāgrāmēna⁴ u[t*]kṛitam śasa[na*]m-iti : Rayana⁵-Ojjhā-sutēna [II*]
Maṅga[lan*] mahā-śrīḥ ||

B.—Nibinnā charter of Mahāśivagupta.

These are three plates (of four sides) of which the first and last are engraved on the inner sides only. They measure about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and about 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. The engraving is so deep that the empty side of the first and third plates show traces of the working of the chisel. They are strung on a circular ring which is passed through round holes (about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter) cut on the left margin of each plate about 1" from the edge. The ring is 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper, which bulges out on either side along the ring to a space of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The upper portion of the lump of copper is fashioned into a circular seal 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On the seal is cut in relief a squatting figure. Nothing more than this is clear on the seal.

¹ Read *harēta*.

² Is it by mistake that *bhagavāḥ* has been engraved for *bhagavān*? May it be that the form *bhagavā* current in Pāli and Prākṛit was then used in the vernacular too?

³ Read *-māsā*.

⁴ Read *Vallabha* (?)

⁵ Read *Saigrāmēna*.

⁶ In the Nagpur Museum plates he is called *Rayanā-Ojjhā*.

The plates are dated during the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P. Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of *Trikaḷiṅga*. The grant was issued from *Vinitapura*. In lines 45-46 the date is given as the 15th year of the victorious reign of the *P.M.P. Śrīmad-Yayātirājadēva*. F. 5, which belongs to the same reign, but is 6 years earlier, was also issued from *Vinitapura* on the bank of the river *Mahānadī*.¹

The plates record the gift of the village of *Nibiṇḍā* (l. 5) or *Nibinnā* (l. 17) in the *Kōsala* country to the *Dikṣita Puṇḍarikaśarman*, who was a resident of the village of *Maramēṇḍā* in the *Kōsala* country and an immigrant from *Bhaṭaparōli*. The donee was the son of *Nārāyaṇa-śarman* and grandson of *Uhlāsa-śarman*. He belonged to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, had the *pravara* *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*. The writer of the grant was the *Mahākṣhapatalaka Śrī-Uchēhḥava-Nāga*, son of *Allava-Nāga*, who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahika Rānaka Śrī-Chārudatta*, and the engraver was *Tṭhakura Paṇāka*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [||*] Śrī|ma|tō Vini(ni)tapurūt-⁴Paparabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 2 ramēśvara Mā(Ma)hābhavaguptarājadēva-pādānadhīyāt(ta)-paramamāhēśvara-para-
- 3 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Trika-
- 4 līṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēvaḥ kuśali Kōśala-dē-
- 5 sa(sa)-pratibaddha-Ganuṭapāṭā⁵-maṇḍalē ch=Ōttara-pallīya-Nibiṇḍā-grāmē
- 6 brāhmaṇān samp[ā]jya [ta]d-vishayiyān yathakālādhyāsinah samā-
- 7 ha|rti|sa[m]inidhātṛi-yuktādīkarika-daṇḍapāsika-chāta-bhaṭa-pisu(su)-
- 8 na-yē|tri|k-avarōdhajana-rānaka-rājaputra-rājñi-rajavallā|-
- 9 bha(bhā)ḍin sarvān rāja-pādōpajī(ji)vinah samājñāpayati [||*] Vīditam=astu
- 10 bha|va*|tam yath=ās[im*]ābhīr-aya[m*] grāmah sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-
- dasa(sā)parādhah
- 11 sarvabādhā-vivarjitah sa|r*|vōparikarādāna-sahi|ta|ś-chatuh-si(si)mā-pa-
- 12 |r|yantah s-amra-madhukah sa-gartōsa(sha)rah sa-jalasthalah pratinishiddha-chāta-
- 13 bhata-pravēśah Bhāradva(dvā)ja-sagōtrāya | Āṅgīrasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāra-
- 14 dvāja-pravarāya Uhlāsa-sarmanah pautrāya | Na(Nā)rāyaṇa-śa[rmma]-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 15 na[h*] putrāya | Bhaṭa[pa]rōli⁶-vini(ni)rggata(tā)ya | Kōsaliya-⁷Maramēṇḍā-[grā]-
- 16 me(ma)-vāstavyāya Śrī-⁸Puṇḍarika-sarmanē dikṣitāya | Ganuḍapāṭi-
- 17 maṇḍalē Uttara-pallikayā Nibinnā⁹-grāmah [saliludhārā*]pura[s]saram=a-chandra-
- tāra-
- 18 k-ā[r]kka-kṣiti-samakē(ka)-ōpabhōgā[r]tha[m*] mātā-pitṛōr-ātmanas-cha puna
- (punya)-
- 19 yasō(sō)vṛiddhayē tāmbra¹⁰ tāmbra-sū(sū)sanēn-ākārīkritya pratipādita ity=ava-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 351.² From the original plates.³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Read *Parama*.⁵ This is what I read. It occurs also in line 16. No such name is retained for any village or pargana in the Sonpur State. Ghantāpāra in the neighbourhood is however suggested.⁶ Where this Bhaṭaparōli is could not be ascertained.⁷ The prefix *mara* perhaps distinguishes the village from other places bearing the name Menḍā.⁸ Read *Puṇḍarika-tarmanē*.⁹ In line 5 the name is spelt *Nibiṇḍā*.¹⁰ Cancel this word.

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ii a.

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- 20 gamya sam[u]chita-bhoga-bhāgākara-hirany-a(ā)di-pratyayam-upanayadbhir bhava-
 21 dbhiḥ sukhēna prativa[s]tavyam-iti [i*] Bhāvibhiḥ cha bhūpatibhir dānti(tti)r-i-
 22 yam-as[ma]dīya dha[r]ma-g[an]ravād=asmad=annrōdhāch-[cha] sva-dattir(dattir)=iv-
 ānupa(pā)-
 23 [i]jūya¹ | Tathā [ch.ō*]kta[m*] dha[r]mma-sā(sā)strō [i*] Babubhi[r]=vasudhā
 dattā (i) rajabhiḥ Sāga-
 24 r-ādibhiḥ | yasya yas[ya] yadā bhūmiḥ=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Mā bhū-
 25 taphala-suṅkā² vah parādatt-cti pāthivāḥ | sva-dānāt=phalam ānutyam
 26 para-datt-ānupālānē | Sa(sha)sh[hi](shī)-vaśha-sahasrāni svarggō modati bhūmi-(i)
 27 dah | ākshi(kshē)ptā ch=ānumantā cha dvāv=etan narakā-grā(ga)minau |
 Agnōreṇatya[m] *
 28 pra[tha]ma[m*] suvarṇa[ni*] bhur(bhūr)=Va(Vai)shnavi Su(sū)rya-sutās cha gavah |
 yah kāñchana[ni*] gāṇ-cha

Second Plate: Second Side.

- 29 mahiṇ=cha dadya[t] (i) dattās=[tra]yas-tēna bhavanti lokē(kāh) | ³Āspā(āspā)ṭayanti
 pitara[h*]
 30 pravalga(ya)nti pitamahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulō jātaḥ sa nas=trō(ā)[t]ā
 31 bhavishyati | Bhūmi[ni*] yah pratigrih[n]ati yas=cha bhū(bhū)mi[ni*]
 prayachchhati | n[hi]an[hi]
 32 tau puṇya-karmṇāṇa niyatau(fam) svarga-gāminau | Tadāgānā[ni*] salasra-
 33 na vājapēya-sa(sā)tāni(tēna) cha [t] gavā[ni*] kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-hartā na su(su)dhyā-
 34 ti | Haratō hārayatō yas t[n] manda-buddhis-tamō-vṛitaḥ subaddhō Vāruṇai[h*]
 35 pāsai(sai)s-tīryagōṇi(gyānīm) sa gachchhati | Suvarṇam ēka[ni*] gām-ēka[ni*]
 bhūmi(mō)-
 36 r=apy-arddham aṅgula[ni*] [i*] haran(na)=na[ra*]kam-āyāti (i) yāvād=āhuta-sa[ni*]-
 plavah⁴ |
 37 Sva-[da]tā[ni*] pasāra(para)-duttām-vā yō bhavad-vas[u]ndharāḥ | sa vish[hāyā[ni*]
 kṛimi-
 38 [r]=bhō[tvā] pitribhis=saha pachyatō | Ādityō Varnō Vishṇa(shṇu)[r=Brahmā*]
 Sōmō Hu-
 39 tāsā(sā)naḥ Su(Sū)lāpūjis=cha bhagavā[nu-a*]bhina[nu*]nti bhūmīdāh(dān) |
 Sāmānyō-
 40 ya[ni*] dharmma-sētu[r*] nripānā[ni*] kālō kālō pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [i*] sar[vā]-
 41 n=ētāna(n) bhāvināḥ pāthivōndra(n) bh[ā]yō [bhāyō*] yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ⁶

Third Plate.

- 42 Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-binda(ndu)-lōlā[ni*] śri(śri)yam=anuchi[nitya] manushya-jvi-
 43 tāñ=cha sakalam-idam=udāhṛirīn=cha buddhā⁷ na hi puruṣai[h*] para-kīrtayō
 44 vilōpyā iti | Paramamāhēśvara-para[ma*]bhātāraka-mahārājadhīra-
 45 ja-paramēśvara-Soma-kula-tilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrīmad-Yayā-
 46 t[ī]rajadēvasya pūḍānupravarddhamāna-vijayavājyō pañchadasa(śa)mō
 47 samvatsarē | Marggasi (Mārgasira)-māsō (i) sū(su)klapakshē trayōdas(s)yan-tithau
 Samva-

¹ Read ⁹pālaniyā.

² Read ⁹bhūl-aphala-kañkā.

³ The akshara a is different from the other initial as which occur in this inscription. It resembles the letter *da*.

⁴ Read ⁹ā-bhūta-samplavah.

⁵ Read ⁹harēta vasundharām.

⁶ After the mark of punctuation, there is a symbol which may be the vowel *i* erased by the engraver himself, as it is written at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ Read =udāhṛitā=cha buddhā.



48 t 15 Mārgga sudi 13 [i*] Likhi[ta*]m=idam sâ(sâ)sana[m*] mahāsāndhi-
 49 vighrahika-rāṇaka-Śrī-Chārudattasya-āvagatēna mahākṣhapa-
 50 [a]l[ā]ka- Śrī-Uchchhāva-Nagēn-Ālava-Nāga-sutēn=ē(ō)ktir[na]m[m*] Tṭhakura-Panā-
 51 ken eti | Sampadō jalaja-parṇṇa-jalābhā | jivitta maraṇa-santa-
 52 ti-sa[m*]stha[m*] bhōga-bhū(u)ktir-achirāya vilōkyah (?) kirttayō nripatibhi[r*] =
 nri(nna)
 53 lōpyā iti |

C.—The charter of Śatrubhañja.

These are three copper-plates (four sides), the first and last of which bear writing on the inner sides only. The third plate is a little smaller than the other two. The height and breadth of the plates vary --- the former being smaller about the middle than at the margins and the latter being greater in the middle than at the margins. The first two plates measure 8" in breadth in the middle and about 7½" at the margin. Their height varies from 4½" in the middle to 5" at the margin. The third plate varies in height from 4¾" to 1¾" and 7½" to 7¾" in breadth. The plates are strung together on a circular ring 3" in diameter through a hole cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about ¾" from the edge. Between the margin and the proper ring-hole is a second smaller hole on the third plate, the object of which is not apparent. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal whose major and minor diameters are 2¼" and 1¾" respectively. Across the seal is engraved in relief the legend *Śrī-Sa[tra]bhāñja-dēvasya* in the alphabet employed in the inscription. Above the legend is a crescent enclosing within its are a round dot which is perhaps intended to represent the Sun. Below the legend is a recumbent bull facing the proper right. A small portion of the seal is broken to the proper right of the bull.

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Śatrubhañjadēva (l. 10) or Bhañjabhūpati¹ (l. 14), who is described as belonging to the Bhañja race (l. 16 f.) and to the Anḍaja-vamśa (l. 16). He was apparently the ruler of Ubhaya-Khiṇjali-maṇḍala (l. 17). In line 4 reference is made to many kings (named) Śilābhañjadēva.² In their family was king Śatrubhañjadēva. He granted Milupāḍi-Khaṇḍakshetra in the district of Rōyārā-vishaya. The donee was the *bhataputra* Kṛishna, son of Ākhaṇḍala and grandson of Mahōdadhi. He was an immigrant from Ālapa-grāma, belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra and was a student of the Samavēda. He is said to have had three *śishus* for his *pravara*, but their names are not given. The whole inscription is so full of mistakes that it is hardly possible to correct them. Even the imprecatory verses are not correctly quoted. There is no doubt that the record was composed by some ignorant person, and I cannot altogether suppress my suspicion about the genuineness of the grant.

Four other inscriptions of the Bhañja family are known, three from Orissa and the fourth from Gumsūr in the Ganjam District. One of them, which has been published by the late Professor Kielhorn,³ furnishes the following pedigree:—

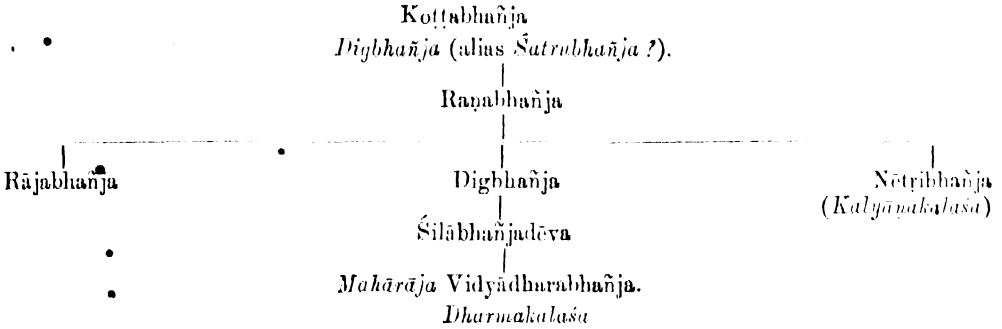
Rājabhañjadēva
 |
 Digbhañjadēva
 |
 Śilābhañjadēva
 |
 Mahārāja Vidyādharaḥaḥaṇjadēva
Dharmakalaśa
 (puruṣa-mahēśvara).

¹ [The reading intended is probably *Dhāradatta* and what looks like the *u* of *ru* may be due to a mistake of the engraver.—Ed.]

² Śilābhañjapati is the name of a village in the Orissa country; see above Vol. III. p. 354.

³ Above, Vol. IX. p. 273.

One of the **Bāmanghātī** plates¹ is dated in **Saṁvat 288** and during the reign of **Raṇabhañja**, son of **Digbhañja** and grandson of **Koṭṭabhañja** of the **Bhañja** family,² while the other belongs to the time of **Rajabhañja**, son of **Raṇabhañja**, and grandson of **Koṭṭabhañja** of the **Bhañja** family.³ In the **Gumsūr** plates, the donor is **Netribhañja**, son of **Raṇabhañja** and grandson of **Śatrubhañja**. The following tentative genealogy may be derived from these four records :—



The subjoined grant is dated during the reign of **Śatrubhañja**, but I doubt if it has to be assigned to the first king on the foregoing tentative genealogy. I would rather assign it to some successor of **Vidyādharaḥbhañja** on the above table. The emblems on the seal may be taken to show that **Śatrubhañja** was a **Śaiva**. But in line 16 of the text he is described as a fervent devotee of the god **Viṣṇu** (*parama-vaishṇava*). The modern representatives of the **Bhañja** family are the rulers of the native state of **Mōrbhañj** in **Orissa**, which probably owes its name to a king named **Mayūrabhañja**. The indirect reference to this king in the present grant in the epithet *anḍaja-vamśa-prabhāra* is to my mind satisfactory evidence of the donor **Śatrubhañja** having lived at a comparatively later period. In the two **Bāmanghātī** plates mention is made of **Virabhadra**, the founder of the **Bhañja** family, who is said to have been born in the great *tapovana* at **Kōṭyāsrama** by breaking open a pea-hen's egg.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Saṁghāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-saṁbhrānta-ki[m*]kara-kṛi-
- 2 tānta bhina | ghaṇanandhakāra-surāstura-gaṇanādapatra tadabhairavam Hara-va-
- 3 puḥ bhavataḥ prapātuḥ || Durvāraḥ vāraṇa-pratipakṣa-Lakṣhi-haṭa-grahaṇa Buddha
- 4 Śrī-Śilābhañja-dēva-⁷narādhipatayo bahavo babhūva bhūri-sahasra-sūkhā teshāṁ ku-
- 5 l[ō] sakala-bhū talapāla⁸-mauli-mālāreḥita-pāda-gṛishu khadga-dhara-hatō-
- 6 na nripati-Śrī-Śilāba[m*]jadēva prakṛta-pauruṣa-raśmi-chakra-ni-

¹ No. 655 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's Northern list.

² The queer wording of the inscription makes it doubtful if **Digbhañja** was a mere surname of **Koṭṭabhañja** or if **Digbhañja** denoted a distinct king. In any case the identification of **Śatrubhañja** and **Digbhañja** with **Koṭṭabhañja** is purely tentative.

³ No. 656 of the same list.

⁴ The **Bhañjas** of **Maurbhanja** as well as of **Ganjam** have the peacock (*mayūra*) as something like a totem. The **Bhañja-rājas** all say that they had their origin in a peacock.

⁵ From the original plates. The text is hopelessly corrupt and I have made no attempt to correct the numerous mistakes.

⁶ Expressed also by a symbol at the beginning of the line.

⁷ **Śilābhañjadēva** was apparently the father of the donor.

⁸ From *la* of *sakala* up to *pā* of *pāla*, there is an erasure in the original.

- 7 ta nisindānitarihridayōpi ptā nripatayah || Gambhīryēna payōnidhi sthi-
 8 ratvena ¹prithivyā valēnāniha + ²savitājananā³ — chināsamamah tapasō Vri-
 9 haspate(tī)-samah | anāsava jaga namakṛitya tajā dattāvakāso vijarājā-
 10 na Śrī-Śatrubha[m*]jadēva itatuladdhiḥ tasmātātējasuḥ bhuvanan-dānya madamāna-
 mi-
 11 lita sambaddhata nripacha[kra] chaturmūgabala kshōbha-chalita-ddharāmaṇḍala ||
 Gaja-tura-
 12 ga-khura-nidaraṇa-ṇa-prasara dadvaladvali vitāna chhachhana janyāgaṇa-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 13 skaddha (?)-vōdikā sēmvarāyataḥ paripata-jaya-Lakshi-samānau⁴ dita-pairaja-
 14 napadāḥ Śrīmad-Bha[m*]jja-bhūpati purā pa⁵(?)ti pura nānyah saradamala dhavalā-
 kura
 15 jasa-pātala-ddhavalita-digavadanā anavarata-pravrita sarimāna dānādita-
 16 sakala-janō Anduja-vamśa-prabhava⁶ parama-Vaishṇava matā-pitri-pādānudhyātū Bhamjā-
 17 mala-kula-tilakah Ubhaya-Khiṇjali-maṇḍala-bhaviśyad-ṛāja-ṛājanākā⁷
 18 śrī ta[ra]ṅga-kumā[ra]-māra-mānya mahā-sāmata⁸ brāhmaṇa praddhāna a-
 19 nyās cha dandapāsi-chāta-bhāta-vallabha-jatinā || yatharahamā-
 20 nayati bōddhayati samadīśayati ch-ānyat || Śivam-asmākaṁ viditam-a-
 21 stu bhavataṁ Rōyarā-vishaya-pratibaddha-Milupāḍi-khaṇḍakshētra-chatuḥ-
 simā(sīmā)-pa-
 22 ryanta-nidhi-schōpanidhi-sahitaṁ akshaya-tritiya-yugādi-dinā⁹ Gaṅgāsandhyā¹⁰
 23 matā-pitro ātmanah punna-virdhayaḥ salila-ddharā-purasarēṇa vidhinā
 24 vidhi vidhanēna saviddhayaḥ | Tāvra-śasana pratipāditayaḥ | yāva-vōda-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 25 rtha-vachanēnah Kāsyapa-gōtrāya triyāriśaya-pravarāu Sāma-vōdādhyā-
 26 yi Ālāpa-grāma¹¹-vinirgataḥ bhātaputra Kṛishṇō Ākhaṇḍala-suta-Mahōda-
 27 dhi-naptrō¹² | Tathā ch-ōktaṁ dhurma-śāstrēshu [chhā ?]la-[kṛi]shhān-mahim dadyā |
 sabijāsasya mō-
 28 dinī yāva surya-kṛitām lōkān tāva-svargamahiyatē || Āsph[ṣ]ṭayati pi-
 29 tarah pravalganti pitāmāḥ bhūmi-dātā-kulō jāta sa mē trātā bhāśhyati
 30 Bahubhir-vasudha datam rājāna Sagarādibhi yasya yasya yudā bhūmi
 31 tasya tasya tadā [pha]la || Mā pāthiva kaṇāchita¹³ brahmasva¹⁴ ma-

¹ The syllables *prithivyā* are engraved over an erasure.

² This cross is incised below the line between the *aksharas* *la* and *sa*.

³ The akshara *ja* seems to have been erased by the engraver himself.

⁴ There is a *reverser* after the akshara *nām*.

⁵ This letter looks also like *rdhpi*.

⁶ *Anduja* means 'born of an egg (*anda*)' of a peacock.

⁷ The *aksharas* from *ja* of *khiṇjali* up to *mā* of the second *māra* in the next line are engraved over an erasure. The akshara *śrī* at the beginning of the next line has perhaps to be cancelled.

⁸ It is not easy to ascertain to whom the epithet *mahāsāmata* applies, as the construction is extremely faulty.

⁹ The grant was made on the *akshaya-tritiyā* day which falls on Vaiśākha-Śukla-tritiyā. *Yugādi-dinā* may mean 'on a Friday on which the Kaliyuga commenced.' [See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 179, under Vaiśākha-Śuklapaksha.—Ed.]

¹⁰ By *Gaṅgāsandhi* is perhaps meant the confluence of the Mahānadi and the Tel.

¹¹ The village Ālāpa could not be identified.

¹² Kṛishṇa, son of Ākhaṇḍala and grandson of Mahōdadi, is the donee.

¹³ The akshara *dā* of *kaṇāchit* is engraved over an erasure.

¹⁴ Land enjoyed by a brāhmaṇa as rent-free is now called *brahmōllara*, not *brahmasva* as it is here.

i.

ॐ शुद्धिसंज्ञायाः कालः कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 २ नादुरिक्तः । गदकः कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ४ श्रीगिरिः कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ६ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 ८ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 १० कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 १२ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे

ii.

ॐ शुद्धिसंज्ञायाः कालः कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 १४ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 १६ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 १८ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 २० कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 २२ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 २४ कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे

26 धैर्यकः कश्चिपशात्रापि विद्यासि अथ प्रवृत्तसामरस्य
 26 योश्चाला वशामठिकिर्गुत् रुधपुत्रकृष्ण आश्रितं सुतमह्य
 28 विष्णुपुत्रवर्षाकुं पमं गालुपुत्रकृष्ण आश्रितं सुतमह्य
 28 रिमियावसुदेवकुं गाला कंताठसुर्गो महियक ॥ आश्रितं सुतमह्य
 30 तः प्रवृत्तं पितामहा सुमिराककुले इताश्चमन्ता ता २०० प्रति
 30 वरुर्गिरं सुधीयता इकमगारिरियस्य यस्यायरासुमि
 32 कृष्णकृष्णकृष्णकृष्ण ॥ मा पावि व कृष्ण वि कृष्ण सुम
 32 कृष्णपिअ कृष्णपम सुपुत्रा सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 34 यमिनाइः व कृष्ण विषं सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 34 यमिनाइः व कृष्ण विषं सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 36 निरुमिरः ॥ ता इले सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 36 कृष्ण सुमिराककुले इताश्चमन्ता ता २०० प्रति

38 १ वरुर्गिरं सुधीयता इकमगारिरियस्य यस्यायरासुमि
 38 कृष्णपिअ कृष्णपम सुपुत्रा सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 40 यमिनाइः व कृष्ण विषं सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 40 निरुमिरः ॥ ता इले सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि
 42 कृष्ण सुमिराककुले इताश्चमन्ता ता २०० प्रति
 42 कृष्ण सुमिराककुले इताश्चमन्ता ता २०० प्रति
 44 माइमाइकि सुतमह्य इले विषं ॥ आ विषं वि

- 32 masād-¹api ānēsha dhamabhēsha²ya atata halāhala-visham || Āvisha[³in] vi-
 33 shamitāhuh brahmasvam visha a[⁴ch]yatō visam=ekākinō hatanti brahmasa putra-
 patrikam
 34 yathā gau bharatō vachhukshari⁵ni kshiramustō ēva datvā sahasrāksha bhūmi bhara-
 35 ti bhūmida⁶ || Vājapēyē-sahasrāṇi aśvamōdha-śātāni cha || gavā[⁷in*] kōṭi-pradā-
 36 nōna bhūmihartā na śudhyati || yatha bijani lōhanti pukirṇāṇi mahitala¹

* * * * *

Third Plate.

- 37 Ēva bhūmi-kṛita-dānam sasyō² sasyō prayachhati [i*] bhūmi yah pratigrihnāti ya-
 38 chchēhha bhūmi prayachhati ubhai tai punya-karmā niyatai svarg-gāminai [i*]
 Harantō hāra-
 39 yatō yas=tu ma[³in]da-budhis=tamā-vṛitah sa batdhā Varuṇan⁴h pāśyēs=tiryayō-
 40 nishu jāyētō || Sva-datām para-datām vā yō harēti vasu[⁵in]dharā || sa kapilā-
 41 śataghānam ēnāsi pratipadyatō || Hiramnyamēka gā-
 42 m=ēka[⁶in] bhūmir=apy ardhm-agula || harantō naraka yā[⁷in]ti yava-
 43 d-āhuta-samplavah || Siva[⁸na]gana Pāṇḍi³-sutēnō lāchhinta⁴
 44 mahārājaki⁵ mudrēti⁶ ||

* * * * *

In order to localise and identify the places mentioned in the foregoing three grants and other allied inscriptions we must try and ascertain how and where the originals were found. A and B as well as S were discovered by cultivators while ploughing fields in the villages granted by the charters. As regards Milupāḍi Khandakshetra of C, Milupāḍi or Milupāḍi may be the name of a plot of land. All fields in the district of Sambalpur as well as in the feudatory states attached to it bear local names; and if Khandakshetra denoted merely a stray piece of land, no identification of it is possible. But Khandakshetra may also be the name of a village; for in F I, line 13, we actually find the word as the name of a village. The resident of that village is said to have come from Oḍayaśrīṅga, which I identify with Oḍśīṅgā in the native state of Āṭmallik. Rōyarā being on the borders of Sonpur State (C, line 21), not far off either from Pāṭnā or Āṭmallik, there might have been a village of the name Khandakshetra in the locality where the record was unearthed.

It must be noted that the states of Rerhakhol, Āṭmallik, Bodh and Pāṭnā lie to the north, north-east, east and south, respectively, of the Sonpur State which they adjoin. Of the geographical names mentioned in F I, the river Ōṅgā (now called Ong) flows through the states of Pāṭnā and Sonpur. The Zamindārī of Barpali (district Sambalpur) in which the village Satallamā, the modern Satalmā of S is situated, is also within a few miles from the river Ong flowing past Sālchhatā. Bakēbirā and Loīśīṅgā (Vakavoddā and Lōīśīṅgā of F I) are also close to Sālchhatā Police Station.

Nuptara, Nnpursinga and Banktentuli (*Upattarā Khandīya Vakratentalī grīmō*, line 5, A) are in the neighbourhood of the place where A was obtained. As Suvarṇapura (A, line 1) is certainly the Sanskritised form of Sonpur, so also is Rāḍhāphainvāllikandara (A, line 12),

¹ The aksharas *ni* and *hita* are engraved over an erasure.

² The form *sasya-sasye*, etc. indicating abundance of crops, shows that the dialect then in use was similar to Bengali, for this is now used only in Bengal as an idiomatic form.

³ Read *Sivanāgēna*. The akshara *na* of *nāga* is corrected apparently from *ga*.

⁴ The word used here for 'engraving' must be some Dōśī term then current.

[What is intended is probably *Sivanāgēna Pāṇḍi-sutēna lāchhita*, and *mahārājaki mudrēti* seems to mean *mahārājasya mudrayeti*. On the word *lāchhita* see the late Professor Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. IX. p. 274.—E.L.]

⁵ The form *mahārāja-ki* is Hindi pure and simple. The use of this form is worth noting.

a very high sounding form of **Rorhakhol**. The word 'kandara' means 'khol' both in Uriya and vulgar Bengali.

Murasīma (F 1, line 1 and S, line 2) appears to be **Mursing** which is in the Jarāsīngā Zamindārī of the Paṭṇa State. The situation of Satalmā, Bakēbira and Loīśīngā led me first to make this identification. My impression is confirmed by the fact that it is customary with the Zamindār of Jarāsīngā to be ceremoniously installed every year on the Dasara day (10th day from the full moon of the month of Aśvin) by going to Mursing, which is at present quite an insignificant village.

There is no doubt that when A was issued, the donor was present at Sonpur. The word *riṇaya kaṭaka* in line 1 of the Paṭṇa copper-plate grant (F. 1), like *riṇaya-skandhāwāra* (A, line 1), occurring as it does after the name of the place where the king was residing, can never mean a town. "From Murasīma (or from Suvarṇapura, as the case may be) where the king with his victorious soldiers was encamped" should be the meaning of the first line of the text of both F 1 and A.

It is very probable that a town was being built at Chaudwār, on the bank of the Mahānadi, opposite Katak, either by Janamējaya or his son Yayāti; but it was never finished. Dr. Fleet has very rightly remarked (above, Vol. III, 324) that the town **Katak** is of later origin than Chaudwār. If this be the case, how could the place attain any celebrity already in the time of Janamējaya? It may be that the town Katak owes its name to the fact of its being built on a camping ground. As the king must have encamped in many different places, it is impossible that the name Katak had at such an early period as the reign of Janamējaya, become the proper name of the locality to which it is now applied. Dr. Fleet saw clearly what the word meant,¹ but was only misled by the name of the town where the plates edited by him were preserved. Since it is clear that the Sonpur charters were issued from Sonpur, there is no reason to suppose that the charters relating to Bakēbira (F 1) and Satalmā (S) — not far from one another — were not issued from some place in Paṭṇa during the military expedition of the grantor.

I am inclined to think that the town **Vinitapura**, whence **Mahāśivagupta** issued B granting the village of **Nibinnā**, is no other than **Binikā** in the Sonpur State. The villages **Nibinnā** and **Meṇḍā** (now a police station) are in the Binikā subdivision. From the source of the river to the Bay of Bengal there is no other town on the bank of the Mahānadi which bears such a name. Considering that even villages very often retain their old names, it is not likely that a town of such importance has lost its name altogether. For this reason I think **Vinitapura** is the Sanskritised form of the non-Aryan name **Binikā**.

It is a pity that the original find-spot of F 5 cannot now be known. How the charter relating to a village in the **Kōsala** country was carried to the Government record room at Katak, was not at all inquired into by Babu Rangalal Banerji when he first edited it in 1877. I can easily imagine how the charters granted in favour of the chief minister of the king (F 2, F 3 and F 4) were carried by him and left behind.

I must, by the way, mention one fact here, regarding the names of those villages mentioned in the plates edited by Dr. Fleet, which I have failed to identify, because the locality where they were discovered could not be traced. **Raṇḍā**, **Meṇḍā**, **Maṇḍā**, **Leṇḍā**, **Tulaṇḍā**, **Kulaṇḍā**, **Buleṇḍā**, **Balaṇḍā**, and such other names many villages in the district of Sambalpur bear. **Raṇḍā**, **Tuleṇḍā**, **Alaṇḍalā**, etc. of the plates bear the provincial peculiarities of the names of villages in the district of Sambalpur.

The district of Sambalpur and the Uriya-speaking feudatory states attached to it, were included in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces till October 1905, for administrative

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 311.

convenience due to their geographical situation. It is perfectly clear that this tract of country was also once included within *Kōsala-dēśa* or *Dakṣiṇa Kōsala* of which *Ratanpur* (in the district of Bilaspur) was the capital, but did not form any part of *Ōḍra* or Orissa. For, in the first place, *Nibinnā* in Sonpur (B, lines 4, 5, 15 and 16) and *Satallamā* (modern Satalma) in Sambalpur (S, line 9) are described as villages in *Kōsala-dēśa*.¹ Secondly, the *Brāhmana* who came from Orissa to be settled in the district of Sambalpur, could not have been called a man of *Ōḍra-dēśa* (S, lines 16 and 17) if the district were part of Orissa. It is worthy of note that even now, when anybody goes to Puri on pilgrimage, either from Sambalpur or from the feudatory states, he says he is going to Orissa. In popular language, Orissa does not include Sambalpur and its feudatory states.

The grantors of the charters F 1 to F 6, A, B, and S, called themselves lords of *Kōsala-dēśa*² as well as of *Trikaliṅga*. It is worthy of note that the *Kēsari* kings are counted in Orissa from *Yayāti* and not from his father *Janamējaya*. There is another *Janamējaya* in the list of kings, but he was a remote successor of *Yayāti*. Merely because no epigraphic record of *Janamējaya* has been obtained, it cannot be argued that it is *Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta* I, who has been wrongly shown on the list. This is at least certain that the Orissa record does not know anything of *Śivagupta* who is the first king of this line.

Since all the copper-plate grants of *Mahābhavagupta* I. relate to villages in *Kōsala-dēśa*³ (including Sambalpur of course) it must be presumed that, to begin with, the *Sōmavamsi* kings became powerful in *Kōsala dēśa* only; and that it was only subsequently that they extended their influence into Orissa. *Sādharana*, who was the chief minister of *Mahābhavagupta* I., was granted villages for his enjoyment in *Kōsala-dēśa* (F 2 to F 4). He could not have managed them if he had been living far away from those villages; nor would the king select such distant villages for his minister who was his favourite.

Whether the *Guptas* who were lords of *Kōsala* and *Orissa* were connected with the family of *Śivagupta*, son of *Harshagupta* of the *Rājim*, *Sirpur* and *Ratanpur* records is a question which awaits solution. That the Hinduised *Śubara* king *Udayana* belonged to, or rather claimed descent from, the lunar race, like the *Sōmavamsi* kings, and that the successors of *Udayana* from *Tivara* downwards assumed the title *Gupta*, and were all *Saivas*, have been fully established. From the inscription of *Bhavadēva* published by Professor Kielhorn (J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 617-629) it may be inferred that different branches of the same family reigned simultaneously at different places. The assumption by *Bhavadēva* of the title *Kēsari* has also to be noted. Dr. Fleet did not accept the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham, not because there was any chronological difficulty in identifying the father of *Janamējaya* with *Śivagupta* of the *Rājim* plates, but because he considered it not possible on palaeographic grounds.⁴

The characters of the Sambalpur and Orissa plates differ very much from those of the *Rājim* and *Ratanpur* records; but the cause of this difference may be the following. King *Janamējaya* and his successors had many Bengali *Kayasthas* for their court officers. We get the names *Kailāsa Ghōṣa*, father of *Vallabha Ghōṣa* (S),⁵ *Kōi Ghōṣa*,⁶ son of *Vallabha*

¹ [Satallamā was in *Kaśalōḍā-vishaya*—not in *Kōsala-dēśa*—Ed.]

² [In F 1, A and S, there is nothing to connect the donors with *Kōsala*; but in F 2 to F 6 and B the donative villages are said to be in the *Kōsala* country.—Ed.]

³ [See the preceding note.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 338.

⁵ [The text of this inscription has कायस्थ बालवेन के(वि)नामसुतेन.—Ed.]

⁶ *Kōi Ghōṣa* seems to be a contraction of *Kailāsa Ghōṣa*.

Ghōsha (A and F 1), Malla Datta, son of Dhāra Datta¹ (F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, and S) in the employment of Janamejaya; the names Chāru Datta,² Uchchhaya Nāga and Allava Nāga³ under king Yayāti (B) and the names Siṅga Datta⁴ and Maṅgala Datta under Bhimaratha (F 6). None but Bengali kâyasthas bear Datta, Ghōsha, Nāga, etc., as surnames. The Uriya Karans (who may be called kâyasthas) never used such surnames. The words Datta, Ghōsha, etc., as inseparable parts of the names of men, were in use in other parts of Northern India; and such names could be borne by persons of any and every caste. But as these words are surnames here of Kâyasthas, there can be no doubt that the kings had Bengali officers under them when they acquired territories in the forest tract of Sambalpur.

The writers and engravers used the alphabet which was current amongst them. Mr. Thomas remarked long ago that these letters resemble mostly, and are identical in some cases with, the modern Bengali alphabet. The letters *kra*, *nga*, *ñcha*, *tu*, and *pha* are striking examples. But it must also be borne in mind that some letters represent the modern Uriya forms of them only. If we compare the alphabet of the epigraphic records of the Pāla and the Sēna kings of Bengal, we can clearly see how the modern forms of Bengali and Uriya letters were evolved. These characters were also in use in the district of Gaujam, but they were slightly modified by southern influence (e.g. above, Vol. III., plate facing p. 222). Inscriptions written purely by Uriya scribes also bear the forms of these letters with the provincial peculiarities of Bengali letters (C). I cannot deal with the historical significance of it here.

The cumulative effect of the forgoing facts is certainly on the side of the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham that the Guptas who were Kōsalēndras and Trikalīngādhipatis must have sprung from the Hinduised Śabara family of Udayana.

[The identification proposed by Mr. Mazumdar of Vinītapura with Binikā in the Sonpur State has been arrived at independently by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāsiya Gupta which, though received prior to this paper, has been unavoidably delayed for want of proper impressions of the inscription.—Ed.]

NO. 9.—FIVE VALABHI PLATES.

By PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

In the *Indian Antiquary*⁵ has been published an "Account of a collection of copper-plates belonging to the Palitānā State. By the late A. M. T. Jackson, J.C.S." The collection consists of twelve plates, which were found some forty years ago. They were strung together on a copper wire, about $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick, and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank in Palitānā. Two of these plates form a grant by the *Sāmanta Mahārāja* Simhāditya, the remaining ten make up four complete and two incomplete Valabhi grants.⁶ The twelve plates have been kindly lent to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist for India, who has been good enough to send me impressions of eight of them, prepared at his request in Dr. Vogel's office.

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya describes the wire on which the plates had been strung as being about 8" in length. Its two extremities are secured into an oval seal measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ ".

¹ [There is no evidence in the inscriptions to show that this man was a kâyastha. On the other hand, he is called a *rāṇaka* in F 2 and S.—Ed.]

² [See note 1 on page 98 above.—Ed.]

³ [Chāru Datta is called a *rāṇaka*, while the other two are not spoken of as kâyasthas.—Ed.]

⁴ [There is nothing in the inscription to show that Siṅga Datta, who held the office of *sandhivigrahin*, was a kâyastha.—Ed.]

⁵ Vol. XXXIX. pp. 123 f.

⁶ See above, pp. 16 and 80.

The seal bears in relief, on a countersunk surface, a recumbent bull, facing the proper right, with a pretty large hump, and below it the legend *Śrī-Bhāṭakkaḥ*. The bull and the legend are separated by two horizontal lines, of which the upper one is not quite distinct.

The eight plates contain three complete and two incomplete Valabhi grants. The three complete ones and one of the two incomplete ones belong to the *Mahāsīmānta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I*. One of them is dated [Valabhi-] Sāṃvat 206, two [Valabhi-] Sāṃvat 210, while the incomplete one does not contain a date. The same is the case with the remaining plate, which forms the beginning of a grant issued by Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya.

I. PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHURVASĒNA I; [VALABHĪ-] SĀMVAṬ 206.

These are two plates, each written on one side only. According to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, "the working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely on the back of both plates." The length of the plates is 9½" and the height 6¼"—7." The size of the individual letters is about ¼". The plates are, to judge from the impressions, in a very good state of preservation. The first plate contains 14 and the second 16 lines of well executed writing.

The characters are the same as in other old Valabhi plates. They comprise the signs for initial *i* in *-Īsvara-*, l. 16, and for *dh* in *Dhīṇḍuka-*, l. 17. There are two signs of interpunctuation, viz. a single dot in l. 18 and a double dot or *visarga* in *vasēḥ* instead of *vasēt*, l. 27; *-Dhruvasēnasyaḥ*, i.e. *Dhruvasēnasya* ||, l. 29. The numerical symbols for 200, 6, and 5 occur in l. 30.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the name of the first ancestor of the Maitrakas occurs in the form *Bhāṭakka*, as in all the older plates. The form *Bhātarka* is a later attempt at Sanskritizing the name, and there is no reason for preferring it, at least so long as we do not know whether the name is Indian or not. The *ā* in *-phalāpa-*, l. 12, looks almost like an *i*. The dropping of a final *t* in *kaiś chī*, l. 23; *vasēḥ*, i.e. *vasēt*, l. 27, and the writing of *s* instead of *sh* in *sāḍaśa-*, l. 17, are probably Prākritisms; compare also *-Dhruvasihakḥ siha*, l. 10. Note further the use of an *i* instead of an *u* before *ś* in *chatvārīśad-*, l. 16, and *chatvārīśad-*, l. 18, and the doubling of sibilants, nasals and liquids after an *r*; thus, *-āpārījīt-*, l. 3; *-manir-mman-*, *-dharma-dharma-*, l. 7; *-ārttha-*, l. 11; *-pālīvartta-*, ll. 16, 17, 18; *parvārtta-*, l. 18, etc.; but *-ārka-*, l. 20; and finally, the spelling *jy* in *Jarabhaḥjy-*, l. 19. The writing *jy* instead of *j* recurs in *Jyāvala-* in l. 16 of the plates of Sāṃvat 210, Śrāvāṇa śu. 15, which will be published below. It is comparable with the common modern spelling *jy* in order to denote the pure palatal and not the sound *dz* in Marāṭhi districts. This spelling is therefore of interest for the chronology of the change of *j* to *dz* in Marāṭhi. Professor Jacob¹ has suggested to call the language usually designated Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, the language of Jaina commentators and poets, Saurāṣṭrī. He draws attention to the old Jaina tradition that the ultimate redaction of the Jaina books was made in Valabhi in the year 980 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. It would therefore seem probable that Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī represents the dialect of Valabhi about 500 A.D. Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī is closely related to Mahārāṣṭrī, the parent of modern Marāṭhi² and not to Śaurasēnī, from which Gujarātī is mainly derived. There are also other features which point to the conclusion that the language of Kathiyawar and Gujarāt generally has not always been of the same kind as at the present day, but more like the dialects from which Marāṭhi is derived,³ and it is therefore possible to compare the spelling *jy* in Valabhi plates and in modern Marāṭhi with each other, though Marāṭhi is not now spoken in the districts where these plates were issued. The writing *rījaśrīḥ* l. 3, where the published grants of Dhruvasēna have *rījaśrīḥ*, is perhaps also comparable, the modern change of *j* to *dz* not taking place in the word *rājī*.

¹ *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 15, 18.

² Fischei, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para. 20.

³ See Dr. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX. Part II. pp. 326 f.

The writing is on the whole fairly correct. There are, however, some places in which the engraver has misread his draft. Thus we find *a* instead of *ā* in *chatvariṇśat-*, l. 16; *rapī*, l. 17; *-charibhgaṃ*, l. 19; *sāmanyam*, l. 21; *a* for *i* in *-rachchhurita-*, l. 5; *a* for *ā* in *-prasasta-*, l. 7; *-padhithir-*, l. 8; *-mahattara-*, l. 14; *ārṇava-*, l. 21; *ā* for *ē* in *-mōdīt-*, instead of *-mōdēta*, l. 25; *i* for *a* in *-ivabōdthā*, l. 11; *i* for *ī* in *-maulimānir-*, l. 7; *g* for *ś* in *-vaiga-*, l. 23; *t* for *g* in *-bhotyam*, l. 21; *t* for *n* in *-navaattaryah*, l. 25; *t* for *v* in *-īrjjat-*, l. 2; *d* for *p* in *-dātakaḥ*, l. 25; *dhru* for *hri* in *sudhrut-*, l. 12; *n* for *v* in *-jinyamāna-*, l. 6; *-nyarasthot-*, l. 8; *p* for *b* in *-āpadhā*, l. 23; *p* for *y* in *apam-*, l. 25; *ru* for *ka* in *-abhishēru-*, l. 9; and so forth. Note also the absence of *śānāthi* in *-dīdhithiḥ dīn-*, l. 5; *spishṭah yatō*, l. 22, etc., and the confusion of the dual and the plural in *Vyāsagitan śloka bhavanti*, l. 26.

The plates contain a grant issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* bestowing several plots of land in the villages *Madkana*, *Tāpasiya* and *Tinishaku*, in the *Hastavapraharanī* (district), on the *Chhandōgas Kumārasarma* and *Jarabhajin*, of the *Sāṅghīya gēta*, residents of *Śāṅkaravāṭaka*. *Hastavapraharanī* is well known from other Valabhī inscriptions.¹ It corresponds to the modern Hāthab, 6 miles south of Gōghā in the Bhāvnagar State. The lower classes pronounce this name Hāthap,² and this form is probably the correct one. It can be regularly derived from *Hastakapra*, but hardly from *Hastakapra* or *Hastarapra*. These forms look like learned Sanskrit versions of an older *Haṭthaappa* and are hardly genuine. *Astakapra* of the *Periplus* points to an original *Hastakapra*. The names of the three villages in the district are not elsewhere known. The grant was issued from Valabhī, the present Wala, situated in 21° 52' N. and 71° 57' E. I cannot identify *Śāṅkaravāṭaka*, where the two donees were residing. The *dātaka* was the *pratihāra Mammaka*, who appears in the same capacity in the two grants of Dhruvasēna of Śaivāt 207.³ The writer was the same *Kikkaka*, who wrote the remaining edicts of Dhruvasēna.⁴ The date of the grant was the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the (Valabhī) year 206, corresponding to A.D. 525-26. It is the earliest known grant of Dhruvasēna.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat amitrāṇā[m] Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sapatna-
- 2 maṇḍal-abhōga-samsakta-saṃprahāra sāta-labdhā-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjat(v)-ōpa-
- 3 rjjit-ānuragō-nurakta-manla-bhūta-mitra-śrōṇi-bal-āvāpta-rajaśrīḥ⁶ para[ma]māhēśvaraḥ
- 4 sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ tasya sutas tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śīrāś-śīrō-va-
- 5 nata-śatru-chudāmaṇi-prabha-va(vi)chchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-dīdhithiḥ dīn-anātha-jan-ōpuji-
- 6 n(v)amāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras-sēnāpati-Dharaśēnaḥ tasy-ānujas=tat-pād-abhipra-

¹ Compare the (spurious?) plate of Drōṇasīmha of Śaivāt 183 (*Journ. Rom. Asiat. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 1 ff.); the Gaṇēśguḍ plates of Dhruvasēna I. of Śaivāt 207 (above, Vol. III. pp. 318 ff.); the Bhāvnagar plates of Dhruvasēna I. of Śaivāt 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 204 ff.); the Wālā plates of Dharaśēna II. of Śaivāt 269 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 10 ff.); and the Bhāvnagar plate of Dharaśēna IV. of Śaivāt 326 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 46); see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 314; Vol. VII. p. 53 f.; Vol. VIII. p. 141; Vol. XIII. p. 358; Colonel Watson's *Statistical Account of Bhāvnagar*, p. 106, and above, Vol. III. p. 313.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 54.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 206 and above, Vol. III. p. 323.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105; Vol. V. p. 206; *Annales Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 300; above, Vol. III. p. 328, and below Nos. II. and III.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read perhaps, with the published plates of Dhruvasēna, *rājyaśrīḥ*.

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 7 nāma-prasā(śa)sta-vimala-mauli(li)maṇir-Maṇav-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmā
Dharmmarāja
8 iva viḥita-vinaya-nya(vya)vasthā-paddhā(ddha)tir-akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-svāminā
parama-
* 9 svāmīnā svayam-upahita-rāḥy-ābhishēru¹-mahā-viśrāṇan-āvapāta-rājasrīḥ paramamā-
10 hāsvaro mahārāja-Drōṇasi[m*]huh si[m*]ha iva tasy-ānujas=sva-bhūja-balēna para-
gaḥ-
11 ghaṭ-ānikānām ēkaviḥayi śaraṇ-aśhiṇā[in] śaraṇam=i(a)valōddhā sāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvā-
nā[in] kalpa-
12 tarur-iva sudhrut(hṛit)-pravaṇinām yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadah paramabhāgavataḥ
13 paramabhattyā(tṭā)raka-pād-ānudhyātō mahāsāmanā-mahārāja-Dhruvasenah kuśali
14 sarvān=ēva svān-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drā[in]gika-mahattara(rā)-chāṭa-bhāṭa-
dhruvā²hikarāṇika-

Second Plate.

- 15 dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn=anyā[in]ś=cha [ya]thā-sambadhīyamānākānadh[i]yaty³=astu va(vō)
viditām yathā
16 Hastavapr-āharanyām Mudkaṇā-grāme kuṭumbi-īśvara-pratyaya-pādavarṭta-satām
chatvāriṇśad⁴-adhikam
17 *śōḍaśa-pādavarṭta-parisara va(vā)pi cha tathā Tāpasīya-grāmō Dhīṇḍaka-pratyaya-
pādāvā(va)rtta-satām
18 *chatvāriṇśad-adhikam tathā *Tinishaka-grāmō pūrva-ōttara-sīmni pādavarṭta-satām
saha vāpyā Saṅkaravātaka-vā-
* 19 stavya-brāhmaṇa-Kumārasarmma-[Ja]rabhājyibhyā[in] Śaṇḍilya-sagōtrabhyām Chhand-
gasabrahmachārībhyā(bhyā)in mayā mā-
20 tā-pitrōḥ * puṇy-āpyānāy-ātmanas-cha-nihik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāpti-
nimittam=ā-chandr-ārka(a)-
21 āṇḍava-kṣhīti-sarit-parvata-sthiti-samakālinām putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōtyam⁶ bali-
cham-vaiśvadēv-adyānām kri-
22 yānām *samutsarpya-ārttham-udak-ātisarggōṇa brahmadāyō nispiṣṭaḥ yatō=nayōr-
uchitayā brahmadāya-
23 sthityā bhūmijatōḥ kṛishatōḥ pradīśatōr=vvā na kaiś=chi[t*] svalp=āpy=āpādha⁷
kāryy=āsmad-⁸vaṅgaḥ-juir=āgami-bhūda-
24 nripatibhiś=ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryaṇyāsthira[in*] mānushya[in*] sūma(mā)nyam
cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchadhbih
25 ¹⁰apam=asmad-dāyō-nūmattavya¹¹ [[*] yas ch=āchchhindyad=āchchhidīyamānām v
ānumōḍāt-sa¹² puñchabhir=mmahadātakaiḥ¹³
26 sōpapatākais-sa[in]yuktas=syād=api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītau ¹⁴ślōkā bhavanti [[*]
Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō
27 mōdati bhūmidah [I*] āchchbhōttā ch-ānuman[t]ā cha tāny=ēva narakō yasch¹⁵
[[*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rajabhi[h*]
28 Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam . (II)
Svabhastō mama mahā-

¹ Read -shēka-.² Read 'mānakān=anudarṣayaty-.³ Read chatvāriṇśad-.⁴ Read śōḍaśa-.⁵ Perhaps tath=Ātinishaka-.⁶ Read -bhōgyam-.⁷ Read *sarppay-.⁸ Read -āpādha-.⁹ Read -vāśka-.¹⁰ Read āyam-.¹¹ Read *mantarāḥ-.¹² Read *mōḍāta s-.¹³ Read =mmahāpātakaiḥ-.¹⁴ Read ślōkau bhavataḥ-.¹⁵ Read vasit-.

29 samanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya(h) [H*] Dātakah pratihāra-Mammakah
 [H*] Ikkhitaṁ Kikkakēna [H*]
 30 Saṁ 200 6 Bhadrāpada śu 5.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Oñ. Hail! From Valabhī. (*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who forcibly prostrated their enemies, (*was born*) the general, the glorious Bhaṭakka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles fought within the circuit of the territories of adversaries of unequalled strength; who gained devotion by gifts, honours and straightforwardness towards those whom he had prostrated by his splendour; who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 4.) His son (*was*) the general Dharasēna, whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his feet; the shining line of the nails of whose feet was inlaid with the lustre of the crest-jewels of his foes when they bent with their heads (*before him*); whose wealth was being lived upon by poor and helpless people; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 6.) His younger brother (*was*) the Mahārāja Drōṇasimha, whose spotless crest-jewel became auspicious by bowing down to his (*brother's*) feet; whose nature (*manifested itself in*) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others; who like Dharmarāja (*i.e.* Yudhishthira) fixed the path of the laws of good conduct; whose anointment to the kingdom was performed by the paramount sovereign in person, the lord of the circuit of the territories of the whole earth, and whose royal glory was purified by (*his*) great liberality; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 10.) His younger brother, who like a lion defeated singlehanded, by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (*his*) enemies; who was the refuge of those who sought for refuge; who grasped the real purport of the meaning of the Śāstras; who, like the kalpa-tree, granted the enjoyment of rewards according to the wishes of (*his*) friends and favourites; the devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of the paramount lord; the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasēna, being in good health, issues the following order to all his āyuktakas, vinyuktakas, officers of the watch-stations, mahattaras, district officers, soldiers, dhaurādhikarāṇikas, dāṇḍapāśīkas, and others according as they are concerned:

(Line 15.) Be it known to you that I have given as a brahmadāya, with libations of water, in the Hastavapra-āharaṇī, in the village Madkaṇā, hundred and forty pādārtas belonging to the householder Īśvara and an irrigation-well with an area of sixteen pādārtas; further in the Tapasiya village, hundred and forty pādārtas, the holding of Dhiṇḍaka; further on the north-eastern border of Tinishaka village hundred pādārtas, together with an irrigation-well, to (two) inhabitants of Śaṅkaravāṭaka, (*viz.*) the brāhmaṇas Kumārasarman and Jarabhaiyi, of the Śaṅḍilya gṛāha, students of the Chhandōga school, for the increase of the religious merit of My mother and father and in order to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I wish to last for the same time as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of their sons and sons' sons, for the performance of the rites of bali, charu, and vaiśvadeva and others. Therefore, not even a slight obstruction should be made by anyone to these two while they are enjoying it in accordance with the proper conditions of a brahmadāya, cultivating it or assigning it (*to others*). And this Our gift should be assented to by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common. And he who confiscates it or assents to its being confiscated, incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor sins.

(Line 26.) There are also two verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years; but he who confiscates or approves (of confiscation) dwells in hell the same number of years.

The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward.

(Line 28.) The sign-manual of Mo tho *Malāsīmanta*, the *Malārāja* Dhruvasēna. The messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka. Written by Kikkaka.

The year 200 (and) 6; (the month) Bhadrapada; the bright (fortnight); the 5th (*tithi*).

II.—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These plates are described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—“Two plates without ring or seal. Each of them has, however, two ring holes. The ring hole of the left-hand corner of the bottom of the first plate is not complete, a small piece of its lower margin being broken just below the ring hole. Each plate is written only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself in a few places on the back of both plates. The length of the plates varies from 10½” to 10¾” and the height from 6¾” to 6¼”. The height of individual letters is about ¼”. Each plate contains 14 lines of well executed writing in a very good state of preservation.

The alphabet is of the same kind as in the plates described above. The *visarga* is apparently used as a sign of interpunctuation in *bharanti*, i.e. *bharanti* ||, l. 23. The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 occur in ll. 27 f.

The orthography is similar to that of the foregoing grant. Forms such as *kāśchī*, l. 21, *sīha*, l. 9, and *anumatī*, l. 23, look like Prakritisms. The forms *Jyāvāla-* for the common *Jāvāla-*, l. 16, and *-rāja-*, which perhaps stands for *rāja*, l. 3, have been discussed above. Surs, liquids and nasals are doubled after *r*; thus, *-arjjarōpārjji-*, l. 2; *-alharmanā*, l. 7. A surd has been doubled before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*, l. 12; *-sambuddhyāmāna-*, l. 14. The engraver has not been careful to avoid miswritings. Thus the *amśvāra* has often been left out, and in ll. 9, 23 and 25, whole syllables are missing. An *a* is very often wrongly written instead of an *i*; thus, *pratap-ōpanata-dāna-man-*, l. 2; *-mragō*, l. 2; and other instances in ll. 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27; *a* is written instead of *i* in *-ayam-*, i.e. *-iyam-*, l. 23; *i* is used for *ī* in *rāpi*, l. 18; *ī* for *i* in *-manī-*, l. 4; *-manīr-*, l. 7; *viditām*, l. 15; *ē* for *i* in *-numōlētam*, l. 21; *u* for *a* in *bhumi-*, l. 22; *g* for *ś* in *-vigrāṇan-*, l. 9; *n* for *ṇ* in *Maitrakānūme*, l. 1, and so forth. Writings such as *-dūkhitiḥ dīn-*, l. 5, on the other hand, are not mistakes of the writer, but this instance of wrong *samdhī* belongs to the original draft and recurs in most of the grants of Dhruvasēna. The redundant *bharanti*, l. 23, is perhaps also due to carelessness in the original draft.

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Malāsīmanta*, the *Malārāja* Dhruvasēna, in order to confirm the Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇuśarman, of the Jāvāla *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisaṅgīya (*śākhā*) and a resident of Siṃhapura, in the possession of some land in the Hastavapra-dharaṇī, viz. the *karada* field cultivated by the Brāhmaṇa Viśakha, on the south-western border of the Bhallara village, and the Āmrilikā tank; and further 50 *pālāvartas* on the northern border of the Vasukiya village, to be entered from Akshasaraka. I am unable to identify the villages Bhallara and Vasukiya. Vasukiya is said to be Akshasaraka-prāvēśya. This corresponds to the Akshasaraka-prāpiya in the Gupṣeṅga plates of Samvat 207, which Professor Hultzsch¹

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 323.

translates "which belongs to the Akshasarakaprāpa," comparing the expression *Valasthalikā-prāpiga-* in l. 5 of the copper-plate grant of Guhasena of Samvat 248,¹ instead of which we should perhaps read *Valapallikāprāpiga-*. It seems certain that *prāpiga* is synonymous with *prāvēśya*, which also occurs in the Khariār plates of Mahāsudēva.² *Prāvēśya* may, of course, be a fiscal term. It is, however, not likely that it means anything else than what it does in the common phrase *achīta-bhata-prāvēśya*. *Prāpiga* must then be a Prākṛit form of *prāpya*.³ I would accordingly translate *Akshasarakā-prāvēśya* "which is entered from Akshasarakā," i.e. borders on Akshasarakā. I cannot locate Akshasarakā. The last part of the word is probably *saṭaka*, lake, pond. Of the remaining geographical names mentioned in the plates, *Valabhi* and *Hastavaprāharani* have been referred to above. The name *Āmrilikā* probably means "abounding in mangoes." *Simhapura*, where the donee resided, also occurs in the plates of Dharaśēna IV. of Samvat 326 published in the *Bombay Journal*, Vol. X, p. 77 ff. It is the present Sihor, situated in 21° 43' N. and 72° E.

The *dataka* was the *pratihāra* *Mammaka*, and the writer *Kikkaka*, as in the preceding grant. The grant is dated on the 15th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana in the (*Valabhi*) year 210, corresponding to A.D. 529.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti [H*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-prapat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakānām⁵ atala-
bala-sapat-na-maṇḍalābhōga-
- 2 sanisakta-saṃprabhāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ prata(tā)p-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-ārjjav-
ōpārjjiṭānura(rā)gō-nurakta-
- 3 m[an]labhīta-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āva(vā)pta-rājasrīḥ⁶ paramamāhēśvaras=sēna(nā)pati-Śri-
Bhaṭakkah
- 4 tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śīrās=śīrō-vanata-śatru-chūḍāmāṇī(ri)-
- 5 prabhā-vichehburita-pāda-nakha-paṇkti-didhitiḥ di(di)n-ānātha-jan-ōpājīvyama(nā)na-
vibhavaḥ
- 6 paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati-Dharaśēnas=tasy=ānujas-tat-pād-ābhiprapāma-prasasta-
vimala-
- 7 maulimaṇīr(vir)=Many-ādi-prapīta-vidhī-vidha(dhā)na-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva
vīhita-vinaya-vy[an]asthā-pa-
- 8 ddehātīr akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍalābhōga-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam-upahita-
rājyābhi-bhōga-
- 9 maha-vigra(śrā)ṇan-apūta⁷-rājasrīḥ paramamāhēśvarō maharāja-Drōṇasimhas=sī[m*]ha
iva
- 10 tasy-ānujas-sva-bhūja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānikānā(m)m=ēkavijayī śarap-aishipā[m*]
sarapa-
- 11 m-gvabaddhā sastr-ārttha-tattvānām kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-prapayinām
yathābhilashita-phal-ōpa-
- 12 bhōgataḥ paramabh[a]gavataḥ paramabhatyā(tā)raka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-
mahārāja-Dhruva-
- 13 sēnaḥ kuśali s[an]rvvān=ēva svān-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-cha(chā)ta-bhaṭa-draṅgika-
mahattara-
- 14 dhruvādhikaranika-dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn-anyānś-cha yathā-sambaddhyāmānaka(kā)n-anudarsa-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 206 f. (No. 467 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's *Northern List*).

² See above, Vol. IX, p. 172, text-line 4.

³ [See above, p. 81 and note 1.—Ed.]

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

Read *kānām*.

⁶ Perhaps *-rājyasrīḥ*.

⁷ Read *-ācāpūta*.

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SCALE 8.

V. VENKAYYA.

[illegible]

Second Plate.

- 15 yaty-astu vō vidi(di)tam yathā **Simhapura**-vāstavya-brāhmaṇa-Vishṇuśarmmanō
 16 Jyavāla-sagotrāya Vājisaneya-sabrahmachāriṇō **Hastavapr-aharanyā**[m*] **Bhallara**-
 • 17 grāmāparadakṣiṇa-sīmni brāhmaṇa-Viśākha-prabhuktaka-karada-kshētrain dvādasa-
 pāda-
 18 vartta-parisar=Āmrilikā vāpi(pī) tath=Ākshasaraka-prāvēśya-Vasukiya-grāmōttara-
 19 śimn[i] pādāvarttāḥ pañchāśad=bhukta-bhujyamānakaḥ etan=mayā mātā(tā) pitrōḥ
 puṇy-ā-
 20 pyāyanāy=ātmanas=ch=aiḥik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-a(l-ā)vāpti-nimitta[m*]
 pūrvvāchāra-
 21 sthity=ānumōdō(di)tam yatō-sya bhūmijataḥ kṛṣhataḥ karshayataḥ pendīśatō vā
 na kaiś-chi[t*]
 22 paripanthanā kār̥y-asmad-vamsajair-āg[ā]mi-bhadra-nripatibhiś cha sūma(mā)nyam
 bhū[ḥ](bhū)mi-dāna-phalam=ava-
 23 gacchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-anumati¹ mantavyā [i]* bhavanti ch=ātra Vyāsagītāḥ
 ślōkā bhavanti(h)
 24 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [i*] yasya yasya yada bhūmis
 tasya tasya tadā
 25 phalūm [i]* Shashthim varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē mōlati bhūmīdāḥ [i*]
 āchchhetta(ttā) ch=ānumanta(tā) cha ta(tā)ny ā[va*] narakē vasō [i*]
 26 Svadattā[m*] paradattām va yō hareta vasmudharām [i*] gavā[m*] śatasahasrasya
 hantāḥ pra(prā)puṇti kilbīshan [i*]
 27 Svahastō mama maha(hā)sāmanta-maha(ha)rāja-Dhruvasēnasya [i*] Dātakaḥ
 pratihāra-Mammakaḥ [i*] Likhitaḥ Kikkakēna [i*] Sam 200 10
 28 Śravaṇa śu 10 5

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-14 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam. 206].

(Line 15) Be it known to you that for the inhabitant of **Simhapura**, (*viz.*) the Brahmana Vishṇuśarmaṇ, of the Jāvāla *gotra*, a student of the Vājisaneya (*sākhā*), the following (*property*), *viz.* in the **Hastavapra-āharaṇē**, in the **Bhallara** village, on the south-western border, the *karada*² field (*formerly*) enjoyed by the Brahmana Viśākha, (and) the irrigation well Āmrilikā extending over twelve *pūṭāvarṇas*; further on the northern frontier of the Vasukiya village, which can be entered from (*i.e.* which borders on) Akshasaraka, fifty *pādāvarṇas*, which have formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee), has been confirmed by Me, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father, and in order to obtain for Myself such rewards here and in the other world as I may wish. Therefore obstruction should not be made by any one to him while he enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*). This Our confirmation should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 23.) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. He who rescinds grants of land made by himself or others, incurs the guilt of the killer of hundred thousand cows.

¹ Read -*iyam*=*asmad-anumatiḥ anumanārgā*.

² *Karada* perhaps means 'tribute paying.' It is of course possible to read -*prabhukta-kakarada*.

(Line 27.) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsimanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*. The messenger is the *pratidra* **Mammaka**. Written by **Kikkaka**. The year 200 and 10; (the month) *Śravana*; the bright (fortnight); the fifteenth (*tithi*).

III.—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHURVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These are two plates which have been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—“Each of them has two ring-holes. Each plate is written only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself in a few places on the back. The length of the plates is about $10\frac{1}{4}$ ”; the height varies from $6\frac{3}{8}$ ” to $7\frac{1}{4}$ ”.

The plates are in a good state of preservation. The first contains 15 and the second 12 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is $1\frac{1}{8}$ ”.

The characters are of the same kind as in the plates dealt with above. They comprise the signs for an initial *au* in *Aupasvasti*-, l. 17; for a final *t* in *trīṃśat*-, l. 17 and *re(va)sēt*-, l. 24; for a final *m* in *-ānūjñātam*-, l. 19. The curious shape of the *visarga* in *krishataḥ*-, l. 20; *-gītāḥ*-, l. 22; *-ādibhiḥ*-, l. 23; *-vāsīhanaḥ*-, l. 25, is probably due to the engraver's misunderstanding his draft. Note also the signs of *-ē-* in *-kīṃśeka-*-, l. 11, and of *tō* in l. 12. A sign of interpunctuation occurs in l. 25. The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 are found in l. 27.

With regard to orthography the remarks made about the preceding grants also hold good here. The wrong *samdhī* in *bhūmijātōkrish-*-, l. 20, may be a Prakritism. The same is perhaps the case with *Dronasīhaṃs-sīha* *īva*-, l. 10. Consonants are doubled after *r* in the usual way; thus, *-ārjjarōpārjita-*-, l. 2 f.; *-dharmma Dharmma-*-, l. 8; *-maryyādaya*-, l. 20, etc. The doubling of a surd before *y* in *-ānuddhyātō*-, l. 13, *-sambuddhyamāna-*-, l. 15, is also in accordance with the practice in similar grants. There are several instances of careless writing; thus we find *a* for *ā* in *dānaman-*-, l. 2; *vapī*-, l. 16; *brahmaṇa-*-, l. 17; *-īpyāyana*-, l. 18; *tī(sā)manyam*-, l. 22; *-ānumanta*-, l. 24; *-dayam*-, l. 25; *ā* for *a* in *chī*-, l. 24; *krishnāhāyō*-, l. 25; *u* for *ū* in *blami-*-, l. 25; *ri* for *rī* in *trīṃśat*-, l. 17; *ē* for *a* in *resēt*-, l. 24; *ē* for *ai* in *saravēshīnām*-, l. 11; *chch* for *ch* in *chch ānu-*-, l. 24; *chhy* for *ndhy* in *Vichhyātavishv-*-, l. 25; perhaps *j* for *jya* in *-rāja-*-, l. 3; *ācha* for *śca* in *āñchayuja*-, l. 27; *ta* for *gā* in *-ātami-*-, l. 21; *t* for *tt* in *-tatvānām*-, l. 11; *āchchhētō*-, l. 24; *tā* for *sā* in *tāmanyam*-, l. 22; *p* for *y* in *mupipi*-, l. 18; *dē* for *mū* in *-āhikādēshmika-*-, l. 19; *n* for *ṇ* in *maitrakāṇḍam*-, l. 1, for *t* in *nānyēra*-, l. 24, and for *v* in *-anumantany-*-, l. 22; *p* for *y* in *patō*-, l. 20; *s* for *sh* in *śuska-*-, l. 25. L. 21 contains a series of mistakes in *-chavityāny-aiśvavyāny-ēsthira monuryya tāmanyam*. Note also the superfluous *anusvāra* in *-sihaṃs-*-, l. 10; *suhriṃt-*-, l. 12; the superfluous *na* in l. 21; the redundant *ha* in *vāsīhanaḥ*-, l. 25; the omission of *nā* in *-ānikā[nā*]m-*-, l. 11; the omission of a *visarga* in *rājabhī*-, l. 23, and the form *Kikkaka* instead of *Kikkakēna*-, l. 26. In l. 5, on the other hand, we find the correct *samdhī* *-dīdhītir=ddīn-*-, while the other grants of Dhruvasēna have *-dīdhītīḥ dīn-*.

The grant was issued from **Valabhī** by the *Mahāsimanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* to the Brāhmaṇa Skanda of the *Aupasvasti gōtra*, a student of the *Vājisānēya śākhā*, a resident of **Akrōlaka** village, who was therewith confirmed in the possession of an irrigation well (*vāpī*) and a field of thirty *pādāvartas*, on the northern border of the village. I am not able to identify this village. The messenger was **Rudradhara**, who is not elsewhere known, and the writer, as in the preceding grants, **Kikkaka**. The grant is dated on the fifth (*tithi*) of the dark (*P*) fortnight of *Āśvayuja*, in the (**Valabhī**) year 210, corresponding to A.D. 529. The syllable denoting the fortnight has been miswritten, and it is possible that it should be restored as *śu* and not as *ba*. The mistake is due to the final syllable of the preceding word being wrongly repeated.

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TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhitah prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇā[m*] Maitrakāṇām(pām)=
atula-bala-sapatna-ma-
2 pḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-sa[m*]prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpah pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-
ājja-
3 v-ōpārjīṭ-ānurāgō-nurakta-maulabhṛita-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājaśrīh² paramamā-
4 hōśvaras-sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhaṭakkas=tasya sntas=tach-charaṇa-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-
5 śirāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṁkti-dīdhitir-ddin-
ānā-
6 tha-jan-ōpajivyamāna-vibbavaḥ paramamāhōśvaras-sēnāpati-Dharasēnas=tasy ānuja-
7 s=tat-pād-ābhīpraṇāma-prasasta-vimala-maulimanir=Mmauv-ādi-prapita-vidhi-vidhāna-
8 dharmanā Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasth[ā]-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-
ābhōga-
9 svāminā paramasvāminā svayam-upahita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāviśrāṇan-āvapūta-ra-
10 ja[ś]riḥ paramamāhōśvarō mahārāja-Drōṇasiham(simha)s=si[m*]ha iva tasy=ānujas-
svabhūja-balō-
11 na para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānikā[nū*]m=ēkavijayi śaraṇē(nai)shīṇām śaraṇam=avabōddhā
śāstr-ārt[th]a-ta[t*]tvā-
12 nām kalpatarur-iva suhṛi(m)t-praṇayinām yathābbilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadah
parama-
13 bhāgavataḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnah
14 kuśali sarvān-ōva svān-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-makattara-drāṅgika-
dhruvā-
15 dhikarāṇika-dāṇḍapāśik-ādin=anyāms=cha yathā-sambaddhyamānakān=anudarśa-

Second Plate.

- 16 yaty=astu vō viditam yath-Ākrōlaka-grāma uttara-s[i]mni dvādaśa-pādā(r)varita-
parisarā va(vā)pi(pi)
17 kshētra-pādāva[r]ttās=cha tri(tri)mśat tatr=aiva vāstavya-bra(brā)hmaṇa-Skandāya
Aupasvasti-sagōtrāya Vājisanāya-
18 sabrahmachāriṇē yad=ētat=[pñ]rvvabhukta-bhūjyamānakain tan=mapā(y=ā)pi
mātāpitṛḥ puṇy-āpyāyana(nā)ya
19 ātmanas=ch-aiḥik-ādē(mu)shmika-yathābbilashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam pñrvv-āchāra-
sthity=ānujñātam
20 pa(ya)tō=śya pñrvvabhukti-maryyādayā bhūmijātā(taḥ) kṛishata[h]³ karshayataḥ
pradīśātō vā na kēna-vi(chi)t=śvalp-āpy-ā-
21 b[ā]dhā vichārapā vā (na) kāryy-āsmad-varṣajair-āta(gā)mi-bhadra nripatibhiḥ=cha-
vityāny-aisvāryyāny=āsthira mōnuryya
22 tā(sā)ma(mā)nyain cha bhūmidāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=iyam=asmad-anumatir=
anumantanyā(vy=ā)pi ch=ātra Vyāsa-gitaḥ⁴
23 ślokā bhavanti [||*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ⁵[!*]
yasya yasya yadā bhūmias=tasya tasya tadā

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Perhaps -rājyāśrīḥ.³ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *risarga*.⁴ Read *ch-ānityāny-aisvāryyāny=āsthiraṁ mānushyam*.⁵ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *risarga*.

- 24 phālam [||*] Shashti-varsha-sahasrāpi svarggā mōdati bhāmid[ā]h [||*] āchchhē[t*]tā
(ch)ch=ānumanta(ntā) cha(cha) nāny(tūny)=eva narakē vē(va)set [||*]
25 Vichhy(Vindhy)-ātavishv-atōyāsu śuska(śushka)-kōtara-vāsihana[h](vāsinah) [||*]
krīṣṇāhā(ha)yō hi jāyāntō bhu(bhū)mi-da(dā)yam haranti yō ||
26 Svalastō mama mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [||*] Dūtako Rudradharah
[||*] Likhitaṁ Kikakka(Kikkakēna)
27 Sam 200 10 ā[ncha](āśva)yuja ja(ba?) 5

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-15 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam. 206.]

(Line 16.) Be it known to you that, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father and to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I may wish, I have, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, confirmed (*the enjoyment of*) an irrigation-well with an area of twelve *padāvarṣas* and thirty *pādīvarṣas* arable land on the northern border of **Akrōlaka** village which had formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee) for the benefit of the resident of that same place, (*viz.*) the Brāhmaṇa Skanda, of the *Aupavasti gotra*, a student of the Vājisanāya (*śākhā*). Therefore not even a slight obstruction or dispute must be made by anybody to him while he enjoys (*this land*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to others*) in accordance with the conditions under which he enjoyed (*it*) previously. This Our confirmation (*of the old grant*) should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 22.) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this, —The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. Those who rescind a grant of land are reborn as black serpents living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya.

(Line 26.) The sign manual of Me the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*. The messenger is Rudradhara. Written by Kikkaka. The year 200 (and) 10; (the month) *Āśva*[yuja]; the dark (?) (fortnight); the 5th (*tithi*).

IV.—PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF DHURUVAŚĒNA I.

This plate has been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—"One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It is written on one side and has two ring-holes at the bottom. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. There is also a square hole in the left-hand top corner of the plate, bored into the symbol representing the syllable *om*. Length of plate varies from 11" to 11½"; height varies from 6¼" to 6½".

The plate contains 13 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ¼".

The characters are similar to those used in the other plates. They comprise the sign of the *śhrīrāmabhyā* in *-Dhruvasēnā-kauśālī*, l. 12. There are three different forms of the medial long *-ī-*. Two of them occur in *-dīdhīhīhī dīn-*, l. 5, and the third in *-prāṇīta-*, l. 6. Note also the form of *-ē-* in *-nīm-ēka-*, l. 9, which is likewise used in the corresponding passage of the grant just dealt with.

With regard to orthography, we may note the usual doubling of consonants after *r*; thus, *-rīrītha-*, l. 10; *-sarcran-*, l. 12. On the other hand, we have a single *dh* before *y* in *-ānudyātō-*, l. 11; *-sambadhya-*, l. 13, as in the grant of Samvat 206. The absence of *samdhā* in *-dīdhīhīhī dīn-*, l. 5, is in accordance with the common practice in Dhruvasēna's grants. In l. 4 we find *-ruṇa-*

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 3. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 7. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 9. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 11. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

nata- instead of *-ruṇ-āvanata*-, and the syllables *nīma-pru* have been omitted in l. 6. In l. 7 we find *niphita*- for *vikita*-. On the whole the engraver has done his work carefully.

The grant was issued from **Valabhi** by the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*, but only the formal portion is preserved.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhitah prasabha-prapat-āmitra(trā)ṇām Maitrakāṇam=atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-
- 2 saṁsakta- saṁprahāra-śata-labha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-māu-ārjja-ōparjji-
ānurāgo=nurakta-maula-
- 3 bhṛta-mitra-śrēṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājyaśrīḥ paramamāhōśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati- **Bhaṭakkas**-tasya
sutas=tat-pāda-
- 4 ruḥ-ruṇ-~~anata~~(ruṇ-āvanata)-pavitr[ī]kṛta-śīrāḥ śīrō-vanata-śatru-chūdāmaṇi-prabhā-
viechhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-
- 5 didhitīḥ dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhōśvaras= sēnāpati- **Dharasēnaḥ**
- 6 tasy- ānujas=tat-pād-ābhipra[nāma-pra*]śasta-viṇala-mauli-maṇir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇita-vibhā-
vidhāna-dharmā Dharmma-
- 7 rāja iva vi[ph]jita-vinaya-vyavasthā-pulldhatir akhila- bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-svāmīnā
parama-
- 8 svāmīnā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāviśrāṇan-āvapūta-rājusrīḥ paramamā-
hōśvaraḥ
- 9 mahārāja-**Drōṇasimhas**=sinha iva tasy-ānujah svabhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghat-
ānikānām=eka-
- 10 vijayī śaraṇ-nishīṇāṁ śaraṇam=avabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvānām kalpatarur iva
sulpit-prapayinām
- 11 yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadah paramabhūgavataḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-
ānudhyātō
- 12 mahārāja-**Dhruvasēnaḥ**=kuśali sarvān-ēva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāṅgika-
chāṭa-bhaṭa-
- 13 dhruvasthānādhikaraṇa-daṇḍapāśik-ādīn-anyāms-cha yathā-saṁbadhya-

V.—PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF [ŚĪLĀDITYA I. DHARMĀDITYA ; VALABHĪ-SĀMVAT 286].

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has favoured me with the following description of this plate,—
“One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It has two ring-holes at the bottom, but neither the ring nor the seal which it might have borne is forthcoming. A small piece of the plate is broken at the left top corner, damaging a portion of the symbol for *ōm*. Likewise a small piece is missing at the beginning of l. 10, where, however, no letter has been damaged. The plate is engraved only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. Length of plate varies from 11½" to 11¾". Height about 8¼".

The plate contains 18 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ½".

The characters agree with those used in the grants of Śīlāditya I.

With regard to orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for *ri* in *trīdaśa*-, l. 7; of *ri* for *ri* in *trīṇa*-, l. 7; the writing of *mgh* for *mḥ* in *-saṁghatīsa*-, l. 5 and in *saṁghat*-, l. 13; the use of *n*

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

for *m* in *-ānsa-*, l. 15; the doubling of consonants after *r* and before *y* in *-ārjjavōpārjjit-*, l. 2; *Bhaṭārkkād-*, l. 3; *sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l. 6; *-ānuddhyatas-*, l. 14, and so on. There are a few mistakes, such as *ē* for *a* in *-pētha-*, l. 18; *t* for *tt* in *-satva-*, l. 4; *j* for *jj* in *-ājcala-*, l. 18; *p* for *pr* in *-pabhava-*, l. 4; a superfluous *anusvāra* in *-pāmja-*, l. 3, and so on. The first *n* in *santāna-*, l. 9, has been misshaped and looks almost like a *v*. Note also the absence of *saindhi* in *-śabdaḥ rūpa-*, l. 6.

The plate contains only the formal portion of the grant and breaks off in the description of Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya, but it is absolutely certain that Mr. Jackson was right in assuming that the grant was issued by him. The absence of *saindhi* in *-śabdaḥ rūpa-*, l. 6; the word *-dhairyya-* in *-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l. 6; and the word *-bala-* in *-ākṣhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ*, l. 11, occur in all the grants of Śilāditya but not in other Valabhi grants. It is also possible to state definitely that the plate belongs to a grant issued before Valabhi-Saivrat 290, because the spellings *-saṃghatis-*, l. 5; *-tridaśaguru-*, l. 7, and *saṃghat-*, l. 13, which also occur in the Walā plates of Valabhi-Saivrat 286, are not found in the Dhāuk plates of Valabhi-Saivrat 290. The last words of our plate are *-ājvalatari-kṛit-ārttha-*, and by comparing other Valabhi grants we find that the second plate must have begun *-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-*. Now these are the first words of the fragmentary second Walā plate of Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya, dated Samv. 200 80 6 Vaiśākha-va(?) 6, which has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar.¹ The length of that plate is, according to the editor, 12" and the height 8½". The size therefore also agrees with that of our plate, and there cannot be any doubt that the two plates belong together, so that the whole grant is now before us. To judge from Dr. Bhandarkar's edition the second plate is not well preserved. I asked Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya to be good enough to try to get hold of it so that it could be republished together with the first plate. His endeavours to do so have not, however, been successful, and I therefore edit the beginning alone.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm² svasti [||*] Valabhitah prasabha-prapat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakāṇām=
atula-bala-saṃpanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-samsakta-prahā-
- 2 ra-sata-labha-pratapatḥ pratap-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anrakta-
maulabhṛta-śroṇi-bal-ā-
- 3 vāpta-rājya-sriyah paramamāhēśvara-Śrī-Bhaṭārkkād=avyavachchhinna-rā(m)ja-
vniśān-mūtā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-prapati-pravidhaut-āsēsha-kalma-
- 4 shaḥ śaiśvat-prabhṛiti khadga-dvitiya-bāhar-ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-āsphōṭana-
prakāśita-sa[t*]tva-nikashas=tat-p[r*]abhā-
- 5 va-prapat-ārāti-chūdāratna-prabhā-samsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṃgha(ha)ti=sakala-
smṛiti-praṇita-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-
- 6 praja-hṛidaya-raṃjan-ānvarttha-rāja-śabdaḥ rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-
buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅk-ādrirāj-ō-
- 7 dadhi-tri(tri)daśaguru-dhanēśān-atiśayānaś-saraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tri-
(tri)ṇa[va]d=apāt-āsēsha-svakāryya-
- 8 phala[h*] prārthan-ādhik-ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidayah
pādachār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhō-
- 9 ga-pramōdaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ Śrī-Guhasōnas=taśya śntas=tat-pāda-nakha-
mayāṅkha-sa[ntā]na-viśṛita-Jāhnavi-jal-au-
- 10 gha-prakṣhālīt-āsēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-sata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad-rūpa-lobbhād-
iv-āśritas=sarabhasam=ābhi-
- 11 gāmikair=gguṇais=sahaja-śakti-śikṣhā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākṣhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ
prathanva-narapati-samatierishṭānā-

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 46.

² Expressed by a symbol.

၁ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိဝေဒါး ပြဿနပြုရန် ဝိသုဒ္ဓိဝေဒါး ပြုရန်
 ၂ အလေ့ပြုရန် ပြုရန် ပြုရန် ပြုရန် ပြုရန်
 ၃ ဘုရားရှင် ပြုရန် ပြုရန် ပြုရန် ပြုရန် ပြုရန်
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- 12 m=annpālayitā dharmmadāyānam= apākarttā praj-āpaghāta-kāripām=upaplavānām
darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr-āk-ā-
- 13 dhivāsasya saṅgha(ha)t-ārāti-paksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikram-
opasamprāpta-vimāla-pārtthivāsriḥ paramamahō-
- 14 śvarah Śrī-Dharasēnas-tasya sutas=tat-pāl-ānuddhyātas-sakala-jagad-ānandan-
ātyadbhuta-guṇa-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-dīma-
- 15 pālas=samara-śata-vijaya-śobhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānsa-piṭh-ādūḍha-
guru-manōratha-mahābhārah
- 16 sarvva-vidyā-parāvara-vibhāg-ādhigama-vimāla-matir=api sarvvatas subhāshita-lavēn=āpi
sukh-ōpapādaniya-pari-
- 17 tōsha[h*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīrya-hridayō=pi sucharit-ātisaya-suyakta-
parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ khili-bhū-
- 18 ta-kṛtayuga-nṛpati-pē(pa)tha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-kirttir-ddharmm-ānuparōdh-ō[j*]-
jvalatari-kṛt-ārththa-

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail! From Valabhi. (*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who had by force prostrated (their) enemies, from the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭārka, who had acquired splendour in hundreds of battles connected with the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength; who had gained the devotion of those whom he had prostrated by his splendour through his gifts, honours and straightforwardness; who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants (*was descended*), the royal lineage being uninterrupted, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Guhasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the prostrations at the lotus feet of (his) mother and father; to whom (his) sword was indeed a second arm from (his) childhood; and who brightened the touchstone of his strength by splitting open the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes; the collection of the rays of the nails of whose feet was combined with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes who were prostrated by the power of that (*strength*); who rendered (his) title of king appropriate by pleasing the minds of (his) subjects by thoroughly observing the conduct laid down in all the *smṛitis*; who in beauty, loveliness, stability, firmness, profundity, wisdom and wealth surpassed (*respectively*) Cupid, the moon, the king of mountains, the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (Bṛihaspati) and Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon granting safety to those who came for protection, threw away all the results of his deeds as if they were straw; who gladdened the hearts of learned people, friends and favourites by giving (them) riches in excess of their demands; and who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the vast circle of the whole world;

(Line 9.) his son (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Dharasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the flood of the waters of the Ganges which flowed from the cluster of rays of the nails of the feet of his (*father*), whose wealth was being lived upon by hundreds of thousands of favourites; who was impetuously resorted to by attractive qualities as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty; who astonished the archers of all armies by his innate ability and excellent training; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who was a remover of calamities that might oppress (his) subjects; who showed (the world) Śrī and Sarasvatī living together; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the Fortune of the compact ranks of his foes; and who by his prowess obtained spotless royal splendour;

(Line 14.) his son [the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Śilāditya], who meditates on his (*father's*) feet; who covers the whole horizon by the rise of his wonderful virtues that gladden the whole world; who supports the great burden of weighty desires on the pedestal of his shoulders (which have got their) splendour increased by the lustre of his sword that is

possessed of the brilliancy of victory in hundreds of battles; who though his intellect is pure by mastering the higher and lower divisions of all sciences, is always easily gratified by even a trifle of wit; who, though his heart possesses a profundity that is unfathomable by the whole world, well manifests his noble disposition in abundance of good conduct; who has achieved exalted fame by purifying the path of the kings of the Kṛitayuga which had become abandoned; [whose second name of Dharmāditya arose from his enjoying riches, happiness, and] wealth which have been made more resplendent by (his) non-obstructing the law.

NO. 10.—BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA.

By TAW SEIN KO.

Translations of this inscription have already been published at pages 208-210 of Rajendralala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, and at page 76 of Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There is some controversy as to the correct reading of the dates. The initial date is undoubtedly 657, which corresponds to 1295 A.D., and the final date 660, which is equivalent to 1298 A.D. During the period indicated by these two dates, the Burmese empire of Pagan was in the throes of a Chinese invasion. In 1284, Pagan had been occupied by the Chinese. In 1298 A.D., Kyawzwa, the titular king, had been dethroned by three Shan brothers, who bore divided rule at the new capitals of Myinzaing, Motkaya, and Pinlō in the Kyaukse district. Two years later, the Chinese again invaded Myinzaing. In these circumstances, the only inference is that the last repairs to the Mahābodhi Temple alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a king of Arakan.

There is, however, some difficulty in the identification of the personages mentioned in the inscription. *Mahathēra Pinthagugyi* cannot be identified with certainty. *Pinthagugyi* or the "great Pinthagu" is a title, designation, or *sobriquet*, rather than a personal name, and is derived from the Pāli word *painsukulika*, "one who obtains the materials for his clothing from a dust-heap or a cemetery." Such a title was usually conferred on a Buddhist monk of exceptional sanctity and austerity, who had secured the esteem and admiration of the laity. There was such a celebrated Buddhist monk at Pagan during the reign of Narapatisithu (1167-1204 A.D.).

Thadomin sounds like an Arakanese title of a king or prince. It does not occur in the chronological lists appended to Phayre's *History of Burma*.

King Sinbyuthakin is called in the inscription *Sinbyuthikhin Trā Mingyi*. The first part means "the Lord of the White Elephant," and the second "Dhammaraja." Here, again, the expression is a common regal title and not a personal name.

Siridhammarajaguru is the title of a learned monk. All royal preceptors are called "Dhammarajaguru," or the "King's guru."

Sirikassapa and Varavāsi are ordinary names of Buddhist monks.

A great deal of interest centres round the designation "Pyu-ta-thoin-min", which appears as "Pu-ta thin min" in lines 9-10 of the inscription below. I am inclined to identify this personage with the "King Sinbyuthikhin" mentioned in the same inscription, and both with Meng-di, No. 9 of the "Dynasty of the City Loung-Kyet" at page 301 of Phayre's *History of Burma*. This king reigned from 1279 to 1385, and is described as a "son of Meng-bhi-lu". There are two "Meng-bhi-lus," namely, No. 7 of the same dynasty, who reigned from 1272 to 1276 A.D., and No. 12 of the "dynasty of Ping-tsa City," who ruled from 1075 to 1078 A.D. (page 299, *ibid*). The latter king was driven out from his kingdom by a usurper, and his son and heir, Mongre Baya, sought refuge at the Court of Kyanzittha, king of Pagan. Mongre Baya died leaving a son called Letyāmengnan. This Arakanese prince

[illegible]

was restored to his ancestral throne by **Alaungsithu**, **Kyanzitha's** grandson and successor, in 1103 A.D., with the aid of 100,000 Pyus and 100,000 Talaings. Hence the fortunate prince is known in history as "**Pyu-ta-thein-min**," or "**Lord of the 100,000 Pyus**" (*vide* page 10, *ibid*). It is most probable that **Mong-di**, during whose reign the inscription was set up at **Bodhi-Gaya**, was a descendant of **Letyamengnan** and was also called a "**Pyu-ta-thein-min**."

On the same page, **Phayre** says: "**Alaungsithu** caused the Buddhist temple at **Gaya** to be repaired." I am inclined to think that, on that occasion, the **King of Pagan** deputed the **Mahāthera Pinthagugyi** to superintend the work, and that he required his *protégé*, **Letyamengnan**, to render the necessary assistance in this work of merit. It would then appear that the "**Thadomin**" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of **Letyamengnan**, the Prince, who first bore the title of "**Pyu-ta-thein-min**" or "**Lord of the 100,000 Pyus**."

It is quite possible that one of the conditions of **Letyamengnan's** restoration to the **Arakanese** throne was that, for the accumulation of merit of **Alaungsithu**, his suzerain and benefactor, he and his descendants were to render material assistance in the repair and maintenance of the temple at **Bodhi-Gaya**. Viewed in this light, the chronology of the inscription and the *raison d'être* of the proceedings recorded therein become clear, reasonable, and logical.

TEXT.

- 1 Purbhāthikhin thathana 218 laulie-pyithaw akhāhnaik sambuteik kyungo asoyathaw Si-
- 2 ridhammasoka myithaw Mingyi seti atathavang 4 daung aphaw hnaik
- 3 sumtaw phoopiaa Payātha i-tango akha homyin pyet
- 4 rwe myinthaw thikhin Pinthakugyi tayauk. Thopyi tachet py-
- 5 atkheragā Thadomin pyu-i. Thopyi(y) tachet pyetkhedon
- 6 ragā Sinbyinthikhin Trā Mingyi mimi kosa sira siridhamma-
- 7 rājakurugo siytaw mulatthaw akhāhnaik pala-
- 8 t thaw tabethā Sirikassapasa thi lok antha utsā hilyet
- 9 malōk radat ragā Varavāsi thikhin therago sum kham siyragā Pu-
- 10 tathin min hu-i lok siykānu thikhin ngo ko myatkyi The(ra) ko
- 11 akhwin puragā Sakarac 657 khu pyatholazan 10 rak thaunkyanii pyndon-i
- 12 Sakarac 660 Tazaungmonlazan 8 rak tahninganu ni(y) hlu-sathaw
- 13 takhunkukā takhunpyādoko le pusao-i. Thinbōk thaung simi
- 14 thaungdo akyein myaswa hlin pusao-i. Thātami hu hnat rwe thungd 2
- 15 yauk shwepan ngwepan khwet paso swēthaw padetha le pu-
- 16 sao-i. Akhākhapthein hlin thinbōkwut mapyat tisinthaw
- 17 kraung mie kyun nwado ko l- way ruy hlākhe. Ī ngā pyu
- 18 thaw kaunghmugā Nippan pyitsi athauk apin phyitchin tha-
- 19 te. Yat (meik) ti purbhāthikhin letthet hlin rahandāsu lothate.

TRANSLATION.

1 When 218 years of the era of the Religion of the Lord Buddha had passed away, **Siridhammāsoka**, the Ruler of **Jambudīpa**,

2 built 84,000 chaityas, one of which was situated on the site,

3 where the Buddha took a meal (of rice porridge offered by **Sujātā** before attaining Enlightenment). This shrine, owing to the effluxion of time, fell into ruin,

4 and was repaired by the **Mahāthera Pinthagugyi**. Subsequently,

5 it was repaired by **Thadomin**. It again fell into disrepair,

- 6 and King **Sinbyuthikhin** deputed the Royal Preceptor,
 7 **Siridhammarajaguru**, to undertake the work of repair.
 8 **Sirikassapa**, the disciple of the Preceptor, had sufficient funds,
 9 but could not take the work in hand (owing, probably, to the absence of skilled
 artisans) —
 10 He, therefore, sent **Varavāsi**, a junior *Thera*,
 11 to King **Pyutathin Min**, who complied with the solicitation for assistance.
 12 The work of repair was begun on **Friday**, the 10th, waxing of **Pyatho 657 B.E.**
 (January 1295 A.D.),
 13 and was completed on **Sunday**, the 8th, waxing of **Tazaungmon 660 B.E.** (November
 1298 A.D.)
 14 The following offerings were dedicated to the shrine: flags and streamers, 1,000 bowls
 of rice and 1,000 lamps (for several times), 2 boys in the place of the donor's own children,
 15 and gold and silver flowers and cloth hung on bamboo framework.
 16 In order to provide for the daily offering of rice at the shrine, at all times,
 17 land, slaves, and cattle were purchased and likewise dedicated. May this
 18 meritorious deed of mine lead me on to **Nirvāṇa**!
 19 May I become a disciple of **Motteyya**, the coming Buddha!

No. 11.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR H. JACOB, BONN.

I have received from the Government Epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya, a large number of dates for examination, of which I here publish 32 dates of Chōla kings. In accepting this task I may be permitted to give expression to my admiration of the work done by my predecessor, the late Professor Kielhorn. Without the results he had worked out with inexhaustible patience, I probably should not have succeeded in verifying many of the dates which are now published.

The dates have been calculated with the help of my General Tables published in Volume I, p. 443 of this journal. The time of the end of *tithis* and *nakshatras* is given in *ghaṭikās* only, when the result at issue would not be influenced by a few *ghaṭikās*, more or less. In those cases, however, where a higher degree of accuracy is wanted, I have made use of the new special tables which I am going to publish in Part iv. of this volume. These tables yield the result within a few *palas* according to the Ārya, Sūrya, and Brahma-Siddhāntas, and the Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi.

The date No. 198 reduces the time previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rājādhirāja II. to the period from the 7th to the 30th March 1163 A.D. The remaining dates confirm the results previously found.

A.—PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌḶA I.

191.—In the Vēḍapuriśvara templo at Tirukkālittai.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiru-maṇṇi(maṇṇi) vaḷara
 20 kō=Pparakēsaripa[n]mar-āṇa śri-R[ā]-
 21 j[ē]ntra-śōladēvaṅku yāṇḍu oṇbadāvadu
 24 ivv-ātṭai Magara-n[ā]-
 25 ya[ṅ]ḡu Budan-kiḷamai peṅṅa Tirukkēṭṭai-nāṅḡu.

¹ No. 202 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the **ninth year** (*of the reign*) of king **Parakēsarivarman** *alias* the glorious **Rājēndra-Chōladēva**,— on the day of the auspicious (*nakshatra*) **Jyēsthā**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** of the month of **Makara** in this year."

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 8th February 1021**, which was the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight of **Makara**. The *nakshatra* was **Jyēsthā** which ended, according to the equal space system, about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHŌLA.

192.—In the **Siddhanāthasvāmin** temple at **Tirunārāiyūr**.¹

- 1 [S]vasti śrī [||*]² Pāmādu puṇara
- 3 kō-Pparakēsaripatmar-āma Tribhuvanacha-
- 4 kavattiga]³ śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku yāṇḍu 2 irāṇḍu āvadu Miduna-nayarru
[p]pū[r]vva- [pa]kshattu [dv]ādaśiyum Tīn]gaḷ-kīlamaiyum perṇa [Vi]śarattu
na].⁴

"In the **2nd—second—year** (*of the reign*) of king **Parakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vikrama-Chōladēva**,— on the day of **Viśakha**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mithuna**."

This date is intrinsically wrong. Monday, the 23rd June 1119 A.D. corresponded to the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Mithuna** (**Āśāḍha**) and the *nakshatra* was **Mūla**.

193.—In the **Siddhanāthasvāmin** temple at **Tirunārāiyūr**.¹

- 1 Pāmādu puṇara
- 2 kō Pparakēsaripatmar-āma Tribhuvanachakravartiga]
- 3 śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku [y]āṇḍu mūṇṇāvadu Midu[ṇa*]-nayarru pū[r]vva-
pakshattu shash[th]iyum Vēl]i-kki]lamaiyum perṇa Pūratu na].

"In the **third year** (*of the reign*) of king **Parakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vikrama-Chōladēva**,— on the day of **Pūrva-Phalguni**, which corresponded to a **Friday**, and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mithuna**."

The date corresponds to **Friday, the 4th June 1120 A.D.**, being the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Mithuna** (**Āśāḍha**), the *nakshatra* being **Pūrva-Phalguni**, which had begun about 12 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise and was current for the greater part of the day.

194.—In the **Siddhanāthasvāmin** temple at **Tirunārāiyūr**.²

- 1 ⁶ Śrī-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku yāṇḍu 3 mūṇṇāvadu Miduna-nayarru [p]ū[r]v[va]-
pakshattu aṣṭamiyum Viyāla-kkīlamai]y]m perṇa Uṭṭirattu [na]].

"In the **3rd—third—year** (*of the reign*) of the glorious **Vikrama-Chōladēva**,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni**, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mithuna**."

¹ No. 170 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The space between *śrī* and *pū* was perhaps intended for a punctuation.

³ Read "*chakravartiga*].

⁴ No. 164 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ No. 171 of the same collection for 1908.

⁶ This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. 170 of 1908 (from the middle of line 17 of the latter).

This date is apparently wrong. It belongs to the same year and month as the preceding one and may be expected to fall on the day previous, if we take the week-day to be given correctly, and on the following day if we assume the *nakshatra* to be right; but these items are Friday and Pūrva-Phalguni in the preceding date and Thursday and Uttara-Phalguni in this.

105.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunārāiyūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri ||— Pūmādu puṇara
 3 kō-²Pparakēsari[**var**]mar-āna Tribhu[va]nach-
 [cha]krava-
 4 3rttigā[ī] śri-Vi[kra]ma-Śōḷadēva[r]kku⁴ yāṇdu 12 ā[va]du Rishabha-[nā]ya[r]ṭu[-
 ppūrvva-ṭakshattu shashṭhiyum Viyā[ḷa]-kilakkiḷamaiyum⁵ pe[ṭ]-
 5 ra Ma[gattu nā].

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of king Parakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Vikrama-Chōḷadēva],—on the day of M[aghā], which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 15th May 1130 A.D., which was the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) and was coupled with the *nakshatra* Maghā. The 6th *tithi* ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Maghā commenced about 10 *ghaṭikās* after it according to the equal space system.

C.—PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJARĀJA II.

100.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunārāiyūr.⁶

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] ||* Puṇal vāyittu
 3 kō-Pparakēsari[pa]rmar-āna Rāja[r]ājādēva[r]ka
 yāṇdu 5 āvadu nā Vṛiśchika-nāyaṇṇu-p[ṭ]p[ū]rvva-[pa]ḷkshattu tṛītiyaiyum
 Śani-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Uttirādat-
 4 [tu mal].

"In the time (*ai*) of the 5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājadeva,—on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date seems to correspond to Friday, the 24th November 1150 A.D., which was the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vṛiśchika (Mārgaśīrsha). The day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā, which commenced about 19 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise of that day, while the third *tithi* ended about 44 *ghaṭikās* after it. We must therefore assume that in the inscription, Saturday is wrongly given instead of Friday.

¹ No. 167 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The letter *sa* of *kēsari* is written on an erasure.

³ The syllable *r* at the beginning of the line is corrected from *ra*.

⁴ The five syllables *maśōḷadēva* are written on an erasure.

⁵ Cancel the first two letters *kiḷa*.

⁶ No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

197.—In the Aiyāṇār temple at Tiruppaṭṭur.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya tiru-mādam
 4 kō=Pparakēśaripatmar-āṇa Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigal śr[ī]-
 • Rājwājadēva[ku y]āṇḍu 7 āvadu Ishaba-nāyaṛṛu a-
 5 para-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum peṛra Aśvati-nāl.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date intended in this inscription is Thursday, the 21st May 1153 A.D. It is, however, not the 12th, but the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyaishṭha); it was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended about 11 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The 12th *tithi* ended about mean sunrise of Friday at Laṅkā, according to the Ārya-Siddhanta, 22 *palas* after it, according to the Sūrya-Siddhanta 7 *palas* before it, and according to the Brahma-Siddhanta 52 *palas* before it. But as we have to reckon with true sunrise, which occurred on that day, say at Conjeeveram, 1 *ghaṭikā* 49 *palas* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the end of the 12th *tithi* fell after true sunrise of Friday, which day therefore was called the 12th *tithi*. The 12th (lunar) *tithi* was however coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended in it, though the day in which it ended was called the 11th *tithi*.

D.—TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II.

198.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiṇūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [ᱚ] Kaḷal-ś[ᱚ]juda³ pār-eḷun-
 8 Tribhuvāṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-Rājāta(dhī)rājadēvarkku yāṇḍu āvadu
 Mīṇa-nāyaṛṛu purva-pakshattu shashṭhiyum Viyāḷa-kka(kki)ḷamaiyum peṛra Urōṣani-nāl.

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādh[ī]rājadēva,— on the day of Rōhinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 6th March 1169 A.D. On this day, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Rōhinī about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise (according to the equal-space system). The present inscription brings the accession to the throne of Rājādhirāja II. between 7th and 30th March 1163.

E.—KULŌTTUNGA-CHŌḶA III.

199.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiṇūr.⁴

- 1 [k]karavatt[i]ḷga[ī] śrī-Kuḷōttunga-Śōḷadēva[r]ku yā[ṇḍu]⁵ 2 vadi⁶
 [Ku]m-
 2 [ba-nāyaṛṛu*] irubattoṇ[ra]n=[diyadi]yum peṛra apara-[pa]kshattu praḷa-
 m[ai]yum Budan-
 3 [pi]radamaiyum⁷ peṛra [Pū]rattu nāl.

¹ No. 597 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 172 of the same collection for 1908.

³ The syllable *la* seems to be entered below the line.

⁴ No. 166 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ Between *ṇḍu* and the figure 2 there is some space in which traces of a letter or a figure are seen.

⁶ The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vadu*.

⁷ The *tithi* seems to have been repeated by mistake.

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladeva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the first *tithi* to a Wednesday, to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the twenty-first solar day [of the month of Kumbha]."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 13th February 1180 A.D., which was the 21st day of the solar month Kumbha. The case is similar to that in No. 197; but here the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was an expunged *tithi*, wherefore the day was to be called the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kumbha (Phalgunā) ended 5 *ghaṭikās* 9 *palas* after mean sunrise at Lākā, and the 1st *tithi* of the dark fortnight 5 *palas* after mean sunrise of the next day (Thursday); but as the sun rose in Conjeeveram on that day 8 *palas* later, the end of the *tithi* was brought over to the preceding day, and was, therefore, expunged. But this first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was coupled with Pūrva-Phalgunī which ended on Wednesday about 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

200.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr.¹

1 Svasti śrī [†] Tiribuvanachchakkaravatt[†]gal [śrī]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladevaṅku
yāndu 2 vādu² Mīṇa-naṅṅu³ pūrva-pakshattu pīradamaiyum Viṇyāla-
kkilamaiyum peṇṇa [U]ttirattadi-nāl.

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladeva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 28th February 1180 A.D. On that day ended the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadā, both about 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lākā.

201.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr.³

1 Svasti śrī [†] Pu(pū)-maraviya Tiśaimugattōn kōv-Pparakē-
[śa]tripaṇṇa āna Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigal [śi]-Virarājēndhra(dra)devaṅku
yāndu [5]ṇjāvala Kumba-[n]ayayṇṇu apara-pakshattu⁶ navamiyum Velli-
kkilamai peṇṇa Mālattu nāl.

"In the [6]th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndradēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 18th February 1183 A.D., on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* and the *nakshatra* Mūla about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lākā.

202.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr.⁶

1 Svasti śr[ī] [†] Pāyal vāy[ttu]
2 kōv- Virarāśakēsaripaṇ-

¹ No. 175 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *vādu*.

³ No. 175 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ Read *śrī*.

⁵ No. 178 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ Read *-pakshattu*.

⁷ Read *Virarāśakēsarī*.

- 4 mar-āna [Ti*]ribuvanachchakka[va]ttigal śr[i]-Virarajendra Śmadavarkku
yāṇḍu āra[va]ln nāl Simha-nāyargu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Śani-kkiḷamai-
yum perra [M]i[ga]-
5 [śi]rsha[ttu] nāl.

"In the time (*wa*) of the sixth year (*of the reign*) of king ¹Rājākēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarajendra-Chōladeva,—on the day of **Mrigaśirsha**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

I take the date to correspond to **Saturday, the 10th September 1183 A.D.** For, on this day the *nakshatra* Mrigaśirsha began at about 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lanka. The day, however, was not the 9th, but the 7th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Simha (Bhādrapada), that *tithi* having ended about 16 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.—The result shows that the word *navamiyum*, of the original date should be altered to *saptamiyum* (or perhaps into *aṣṭamiyum*, if that *tithi* was intended with which the given *nakshatra* mainly coincided, or in which it ended, as was the case in Nos. 197 and 199).

203.—In the Viḷināthasvamin temple at Tiruvilimīlalai.²

- 1 [Sva]stī śr[i] [||*] T[i]ribuvanachchakka[va]ttigal³ śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-Ś[ō]kade-
[va]rku yāṇḍu ēa-
2 vada Magara-nāyargu pu[r]vva[-pak]shattu eṭudasi[y]u Viyala-kkiḷamaiyum
perra Punarvasu-tti=[n]āl.

"In the seventh year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladeva,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**."

The date intended seems to be **Wednesday, the 10th January 1185.** For, on that day the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Makara (Māgha) ended about 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Punarvasu ended about 14 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The week-day however was Wednesday, and not Thursday, as given in the original date, apparently by a mistake.

204.—In the Viḷināthasvamin temple at Tiruvilimīlalai.⁴

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] [Pa]yal vā[ya*]ttu va[la]nu [pōra]ga [||*]⁵ Tribuvanachchak-
karavatt[i]gal Maduraiyum Pa[n]ḍiyan muḍittalai[y]uṇ-gon[ḍi]aruliṅga se-
Kulōttuṅga-Ś[ō]kadevar[ka]ku [y]āṇḍu paṇḍiagarāvaḍu
2 K[u]mba-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu [pa]ṇḍi[n]aiyum Vēl[i]-kkiḷamai[y]um perra
I[r]ēvati-nāl.

"In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladeva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya,—on the day of **Rēvati**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the [fifth *tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The date corresponds to **Friday, the 28th January 1194 A.D.**, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kumbha ending about 54 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of that day, and the *nakshatra* Rēvati ending about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. As the *tithi* might be an

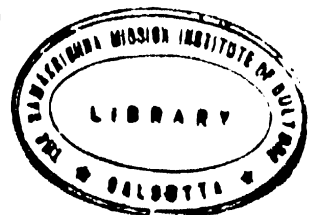
¹ Kulōttuṅga III, bears the surname Parakēsarivarman in his other inscriptions.

² No. 386 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

³ Read *chakravarttigal*.

⁴ No. 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ Between *ga* and *tri* there is some space which may have contained a sign of punctuation



expunged one, I calculated the beginning of 5th *tithi* for true sunrise at Conjeeveram according to the Arya-Siddhanta; it began nearly a *ghatikā* before sunrise of Friday, which day accordingly was the 5th *tithi*.

205.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇiṇṇalai.¹

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] ||[*] P[ā]jya[ī] vā[y*]ttu [va]lam Madurai kop[ḍu] Pān[ḍi]ya[ḥ]
 maḍitta[ī] ai[y]n=gond-aru[ī]na śr[ī]-Kulōtta[ū]ga-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu padina[ā]-
 [va]ḍu Ka[r]-
 2 kaḍaga-nāyarru apara-pakshattu śa[turtasiya]m² Tiṅgal-kilamai per[ra] Pupa-
 [r]pū[sa]ttu nal.

“In the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who, having taken Madurai, was pleased also to take the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth (or fourth) *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ka[r]ṭṭaka.”

The *tithi* in this date must be the 14th; for the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula (and Vṛischika) only can be coupled with Punarvasu. The 14th of Karkāṭaka however cannot also be coupled with that *nakshatra*; but the 14th of Mithuna. If we calculate for the 14th of the dark fortnight of Mithuna which corresponded to the 8th July, 1195 A.D., the *nakshatra* is indeed Punarvasu, but we find the week-day to be a Saturday instead of a Monday. Indeed the week-day would be incorrect on any possible assumption.

F.—RĀJARĀJA III.

206.—In the Aiyāṇār temple at Tiruppattūr.³

- 1 [Sva]stī śrī ||[*] Tiribuvā[nachchak]karavattiga[ī] śrī-Rājarāja-
 2 dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4 vadu Dhānu-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshat-
 3 tu daṣṣa[mi]yūm Śēvvā-kkilāmai yūm per[ra] Rēvati-tā(nā).

“In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarajadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

This date is also a doubtful one. The *tithi* given in the inscription corresponds to the 18th December 1219 A.D., but it is a Wednesday and is coupled with the *nakshatra* Bharanī and Krittikā. The preceding day was a Tuesday, but it was the 9th *tithi* and was coupled with Aśvinī and Bharanī. If we assume the month to have been Vṛischika instead of Dhanus (for there are instances of such mistakes in these inscriptions, see above, vol. IX, p. 220, note 12, and p. 221, note 4), we find that Tuesday, the 19th November 1219 A.D., was the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vṛischika, not the tenth *tithi* as stated in the inscription; but this tenth (lunar) *tithi* was coupled with the *nakshatra* Rēvati, the one ending 13 *ghatikās* before mean sunrise, the other beginning 40 *ghatikās* before it; cf. No. 202.

207.—In the Aiyāṇār temple at Tiruppattūr.⁵

- [Svastī śrī || Tiribuvā[nachchak]karavattiga[ī] śrī-Rājarajadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7 āvadn
 Isha[ba]-nāyarru apara-pakshattu tri(tri)tiyayūm=Dīṅgaṭ-kkilāmai yūm per[ra]
 Mū[ba]ṭti-ṇa].

¹ No. 416 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² It is not impossible that the reading is *kaluttigum*, i.e. the fourth *tithi*.

³ No. 595 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The *c*-symbol attached to *dē* is at the end of l. 1.

⁵ No. 596 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

I take the date to correspond to Monday, the 30th March 1222 A.D., though the *nakshatra* of that day was not Mūla, but Uttarāshāḍhā and Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended, according to the Ārya and Sūrya Siddhāntas, 1 *ghaṭikā* 44 *palas*, and 46 *palas*, respectively, after mean sunrise, and something more after true sunrise; while the 4th *tithi* ended on the next day. According to the Brahma-Siddhānta, however, Sunday was the third *tithi* and Monday was an *adhika* or repeated *tithi*. The result is practically the same as was found by the two other Siddhāntas.

208.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilur.¹

- 1 • ௨ Svasti śri [||*]
- 2 Tiribuvānach[cha]-
- 3 kkaravattigaḷ śri-
- 4 Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇ]-
- 5 [u]ḍu 7 āvadi[u*] eḍirām=[a]-
- 6 uḍu Kumba-nāyaru [p]u-
- 7 rva-pakshattu tṛitiyaṇu[m]
- 8 Tiṅgaḷ-kkiḷamai[y]u[m] pe-
- 9 ௭ா Śadi-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svati, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds almost certainly to Monday, the 20th February 1223 A.D. But the original date contains two errors: (1) it was not the 'first' fortnight, because in it the *nakshatra* Svati is impossible; (2) it was not the 3rd but the 4th *tithi*. For, on calculating the above date, we find that the 20th February corresponded to the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna), and that almost the whole day coincided with the *nakshatra* Svati.

209.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimīlalai.²

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Tribuvānachchakkaravattigaḷ [ś]ri-Irājarājadēvarkku yāṇdu
[l]l [va]ḍu Kumbha-nā[ya]ru apava-[pa]kshattu ḍkādasiyum Śapi-[k]kiḷamaiyum
peṇṇa
- 2 Mālattu nāl.

"In the [1]lth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This date is the same as that in No. 214 below and will be dealt with in that place. It deserves to be remarked that, in this inscription just as in No. 214, the month Kumbha has been erroneously quoted instead of Makara.

¹ No. 215 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The name Rājarāja is denoted by two abbreviations.

³ No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The date may also be read as 21.

210.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[ri]buvanaēchakkaravatt[igal] śrī-Rāśarāśadēvaṅku yāṇḍu
[11]³ I-shava-nāyaṅgu pū[r]va-pakkattu saptam[i]yum Nāyaṅgu-kk[i]lamaiyūm
perṛa Magattu nāl.

"In the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rajarājadeva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

If we take the year to be the 11th, neither the week-day nor the *nakshatra* comes out right. But if we calculate for the 21st year, both items come out right. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May 1237 A.D. The 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyaishtha) ended about 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of the 3rd May, and the *nakshatra* Maghā covered nearly that whole day.

211.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlīmīlalai.⁵

1 S[va]sti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanaēcha[k*]karavattigal śrī-Rāja[rajadēvaṅku] [y]āṇḍu
11 ā vaṇḍu Dhaṅu-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiyūm T[ri]ngat-kk[i]lamai-
yūm]

2 perṛa Irāvati-nāl.

"In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva, — on the day of Revatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date as given in the inscription would correspond to Thursday, the 31st December 1226 A.D., which was coupled with Kṛittikā. This result is wrong in all details. If we calculate Monday, the 29th December of the same year, the *nakshatra* comes out right, but it is the 7th *tithi*. Now, assuming that the month Dhanus has erroneously been quoted for Makara, the original date would correspond to Monday, the 30th November 1226 A.D. This is apparently the right date. On that day, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Makara ended about 37 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

212.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.⁶

1 ॐ Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanaēchakka-
2 vatt[i]gal śrī-Irāśarāśadēvaṅku y[ā]-
3 ṇḍu⁷ irubadāvaṇḍu Magara-nāyaṅgu pu-
4 rva-pakkattu saptamiyūm Tīngat-kki[la]-
5 maiyūm pperṛa⁸ Aśvati-nāl.

"In the twentieth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rajarājadeva, — on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The calculation of the original date yields Wednesday, the 16th January 1236 A.D., which day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī; but as the week-day is wrong, we must reject this

¹ No. 193 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² Two unintelligible symbols are engraved at the beginning of the line before the akshara *sra*.

³ The figures in brackets may also be read as 21.

⁴ Read *Rishabha*.

⁵ No. 409 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ No. 195 of the same collection for 1908.

⁷ Read *yāṇḍu*.

⁸ Read *perṛa*.

date. Assuming a mistake in the month, viz. Makara for Dhannu, we get Tuesday, the 18th December, which corresponds to the given *tithi* (ending 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise), but the *nakshatra* was Rōvati (beginning 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise). If we calculate for the following year, the 21st instead of the 20th, the date comes out right in all details. It corresponds to Monday, the 5th January 1237 A.D. On that day, the 7th *tithi* of the month Makara ended 14 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Āsvini began 13 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise. This is probably the equivalent of the date, though it is rather surprising that the number of the regnal year should have been erroneously quoted.

213.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai.¹

1 Svasti śrī:— T[i]rubu[va]nachehā[cha]kravartti[ga] śrī-Rājārājadevarku [yā]ndu
20 ira[bad]ā[va]du Rishabha-[n]āyar[ra] pūr[va]-pakshattu daśa mi[ya]m
[V]e[ḷ]i[ḷi]-kkaḷamai[ya]m p[er]er[ra] Utt[ira]ttu [nā].

"In the 20th—twentieth—year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadeva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a [Friday] and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date probably corresponds to Friday, the 16th May 1236 A.D. On that day, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended 12 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni 14 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. It appears therefore that, in the original date, the tenth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted instead of the ninth. Calculating Mēsha instead of Rishabha, we find that the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on Thursday, the 17th April 1236 A.D., 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni began only 50 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this date be the right equivalent, we have to assume that the month as well as the week-day are erroneously quoted in the original.

214.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai.²

1 Svasti śrī [i] [i*] Tir[ī]buvapachaka[va]ttiga⁴ śrī-Irājārājadeva[r]ku⁵ yāndu
21 vādu Kum[ba]-n[ā]yargu apara-pakshattu ek[ā]daśamiyam⁶ Saṇ[i]-kkaḷamai[ya]m
peṇṇa Mūlattu
2 nā.

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadeva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [eleventh] *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th January 1237 A.D. But the month Kumbha has erroneously been quoted instead of Makara. For, it is impossible that in Kumbha (Phālguna) the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight should coincide with Mūla; and besides, in that year Phālguna badi 11 was a Monday (or possibly a Sunday, for the end of the *tithi* fell very near sunrise), but certainly not a Saturday. But on the day stated above, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Makara ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Mūla ended about 27 *ghaṭikās* after it.

¹ No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The space between *m* and *kki* is just enough for *veḷi* and not for *sevvāy* (Tuesday).

³ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ Read "chakravarti".

⁵ Read "Rājārāja".

⁶ The syllable *mi* is written below the line. The *tithi* intended may have been either *ekādaśi* or *daśami*. But No. 209 above, which is identically the same date, gives *ekādaśi*.

215.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 [S]vasti śrī [||*] Tr[i]bbuvannachchakrava[tti]ga[la] śrī-[R]ājarā[ja]-
 2 d[e]varkk[u] yāṇḍu [2]6 āvadin=edira[m=ā-
 3 ṇḍu Kaṇṇi-nā]ya[ṛ]ṇu=[p]pūrvva-[pakshattu aṣṭa]ṇmi-
 4 [y]um Tiṅga[la]-kiḷamaiyum [p]eṛra Aṇiḷattu nāl.

"In the year opposite tho [2]8th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, tho glorious Rājarājadeva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eighth *tithi* (or the fifth *tithi*) of the first fortnight of the month of [Kanyā]."

The date as given in the inscription admits of four cases: (1) 16th year, 5th *tithi*; the equivalent is Tuesday, the 2nd September 1231 A.D.; the *nakshatra* Anurādhā begun 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise; (2) 26th year, 5th *tithi*: Wednesday, the 11th September 1241 A.D.; Anurādhā ended 47 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. Assuming the eighth *tithi* to be given, the week-days will be (3) Friday and (4) Saturday for the 16th and 26th year respectively, and the *nakshatra* will also be wrong. If we compute the same four cases for Sīṃha instead of Kanyā, we get a Monday only for case 1, viz. Monday, the 4th August 1231 A.D., but the *nakshatra* is Chitrā and Svati. If we compute for Tūlā instead of Kanyā, case No. 4 gives a Monday, viz. 14th October 1241; but then the *nakshatra* would be Śravana and Śravishṭhā. Therefore the date of this inscription seems not to admit of verification.

216.—On some detached stones in a grove at Tirukkāravāśal.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvannachchak[karava]tt[i]ga[la] śrī-[R]ājarājadeva[ṛ]kku y[ā]ṇḍu
 28 āvadu Kaṛkkaḍaga-nāyaṛṇu pūrvva-pakshat[t]u saturday[ti]yum Budan-
 k[i]ḷamaiyum pe[ṛ]ra* Utt[i]rattu nāl.

"In the 28th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The original date erroneously quotes the 14th *tithi* instead of the 4th; for, Śravana (= Karkāṭaka) sudi 14 cannot coincide with Uttara-Phalguni, but sudi 4 may coincide with it. The corrected date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd July 1243 A.D. On that day the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Karkāṭaka ended 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni ended 24 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

217.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.³

- 1 6. Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]r[i]bbuvannachchakkaravatt[i]ga[la] śrī-Rāsarāśudēva[ṛ]kku
 yāṇḍu 31 āvadu Mēsha-nāyaṛṇu 6[pa]ṇjami[y]um Tiṅga[la]-
 kiḷamaiyum [p]eṛra [A]ṇiḷattu nāl.

"In the 31st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rāsarāśudēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the month of Mēsha."

The 5th *tithi* of both fortnights in Mēsha did not fall, in the year of the inscription (1247 A.D.), on a Monday; and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā cannot be coupled with the 5th *tithi* of

¹ No. 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The reading may also be *paṇjamiyum*.

³ No. 454 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The word *Rājarāja* is expressed by two abbreviations.

⁵ No. 199 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ In the original it cannot be made out whether *apara-* or *pūrvva-paksha* was engraved.

either fortnight in Mēsha. The *tithi* is therefore wrong. Now, calculating for the week-day and the *nakshatra* given in the inscription, I find that on Monday, the 22nd April 1247 A.D., the *nakshatra* Anurādhā commenced 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The first *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this day is the one intended in the inscription, the word 'pañjaniyūm' is a mistake for 'pradamaiyūm.'

G.—RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌḶA III.

218.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 ||—Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvana²chchakkaravatt[i]ga[! śrī]-Irāśōndi[ra]-Śōladēvaṅku
yāṇḍu pa[t]tā[va]ḍiṇṇ=ed[i]rā[m-ā]ṇḍu Kaṇṇi-na-
2 yaṇṇu a[pa]ra-pakshattu shashṭhiy[u]m Tiṅga-k[i]ḷa[m]aiyū[m] peṇṇa Rāsaṇi-nāl.

"In the year opposite the [tenth] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadeva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 11th September 1256 A.D.; however the month Kanyā has erroneously been quoted instead of Sīṃha. On the day in question, the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Sīṃha (being the 15th solar Kanyā) ended 51 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

219.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.²

- 1 [S]vast[i] [śrī] [||*] [Tiribuvana]chchakkaravatt[i]ga[! śrī]-Irāśōndi[ra]-Śōladēvaṅku
yāṇḍu pa[ḍiṇṇ]-elāṇḍu I.³
2 [I]shabha-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pa[k]shasattu⁴ tri(tri)tiyaiyūm Nāyaṇṇu-kkiḷa[m]aiyūm
peṇṇa Pūṣat[tu*] nāl.

"In the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadeva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 21st May 1262 A.D., if we assume that the third *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the second. For, on that day, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyaisṭha) ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Pushya commenced about 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

220.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.⁵

- 1 ௨—Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvana²chcha[kka*]ra[vatti*]ga[! śrī-Rā[j]c[ndra]-Śōladēvaṅku
yāṇḍu
2 17 vāḍu Tulā-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu chatu[rddasiy]ūm Vēḷi-kkiḷa[m]aiyūm
3 peṇṇa Aśvati-nāl.

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadeva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

¹ No. 208 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 213 of the same collection for 1908.

³ Cancel the letter i.

⁴ Read -pakshattu.

⁵ The m of *kiḷamai* is entered below the line.

⁶ No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

The date corresponds to **Friday, the 27th October 1292 A.D.** The *nakshatra* *Aśvinī* ended about 36 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise, and the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* (*Karttika*) ended according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 58 *ghaṭikās*, and according to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* 52 *ghaṭikās* after true sunrise at Conjeeveram. As the same *tithi* was current at sunrise according to both these *Siddhāntas*, it was no expunged *tithi*. But it was an expunged *tithi* according to the *Arya-Siddhānta*.

221.—In the *Vīṇathasvāmin* temple at *Tiruvīṇimīlalai*.¹

1 Svast[ī] śrī [||*] [Tiribuvanach]chakka[ravat][t,i]ga[] śr[ī]-²Rajendra-[Śo]lādeva[r]kku
yāṇḍu³ [S]vadu⁴ [Kumba]-nāyaru [pūrvva-pa]kshattu [pa]ñcha[miyu]m
Budaṇ-k[i]laimai[yum] peṇṇa Utt[ī]rāṇa[ttu nā].

"In the [18]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Rajendra-Chōlādeva*,—on [the day of] *Uttarāshāḍhā*, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the [first] fortnight of the month of [*Kumbha*]."

In the month *Kumbha*, the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshāḍhā* can occur only between the 8th and 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, in the month *Tulā* between the 5th and 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. We must therefore read *Tulā* in the inscription. The details of the date would be right if we assume that the fifth *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the sixth. For, on **Wednesday, the 10th October 1293**, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* ended about 19 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshāḍhā* about 20 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at *Laṅkā*.

222.—In the *Mantrapuriśvara* temple at *Kōvilūr*.⁵

1 [Sva*]stī śrī [||*] [Tiribhuvana]chchakkara[vat]tiga[] [śrī]-R[ā]jendra-
[Śo]lādeva[r]kku yāṇḍu [22] ā[vadu] Kumba⁶-naya[r]u a[para]-pakshattu
sha[shthi]yum Tū[gaṭ]-k[i]laimai
2 peṇṇa Śodī-na[ḥ].⁷

"In the [22]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Rajendra-Chōlādeva*,—on the day of *Svāti*, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the sixth *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of *Kumbha*."

I cannot verify this date satisfactorily. The *tithi* or the *nakshatra* must be wrong; for, the sixth *tithi* cannot coincide with the *nakshatra* *Svāti*. The nearest approach to the given date is in the twentieth year, **Monday, the 14th February 1297 A.D.**, on which day the *nakshatra* *Svāti* commenced about sunrise; but it was the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Kumbha*, which ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

No. 12.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR H. JACOB, PH.D., BONN.

V. Venkayya, M.A., Rai Bahadur, has sent me for examination the text and English translation of 17 *Pandya* dates, of which I herewith publish 15. In some cases my results

¹ No. 412 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The syllable *vā* is denoted by an abbreviation.

³ The word *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

⁴ Between the letters *ba* and *nā* there is a symbol which may represent either *va* or the *ā*-sign. The name of the month is not quite clear. It may also be read [*Tulā*].

⁵ No. 216 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ There is some unaccountable space between the *aksharas* *ku* and *m* of *Kumba*.

⁷ The length of *nā* is inserted below the line.

are not satisfactory; still I thought it advisable to state what they are since they may be useful either for further consideration of historical questions involved by the inscriptions or for deciding the uselessness of the dates as being altogether wrong.

Nos. 90-94 enable us to fix the commencement of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign, which has approximately been placed in 1310 A.D. by Mr. Krishna Sastri (*Annal Report on Epigraphy for 1908-09*, Part II, § 27). Four of these inscriptions quote, besides the details usually given in them, the corresponding solar day; thereby, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 301), we can find the precise equivalent, though the year is not stated in any era, the regnal year only being given. For, as a given solar day may be coupled with any of the thirty *tithis* and of the seven week-days, a given combination of these three items will, on the average, occur only once in $7 \times 30 = 210$ years, and the chance will be still rarer if the *nakshatra* is mentioned, as is usually the case. In No. 89 the *tithi* is not given, but the combination of the remaining three items is such as will recur only once in about 150 years.

In order to solve the problems to which such dates give occasion, I have developed my tables (above, Vol. I) in detail for several centuries, and with their help the task became an easy one. These developed Tables will be published in book form in the *Encyclopædia for Indo-Aryan Research*. I shall there explain the method of solving the problem in question.

I now proceed to discuss the results of my examination of the dates in Nos. 90-94. They may be summarised as follows:—

Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya (*September 29, December 1, A.D. 1295*).

No. 90. 6th year: 28th September 1302.

No. 91. 22nd year: 3rd May 1318.

No. 92. 44th year: 2nd December 1339.

No. 93. 43 (Cor. 46)th year: 2nd August 1339.

No. 94. 46th year: 16th June 1342.


Nos. 90-92 show that the king must have commenced to reign between the 29th September and the 1st December 1295. With this date for the commencement of the reign No. 94 agrees if we read the regnal year as 46, as we may, since the second figure of 4[9] put in brackets in the transcript, may also be read 6 as stated in the note. In No. 93, the regnal year cannot be 46, since No. 92 is dated in the same year of our era. The date, 2nd August, shows that the 46th year has wrongly been given instead of the 43rd.

According to No. 89 Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśekhara seems to have begun reigning in 1379-80 A.D. I should, however, not place too much reliance on this result, before it has been corroborated by more inscriptions of the same king. For, if in our inscription the wrong *nakshatra* had been quoted, as is rather frequently the case in these records, the calculated equivalent would of course be also intrinsically wrong.

No. 84 fixes the beginning of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1237-38.

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA I. (A.D. 1216-35).

81.—In the Tiruttaḷiśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

1  Svast[i] śrī [||*] śrī-kō-Mārupa[n]marana Tiribu[va]-
nachechakravattigaḷ Śōṇāḍu vaṇṇāṅgi-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-

2 yadēvarku yāṇḍu 20 vadun(din) edirām-āṇḍu [Ka]ṇṇi-nāyarru apara-[pakṣat]t[u]
Viṇḍā[la]-kkaḷamaiyu[m*] shashṭhiyum perra Puṣattu nāḷ.

¹ No. 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the year opposite the 20th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarma** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, who was pleased to distribute the Chōla country,—on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and a **Thursday** of the second fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**."

The date seems to correspond to **Thursday**, the 18th September 1236 A.D. That day was **Āsvina badi 2** as required, the second *tithi* ending about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Tanaka. But the day was coupled with the *nakshatras* **Āsvini** and **Bharanī**, and not, as quoted in the inscription, with **Pushya**. It is impossible, on any supposition, that **Āsvina badi 2** should be coupled with **Pushya**; the *nakshatra* will always be one between **Āsvini** and **Mṛigaśīras**, and never beyond the latter.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYA I. (?)

(A.D. 1251 to 1261).

82.—In the **Vīṇāthasvāmin** temple at **Tiruvīḷimīlalai**.¹

- 1 Kō=Chadapaṇ(u)mar ²Tiniribuvuṇach[cha]ttaravattigal ³Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku
 ⁴ṇḍu 2 [vadu] iruṇ[ḍ]avadu Danu-nāyarṇu apara-paśakshat[tu⁵ cha]tu[r*]daśi-
 yum Nayar[ṇ-kkila]mmai⁶
 2 yuṇ perra Ayiliyattu na(nā)l.

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king **Jatāvarman** (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Āślēshā**, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Dhanus**."

In this date, the *wrong* fortnight is cited; for, in the month of **Dhanus** or **Pausha**, **Āślēshā** cannot be coupled with *badi* 14, but only with *sudi* 14. However, the week-day does not come out right in either fortnight, if we assume the king to have been **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II**. For, in K.Y. 4378 (= 1276 ff. A.D.) **Pausha** was expunged, and both *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 falling in the solar month of **Pausha** were not Sundays. The same holds good with **Pausha sudi** 14 and *badi* 14 of the preceding year. Assuming the king to have been the first of this name, the week-day comes out right for K.Y. 4354 **Pausha sudi** 14 corresponding to Sunday, the 4th January 1254. But the *nakshatras* coupled with that day were **Punarvasu** and **Pushya**; on the next day occurred **Āślēshā**.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYA.

83.—In the **Vīṇāthasvāmin** temple at **Tiruvīḷimīlalai**.⁷

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [i]* Kō=Chadapaṇmar Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[iga] śrī]-
 Su[ndara-Paṇ]ḍya-deva[rkku yāṇḍu] eṭṭāva[d]u Dhanu-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu
 ashtami[yu]m Velli-[k]k[i]lammaiyum perra Rō-
 2 vati-nal.

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king **Jatāvarman** (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **[Sundara-Pāṇḍyadeva]**,—on the day of **Rēvati**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanus**."

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² Read *Tiribhuvanachakravarttigal*.

³ A symbol resembling the figure 4 is engraved before *śu*. Perhaps it stands for *śrī*.

⁴ Read *yāṇḍu*.

⁵ Read *pakshattu*.

⁶ Read *°kkilamas°*.

⁷ No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

I have calculated the date for both Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. and II.; in both cases, the result is not satisfactory. I give them here. In 1258 A.D. Pausha was an expunged month: if we assume that *sudi* 8, falling in solar Pausha, was intended, we find that it ended 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā on Thursday, the 5th December, and the *nakshatra* Rēvati began only 15 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. Therefore, the date would be right, if the eighth *tithi* had been wrongly quoted instead of the ninth.—Now assuming the king to be the second of his name, the date would fall in 1292 A.D. The calculation proves that on Friday, the 19th December 1292 A.D., the 9th *tithi* ended a few *ghaṭikās* before the end of the day according to all Siddhāntas, and the 8th *tithi* ended on Thursday. But as the *nakshatra* Rēvati ended about 5 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise of Friday, it could not have been coupled with that day.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA (A.D. 1237-38 to ?).

84.—In the Tiruttaḷiśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

1 || 6. Svasti śrī ||* Tribhuva[ṇa]chchakravattiga
śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadevarku yāṇḍu 2 ṇḍavad[ṇu] Dhanu-nāyarṇu 11 ṇḍi[ya]d[ṇi]-
yum pūrva-pakshattu daṣamiyum

2 Budhun-kiḷamai[ṇu]m [p]erṇa Aśvati-nāl.

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadeva, — on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 11th solar day of the month of Dhanus.”

Between 1200 and 1500 A. D. there is but one day which fulfils all requirements of the date of our inscription, viz. 4340 Kaliyuga, Pausha *sudi* 10, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th December 1239 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 10th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Dhanus (Pausha) was running, and ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* afterwards, and the *nakshatra* Aśvinī had begun 7 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā and ended about 49 *ghaṭikās* after it. Accordingly, this king began to reign in 1237-38 A.D.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA II. (?)

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

85.—In the Viḷinathasvamin temple at Tiruvīḷimīlalai.²

† Svasti [śrī ||]³ K[ṛ]r=Chadai[paṇ]mar T[i]ru[b]uvaṇachchakka[rava]tt[i]ga śrī-
Ś[un]ḍara-P[āṇḍi]yade[va]rku yāṇ[ḍu] 9[ṇ]vadu Tulā-nāyar[r]ṇu [apara]-pakshattu
saptamiyum [N]āyarṇu-kkila-

2 maiyum per[r]a P[āṇ]ḍattu nāl.

“In the [9]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadeva, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā,”

The week-day does not come out right for the 9th year of either Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or II. I have calculated the years 1259, 60, 61 and 1283, 84, 85 A.D.

¹ No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 414 of the same collection for 1908.

³ The punctuation after *śrī* is not distinct; the existing traces seem to point to the reading *Om*.

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYA II.

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

86.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 Svasti [śrī]² [||*] Kō Ch[cha]ḍapaṇmar āṇa Tiribu[va]ṇachchakkarava-
 2 ttiga,ḷ Su[n]ḍara]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 14 vadu Sim-
 3 ha-nāyarṇu purvva-pakshattu tṛit[ra]ḡaiyūm³ Buday-kiḷamaiyūm
 4 perra Attattu nāl.

"In the 14th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date of this inscription is K.Y. 4391, Bhādrapada sudi 3 = Wednesday, the 9th August 1290 A.D. For, on that day the 3rd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada (Simha) ended about 46 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Hasta began about 9 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise.

KŌṆĒRIMĒLKOṆḌĀṆ JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYA.

87.—In the Nilakanṭhēśvara temple at Veḍal.⁴

- 1 [Sva*]ṣṭi śrī [||*] Kōṇērīmēlkoṇḍān kār-Chaḍapaṇmar Tirubvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ
 śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍi[ṇ-mu]ḡrāvadiṇ-ēdir mu(mu)ḡrāvadu
 Karkadaga-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu saptaṇḡiyūm Buday-kiḷamaiyūm perra
 Attattu nāl.

"In the third (year) opposite the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of Kōṇērīmēlkoṇḍāṇ king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

[Professor Jacobi has not recorded the results of his calculation of this date.—Ed.]

MĀRAVARMAN KULAŚĒKHARA I. (A.D. 1268-1308).

88.—In the Sundararāja-Peṇumāl temple at Poṇ-Amurāvati.⁵

- 1 ௨ [śrī] Svatt[i](sti) kō-Māru[pa]-
 [ṇma*]r-āṇa(āṇa) Ti[ri*]bvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]ḡaḷ-emmanḡḍalamuḡ-ḡoḍ-arnliya
 Kulaśēga-
 2 raḍēvarkku yāṇḍu 18 vadu Simha-nāyarṇu [pū]rvva-pakshattu pañchamiyūm
 Tiṇḡḡaḷ⁶-kiḷamaiy[ū]m perra Utt[i]rāḍattu nāl.

"In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of king Māra[varman] *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttarā-shāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date of the inscription seems to correspond to Monday, the 6th August 1295 A.D., on which day the 5th *tithi* of the month of Simha (Bhādrapada) ended, about 52 *ghaṭikas*

¹ No. 214 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The punctuation after the syllable *śrī* is indistinct.

³ Read *tṛitṛai*.

⁴ No. 69 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ No. 21 of the same collection for 1909.

⁶ Read *Tiṇḡaḷ*.

after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. But the *nakshatra* was Chitrā. It may be remarked that the *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā can never be coupled with Bhādrapada sudi 5, as required by the inscription.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN KULAŚĒKHARA (A.D. 1370-80 to ?).

89.—In the Tiruttaḷśvara temple at Tirupputtur.¹

- 1 [S]vasti [śrī] [||*] [T]ribhuvanachakravartigaḷ śrī-Kulaśekharaḍē[yarku
y]āṇḍu 4 vadin-eḍi[rā]m-ā[ṇḍu] Kar[kaḍaga-]nā[yarr-irubattē]an tiyaḍi Sapi-k-
2 [k]i[ḷam]aiyum perra Roṣaṇi-nā].

“In the year opposite the 4th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekharaḍēva, — on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Saturday (and) to the twenty-seventh solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka.”

The only day between 1200 and 1500, which I found to correspond to the date of the inscription, would be Saturday, the 25th July 1383 A.D.; it was the 27th solar Karkaṭaka, (Śrāvaṇa *badi* 10) and the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī. This king therefore would appear to have commenced reigning 1379-80 A.D.

In the years 1262 A.D., 23rd July, and 1475, 25th July, the 27th solar Karkaṭaka fell on a Saturday and the *nakshatra* was the next after Rōhiṇī, *viz.* Mrigaśīras; we need therefore take no account of these years.

[The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved shows that it must be older than A.D. 1200.—Ed.]

JAṬĀVARMAN TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN VĪRA-PĀṆḌYA (A.D. 1295-1342 ?).

90.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḷimīlalai.²

- 1 Svast[i] śrī:— ³Kōr Chhaḍāpaumar Tirubuvanachakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Vīra-
Pāṇḍiyadevarku yāṇḍu 6 vadu⁴ āṇavadu
2 [Ka]ṇṇi-nāyarru pūruva-pa[k*]shattu shat[i](sh[ṭhi])yum Velli-kki[ḷamai]yum perra
Mālatu nāl.

“In the 6th—sixth—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadeva, — on the day of Mula, which corresponded to a Friday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanya.”

The date of this inscription corresponds to Friday, the 28th September 1302 A.D. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśvina (Kanya) 4403 Kaliyuga ended 6 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakshatra* Māhā was running till about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

91.—In the Tiruttaḷśvara temple at Tirupputtur.⁵

- 1 Śrī-kō=Chhaḍaipapaumar-āṇa Tribhuvanachakravatti[ga]! śrī-Vira-[P]āṇḍiyadevarku
yāṇ[ḍu] 22[vadu⁶] I[shaba-nā]ya[r]ru [4]tēḍiyum⁷ pū[rva-pa]kshattu
[dvi]tiyaikum perra Ro[hi]ṇi-n[ā]*].

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 401 of the same collection.

³ In the syllable *kō*, the *ē* of the *ō*-sign is corrected from *tri*.

⁴ *Vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 6.

⁵ No. 128 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ *Vadu* is also expressed by a symbol.

The word *tēḍi* is expressed by a symbol.

"In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Viru-Pāṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the [4]th solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I take this date to correspond to **Sunday, the 3rd May 1318 A.D.** This day was actually the 8th solar Rishabha (Jyāishṭha, not the 4th as found in the transcript of the inscription; the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Jyāishṭha (Rishabha) ended about 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, but the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī had ended about 26 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise. It would therefore appear that the *nakshatra* quoted was that current at the beginning of the *tithi*, though it had ended before the day which is called after that *tithi*.

92.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [H*] Kō-Cheḥaḍaivapa[mur-āṇa] Tr[i]bhuvapaṇachakravatt[i]gaḷ śrī
Viru-Pāṇḍiyadevarku yāṇḍu 44 vadu Dhanu-mayaru
2 5 tēdiy[um]² puruva-pakshatta prathamaiyum Brīhaspati-vāramum perra, Mūlattu
nāl.

"In the 44th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Viru-Pāṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 5th solar day of the month of Dhanus."

This date corresponds to **Thursday, the 2nd December 1339 A.D.**, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanus) ended 32 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Mūla was current at sunrise and ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after it.

93.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.³

- 1 Svasti ś[r]i [H*] Kō-Cheḥaḍaivapa[mur-āṇa] Tr[i]bhuvapaṇachakravattigaḷ śrī-Viru-
Pāṇḍiyadevarku yāṇḍu 46 vadu Karkaḍaga-nāyaru 1[4 tēdi]⁴
2 puruva-pakshatta [pa]ṇjaniyumu Sōmavaramum perra Uttirattu nāl.

"In the 46th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Viru-Pāṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka."

This date apparently corresponds to **Monday, the 2nd August 1339 A.D.** On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Śrāvaṇa (Karkaṭaka) ended about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī was current at sunrise, and ended about 6 *ghaṭikās* after it. However, the calculated date was actually the 15th solar Karkaṭaka, and not the 14th as stated in the inscription.

94.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.⁵

- 1 [6L] Svasti śrī [H*] Kō-Cheḥaḍaivapa[mur-āṇa] Tr[i]bhuvapaṇachakravatt[i]gaḷ
śr[i]-Viru-P[ā]ṇḍiyadevarkku yāṇḍu 4[9]⁶ vadu Mithuna-
nāyaru 21 tēdim⁷ puruva-pakkattu tnvādesiyumu Aditya-v[ā]ramu[m] p[e]rra
Aniḷattu nāl.

¹ No. 122 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

³ No. 119 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

⁵ No. 120 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ The figure in brackets may also be read 6.

⁷ *Tēdi* is denoted by a symbol; *tēdim* stands for *tēdiyumu*.

"In the 4[9]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 21st solar day of the month of Mithuṇa."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 16th June 1342 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 12th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśadhā (Mithuṇa) and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā were current, the former ending about 24 *ghaṭikās*, and the latter 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. And the day actually was the 21st solar Mithuṇa.

JATĀVARMAN VIKRAMA-PĀṆDYA.

95.—In the Tiruttaḷiśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 ||| 6. Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Kō-Chchaḍaipañmar-aṇa Tr[ī]bbuvaṇachchakravatt[ī]ga
śrī-Vikrama-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yaṇḍu 8[vaḍi]ḥ² edir 14 vaḍu
- 2 Śak-ābḍam 1344ṇ mōl śellāṇiṇṇa Śubhakiṇī³-varuṣam Dhanu-ravi 19 tēdi⁴
purvva-pakshattu tritigaiyum Buda-varamum peṇṇa Tiruvōṇattu
- 3 nāl.

"In the 14th (year) opposite the 8th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,— in the (cycle) year Śubhakṛit, which was current after the (expiry of the) Śaka year 1344,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) the 19th solar day (when) the Sun (was in) Dhanus."

This date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, 18th December 1423 A.D., the corresponding Jovian year of southern reckoning being Śubhakṛit. But the third *tithi* has wrongly been quoted for the second. For, on the calculated day which was the 19th solar Dhanus, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanus) was current at sunrise at Laṅkā and so was the *nakshatra* Śravana. The third *tithi* began about 5 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Śravana ended about 52 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. It would therefore appear that the current *tithi* has been quoted instead of the one which ended on that day.

No. 13.—GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNADEVA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates were found, whilst ploughing, in a field in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahabad District. The finder was a Kewat. He states that his plough turned up the plates and broke the ring which fastened them together. The find was rescued from him by one Ramnath, a zamindar of Mawai Kalan and produced first before the Collector, and then, by the Collector's directions, before Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, Banda district, who sent the plates to Rai Bahadur Venkayya. I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.

These are two copper plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the

¹ No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The syllables *vaḍi* are expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

³ Read *Śubhakṛit*.

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

inscription was inside. The box measures nearly $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. When Mr. Venkayya examined the plates, the seal had no ring and was detached from the plates. It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears, in relief, a seated figure of the goddess **Lakshmi**,¹ facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right, between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates:—

श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः ॥

Thanks to the peculiar arrangement by which the inscription was protected from damage the writing is on the whole well preserved. The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit**, prose (ll. 1, 33-44, 49) and verse (ll. 1-33, 45-49). The metre is irremediably wrong in two places (ll. 9, 20).

The alphabet is an early type of **Nāgarī**. **ब** is nowhere distinguished from **व**. **य** is often written like **प**, and **च** like **व**. The three letters **थ**, **व्व**, and **द्य** are very similar in shape. If at the end of a line no spare place was left for the next *akshara*, the engraver has filled up the line by a vertical dash. The end of a section is marked by the symbols **॥ क ॥** in three cases (ll. 33, 35, 44).

As regards **orthography**, the vowel *ri* is expressed by *ra* in *grahē* (l. 5) and takes the place of the syllable *ri* in *tribhuvana* (l. 4). Instead of the vowel *i* a *u* is employed in *kupta* (l. 28). The palatal sibilant occurs instead of dental *s* in *sruta* (l. 26), and *s* for *ś* in eight instances (*bāṛisām* and *asā*, l. 15; *suṇḍā*, l. 23; *asvapati*, l. 34; *sakhiṇē* and *sarmmaṇē*, l. 40; *sukla*, l. 41; *raṁsē*, l. 48). The *anusvāra* is replaced by *n* in *yaśānsi* (l. 32), *kh* by *sh* in *mayūsha* (l. 3), *n* by *ṇ* in *grīṇvati* (l. 46), *ph* by *p* in *pūtkara* (ll. 15, 24), and *y* by *j* in *iyāja* (l. 33). Other vulgar forms are *tāmra* for *tāmra* (l. 32), *sāmra* for *sāmra* (l. 39), *sirmā*² for *sīmā* (l. 39), *Kośāmba-pattalāyām* for *Kauśāmba-pattalāyām* (l. 37), and *utkirṇitām* for *utkirṇām* (l. 49).

In the prose portion of the inscription, the rules of *sandhi* are not always observed, and even in the metrical portion, the *sandhi* is neglected in *chayaiḥ tasmāt* (l. 18). Two cases of wrong *sandhi* are *raṁdyā Chēdindra*³ (l. 11) and *chaturāśramēka*⁴ (l. 30). Final *t* is often written in the Hindi way without the *virāma*, and after such a *t* the *sandhi* is neglected in *नृत्यतवताली* (l. 25), *वशत भैचाच्च* (l. 30), and *श्रीमत्तर्घतीर्थ* (l. 42).

The inscription opens with 30 verses praising the (**Kalachuri**) king **Karṇadēva** and his ancestors. Three of these verses (1, 12, 18) are found also in the Benares plates of the same king,⁵ and the two first in the Rewah plate of **Vijayadēva**.⁶ After an invocation of Brahman (verse 1) and Brāhmī (v. 2), the genealogy starts from the **Moon**, from whom was produced **Budha**, the progenitor of **Parūrava**s (v. 3). Among the kings of the race of the Moon was **Bharata** (v. 4). The panegyrist next mentions the thousand-armed **Haihaya** emperor (**Arjuna**) who captured the demon **Ravana** (v. 5 f.). The first historical person is **Lakshmanarājadēva**, who defeated the kings of **Vaṅgala**, **Pāṇḍya**, **Lāṭa**, **Gurjara**, and **Kāśmīra** (v. 8). His son was the 'moon among the kings of **Chēdi**,' **Yuvarājadēva** (v. 10), who became a supreme ruler

¹ In Captain Wilford's description of the seal of the Benares plates of **Karṇadēva**, the goddess is erroneously called **Pārvatī**; see above, Vol. II. p. 297.

² Compare Tamil *sirmai* and *sirvai* for *sīmā* and *sāvā*.

³ Above, Vol. II. p. 395 ff., verses 1, 16, 26.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 228.

(*Paramēśvara*, v. 12). His son was **Kōkalla** (v. 13), whose son, again, was **Gāṅgēyadēva**, the conqueror of the kings of Kira, Aṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala (v. 17). His son was **Karṇa** (vv. 19, 30), king of **Chēdi** (vv. 25, 29). It will be observed that the panegyric portion of the inscription contains nothing of historical interest besides the bare names of a few Kachhuri kings who are already known to us from other sources.

The prose portion of the inscription (l. 33 ff.) records a grant of land made by "this *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāvīrājadhīraja Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord of **Trikalīṅga**, the glorious **Karṇadēva**, who meditated at the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Vāmadēva**,¹ the glorious **Karṇadēva** who has acquired by his own arm the sovereignty of the triad of kings, (*viz.*) of the **Aśvapati**, the **Gajapati**, and the **Narapati**,—being in good health (*and residing*) at the camp of victory pitched at the holy **Karṇa-tirtha**."

Among the officers to whom the king's order was addressed, the following are specified: *mahādēvi*, *maharajaputra*, *mahamantrīn*, *mahāsādhicigrāhika*, *mahamātya*, *mahādharmaadhikarāṇika*, *mahāpratihāra*, *mahākṣhapatalika*, *mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, *mahāśmanta*, *mahāpramat-tarāra*, and *mahāśvasatthānika* (ll. 35-37).

The object granted was the village **Chandapahā** in **Kōśamba-pattalā** (l. 37). The donee was "the **Brāhmaṇa Pandita-śrī-Santisarman**, son of **Ārasathika-Mālhi**, grandson of **Upādhyāya-Silā**, (*residing at*) **Vidabhī**, of the **Kauṇḍinya-gotra**, with the three *pravaras* **Āngirasa**, **Āmbarisha**, and **Yauvanaśva**, (*and*) studying the **Vajrasūcya-śākhā**" (l. 39 f.).

The date of the grant was "during the administration (*vyavaharaṇa*) renowned by the glorious **Karṇa**," in the seventh year, in the month **Kārttika**, on the **Kārttikī** full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight, on Thursday" (l. 41 f.). These details answer quite regularly to Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047: see Dr. Fleet's remarks, p. 146 below.

Before making the grant, the king had "bathed in the **Gaṅgā** at the holy **Argha-tirtha** and worshipped the divine lord **Śiva**" (l. 42).

Ll. 45-49 contain six of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. At the end we are informed that "this (*edict*) was written by **Karāṇika-śrī-Sarvānanda** and engraved by **Vidyānanda**" (l. 49).

Among the geographical names mentioned in the grant, I cannot localise any besides **Kōśamba-pattalā**, which is a vulgar form of **Kauśamba-pattalā**, 'the district of Kauśambi.' The same term occurs as **Kōśamba-pattalā** in a grant of Jayachandra of Kanauj,³ and the **Karra** inscription of Yaśahpala⁴ refers to a village in the **Kauśamba-maṇḍala**, 'the province of Kauśambi.' Manjhanpur, the headquarters of the tahsil in which the Goharwa plates were found, lies west of Allahabad. The same remark applies to Kosam, which used to be identified, without hesitation, with the ancient city of Kauśambi. Mr. V. A. Smith has proposed to locate Kauśambi further south, near Bharhut;⁵ while Major Vest would place it at Gūrgi.⁶ But the finding of the present record at Goharwa in the Manjhanpur tahsil is another item of evidence showing that the country west-north-west of Allahabad between the Gaṅgā and Yamuna rivers must have formed part of the province of Kauśambi. Regarding Goharwa Mr. Blunt states that there are several temples, Jaina and others, inside the 'fort' in which the plates were found. I would suggest that this site might be carefully examined by one of the officers of the Archaeological Department.

¹ Compare Professor Kielhorn's remarks above, Vol. II. p. 298 f.

² *I.e.*, apparently, 'during the reign of king Karṇa.'

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137.

⁴ Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 246.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 511.

⁶ *Id.* 1904, p. 262.

TEXT.¹*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीं ब्रह्माणे³ नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]-
कारणं । [भ]विष्याह्यं परं 'द्योतिस्तस्मै' सद्ब्रह्माणे⁵ नमः ॥ [१*] शुद्धे
हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
- 2 यां मुनयः ॥ मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्राह्मी⁶ सु[क्ष्म]ापि सा जयति ॥ [२*]
क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्बभूव⁷ भवभूषणमिन्दुरेषः ।
- 3 अस्मादजायत बुधः⁸ स किल क्षितीशमाद्य⁹ पुरुषवसमाप तनूजरत्नं ॥ [३*]
इति महति सुधामयूषवंशे¹⁰ नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥
- 4 अलभत भरतस्म चक्रवर्ती¹¹ तृभुवनभूषणभूयमेकमेव ॥ [४*] अत्रेदितो-
दितकुले¹² जगतीपतीनामोशः क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्ती [१] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्जरमध्यवर्ती काराग्रहे¹³ धृत इव प्रसभं दशास्यः ॥ [५*]
वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता¹⁴ भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादङ्गतवाहुव-
- 6 न्यविधुरा¹⁵ नक्तंचरग्रामणी¹⁶ हिलोक्तासितवाहुदण्डविहितः शीकण्ठशैलोदतिः प्राग्वि-
क्रान्तममृत्युत¹⁷ स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं ॥ [६*] यज्ञाग्नि-
- 7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्वह्वो¹⁸ नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम
वृष्टिर्विपक्षनारीनयनान्ववाहैः¹⁹ ॥ [७*] वज्रालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-
- 8 भूतपा[ण्ड्य]ी लाटेशलुण्डनपटुर्जितगुर्जरैन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाश्रितपादपीठ-
स्तपु क्रमादजनि²⁰ लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥ [८*] आसीद्यदि-
- 9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूरशिरःसिंदूरपूरो[रु]णः²¹ ।
त्वङ्गतुङ्गतुरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणी[भृ]-
- 10 द(र)भोनिधिः पूरणे वैरिकाठोरकंचदलनाखसिंहव्यपूरैरिव²² ॥ [९*] साहित्य-
विद्याणलनाभुजङ्गो²³ निःशेषवाचीधरणाय²⁴ शेषः । ततः स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदेकवंद्यो²⁵ चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो युवराजदेवः ॥ [१०*] यौवनेन तनी यस्य
प्रतापेनारिमर्दसु²⁷ । कुलाद्रिकु[क्षेत्रे]ष्वरिभि[स्त्रि]भिस्तुल्यं पदं (१)

¹ From ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read ब्रह्मणे.⁴ The Benares plates (above, Vol. II. p. 305, verse 1) read ज्योतिः.⁵ Read सद्ब्रह्माणे.⁶ Read ब्राह्मी.⁷ Read बभूव.⁸ Read बुधः.⁹ Read साद्य.¹⁰ Read मयूषं.¹¹ Read तृभुवन.¹² Read अत्रेदितो.¹³ Read मुहुरि.¹⁴ Read करती.¹⁵ Read ब्राह्मणे.¹⁶ Read योः । हिलोक्तासितवाहुः.¹⁷ Read ममृत्युत.¹⁸ Read वह्वो.¹⁹ Read नाखवाहैः.²⁰ Read क्रमा.²¹ Instead of स of व्यायामस्वेदो the metre requires a short syllable; read योन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूरैः.²² Read त्वङ्गतुङ्ग.²³ Read perhaps कठोरकंचदलनाखःसिंधुपूरैरिव.²⁴ Read ललना.²⁵ Read वाची.²⁶ Read जगदेकवंद्योदेदीन्द्र.²⁷ Read मर्दसु.

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- 12 दधे ॥ [११*] भूभारक्षमष्टक^१ युतिप्रणयिनीमालंघ्यमानस्सुनं^२ (i) कुर्वाणः
समरेपि नाकपथगानागच्छतो विहिषां^३ । विख्यातां भुवि भूरिमार्गगं^४
13 मनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेश्वरः समभवत्सम्यक् शिवाराधनात् ॥
[१२*] दिक्कयन्तनिखानयूपनिचयः^५ क्षमापालचूडामणस्त-
14 आदङ्गतधिक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रं यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गा-
ङ्गनास[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितलोणीप-
15 तीनां भृसं^६ ॥ [१३*] आमाजये^७ समदमिधुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योददायतकराः
ककुभां करीन्द्राः[१*] पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव^८ खेचरनायकस्य चक्रः
16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशः ॥ [१४*] यस्मिन्नुग्वैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिवी^९
चेतसि वर्त्तमाने । तत्त्वि^{१०} परस्मिन्निव योगभाजां निता-
17 त्तमस्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां^{११} ॥ [१५*] आक्रामदूर्ध्वं^{१२} ब्रह्माण्डमधदृस्फुटितं यशः ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं ॥ [१६*] कारापंजरवदकी-^{१३}
18 रनृपतिर्दीप्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयैः^{१४} तस्मात्कुललभङ्गभङ्गिरभिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत्^{१५} । येना-
कारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना
19 निर्जित्योत्कलमवधिसीम्नि^{१६} जयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥ [१७*] अगुणञ्जिति
लोलिति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्यशः । ^{१७}लक्ष्मास्तदधुना धीतं दिव्यमादाय
20 तद्वपुः ॥ [१८*] अतिमनोरथमर्थिजने धनं दिशति यत्तत्^{१८} कल्पतरुस्ततः ।
रिपुयशःकुसुदाकरभास्करः^{१९} सुतमसूत स कर्णनराधि-
21 पम् ॥ [१९*] आक्रान्तदृप्तसामस्तप्रतापप्रमरादिव । चरणौ रणशीङ्गस्य
सोष्माणौ यस्य रजतुः ॥ [२०*] स्फुरद्भ्यां वज्रचक्राभ्यामेक[व्य]ाजिन ह-
22 स्तयोः । वभार^{२०} यः श्रियं सा[क्ष]दिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविजृम्भिनी^{२१} ॥ [२१*] ^{२२}सूर्वाहृ-
तधराभारदिकुंजरकराय[तौ] । आनद्यतां^{२३} भुजौ यस्य हेलोदतवसु-^{२४}
23 श्वरौ ॥ [२२*] त्याग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुलं शंखयोर्हयं । निधानं विधिना
मन्ये दिगुणीकृतमर्पितं ॥ [२३*] उद्दण्डसुण्डाग्रविमि[स्रि]ते-

^१ The Benares plates (above, Vol. II. p. 307, verse 16) read 'दृक्'.

^२ Read 'मालंघ्यमान'.

^३ Read 'विहिषः'.

^४ Read 'मार्गगं'.

^५ Read 'खान'.

^६ Read 'भृस'.

^७ Read 'आमाजये'.

^८ Read 'पूरकार'.

^९ Read 'निवी'.

^{१०} Read 'तत्त्वि'.

^{११} Read 'प्रलीना'.

^{१२} Read 'दूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्ड'.

^{१३} Read 'वद'.

^{१४} Read 'चयैः'.

^{१५} Read 'भवत्'.

^{१६} Read 'मन्त्रिसीमनि' or 'मन्त्रिसीमि वि'.

^{१७} Read 'लक्ष्म्य'.

^{१८} Instead of 'त' of यत्तत् the metre requires a short syllable.

^{१९} Read 'कुसुदा'.

^{२०} Read 'वभार'.

^{२१} Read 'भिनी'.

^{२२} Read 'सूर्वा'.

^{२३} Read 'आनद्यता'.

^{२४} Read 'हेलोदत'.

- 24 न¹ पूष्कारचू[र्णी]कृतशीकरेण । मुक्तातपत्रायितमम्बराई² यस्य प्रयाणे पृतना-
गजानाम् ॥ [२४*] नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवस-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 25 तिनं [त्य]क्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिदिनपतेर्द्विक्रमाक्रामत[:*]³
प्रान्त(:)श्रान्तवरूथिनीकरिकरास्फाला-
26 वहेलोक्तासितकल्लोलावलिर्व्यादुदण्डमुदधिश्रकंद⁴ सान्दस्वनेः ॥ [२५*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रु(:)श्रुतरुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता-⁵
27 लोत्तालतालारवभरितककु[पच]कपर्या(र्य)न्तमोम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्षवाचां⁶ समिति
सुरभसं⁷ दत्तहस्तादिमन्त्राव्यापारेणामराणां वररम-
28 णविधिः कुप्तमामीश्वहृत्⁸ ॥ [२६*] श्रानन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकौर्ण्य(:)मंशाम-
रङ्गभुवि भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात⁹ । वीरस्य वीरचरितं ननृवे¹⁰ कवं-
29 धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२७*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना
प्रागुल्लचारिव्रतं¹¹ साई वसुतया¹² गृहस्यपदवीं का[र]गृहस्थापनात् [।*]¹³ वा-
30 नप्रस्थपदं वनाश्रयवशात्¹⁴ भैक्षाच्च तिक्तोः स्थितिः¹⁵ (।) येनैव¹⁶ चतुरा-
श्रमेकगुक्ता स्यष्टाकृता¹⁶ शत्रुषु ॥ [२८*] यस्यार्थव्रजवांछिताधिकफल-
31 प्राप्ते निसन्धभूः¹⁷ प्राकप्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत¹⁸ स्फुरद्दोषणाः । एते¹⁹ निर्मि-
तमाः [पु]रा परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन् कथं²⁰ सम्प्रा[स्य]-
32 न्ति यशान्मि²¹ चेदिदिनपतेराकुलोभूश्चिरं ॥ [२९*] किं तस्य कर्ण[नृ]पते-
र्व्वत वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशामनताम्बुपटैः²² । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि-
33 डात्तरचक्रवालवाचानितैर्वधिरभावमियाज²³ विश्वं ॥ [३०*] क ॥ स पष-²⁴
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु-(।)
34 ध्यात(।)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर[म]माहेश्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमत्क-
र्णदेव²⁵ निजभुजोपार्जितास्त्रपतिगजप-²⁶
35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः²⁷ श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः कुशलो (॥ क ॥) जयस्कन्धावार²⁸
श्रीमत्कर्णतोर्थाधिवासिते महादे[वो] महाराजपुत्रो महाम-

¹ Read 'गुण्डायविनिःसृतेन फूत्कार'.

⁴ Read 'द्विनीलसत्कल्लोलावलिवाह'.

⁷ Read 'सुरभसं'.

¹⁰ Read 'ननृते'.

¹³ Read 'वशाद्'.

¹⁶ Read 'श्रमेकगुक्ता स्यष्टीकृता'.

¹⁹ Read 'एतन्'.

²¹ Read 'यशान्मि चेदिदिनपतेरिआकुलो'.

²³ Read 'वधिरभावमियाज'.

²⁶ Read 'तावपति'.

² Read 'मम्बराई'.

⁵ Read 'सुत' and 'नृत्यवेता'.

⁸ Read 'कुप्तमामी'.

¹¹ Read 'प्रागुल्ल'.

¹⁴ Read 'भिक्षाः स्थिति'.

¹⁷ Read 'निशान्मसुः पाक्'.

²⁰ Read 'परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमिदं कथं'.

²² 'ताम्बु' looks like 'ताम्बु'; read 'ताम्बु'.

²⁴ Read 'पष'.

²⁷ Read 'वश्यः'.

³ Read 'चेदिदिनपतेर्द्विक्रम'.

⁶ Read 'लक्ष्य'.

⁹ Read 'क्तात'.

¹² Read 'वसु'.

¹⁵ Read 'येनैव'.

¹⁸ Read 'धरान्तरसपारात्'.

²⁵ Read 'द्विनी'.

²⁸ Read 'वादे'.

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- 30 न्नी महासाधिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो
महाक्षपटलिको महाभाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-(i)
- 37 मत्तप्रारो महाश्वसाधनिकः एतानन्यांश्च[1*]कीर्त्तितान¹ यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरु-
पान्यथाप्रतिस्थान² कोशम्बपत्तलाय³ (ii) चन्द्रपद्माग्रामनि-
- 38 चासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहं मानयति बोधयति⁴ समाजापयति⁵ [ii*]
विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिस्तुरात्राटविशुद्धः सजल-
- 39 स्थलः साम्बमधूक[:*]⁶ सगर्तापरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीर्मापर्यन्त[:*]⁷
सवनतुण्यूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः (i) विदभी कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब-⁸ (i)
- 40 रोषयौवनास्यत्रिः)प्रवराय⁹ वाजसनेयसाखिने¹⁰ उपाध्यायसीलूपीत्राय आवसथिक-
माल्लूपुत्राय पंडितश्रीशान्तिसर्मणे¹¹ ब्राह्मणाय
- 41 ग्रामोयं एतेषां पवं¹²कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सर-
कार्तिके मासि¹³सुकूपक्षकार्तिकीपौर्णमास्यां तिथौ गुरुदि-
- 42 ने एवं संवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमतअर्चतीर्थी¹⁴ गंगायां स्नात्वा
भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
- 43 तनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चंद्रार्कचित्तिपर्यन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
यथादीयमानभागभोगहिरण्यादिममस्तुराजप्र-(i)
- 44 त्यादायाः एतस्याज्ञाश्वणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि
(न) गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोकाः ।
- 45 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्¹⁵ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*]
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३१*] व¹⁶-
- 46 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजतिः¹⁷ सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं ॥ [३२*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति¹⁸ यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति¹⁹
- 47 उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ²⁰ नियतं स्वर्गगातिनौ²¹ ॥ [३३*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-(i)
- 48 सेत²² ॥ [३४*] अस्मिन्वंसे²³ द्विजघ्नोपि यस्यान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत्²⁴ । तस्यापि
करलम्बोद्धं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत्²⁵ ॥ [३५*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्ये-

¹ Read °तान्.⁴ Read बोध°.⁷ Read °सीमा°.¹⁰ Read °शाखिने.¹² Read शुक्ल°.¹⁶ Read बहुभि°.¹⁹ Read प्रयच्छति.²² Read वसेत्.²⁵ Read °मेत्.² Read °पुरुषा° and °स्थानं.⁵ Read समाशा°.⁶ Read °साम्ब°.¹¹ Read °शर्कषं ब्राह्म°.¹⁴ Read श्रीमदर्थ°.¹⁷ Read राजभिः.²⁰ Read °कर्माणी.²³ Read °वंशे.⁸ Read कोशम्बपत्तलायां.⁹ Read मास°.¹³ Read °श्रीवनाश्व°.¹⁵ Read एवं.¹⁸ Read °वेन्द्रान्.²¹ Read °गृह्णाति.²⁴ Read °गामिनौ.²⁶ Read °वत्.

19 कमङ्गलं । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहृतसङ्गवं^१ ॥ [१६*] लिखितं चेदं
करणिकश्लोमसर्वानन्देन^२ । उत्कीर्णितं^३ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

REMARKS BY DR. FLEET ON THE DATE OF THE RECORD
PUBLISHED ABOVE.

The record is dated "in the administration (*vyavaharāṇa*) renowned by the glorious Karna," in the seventh year, and on the full-moon *tithi*, coupled with a Thursday, of the month Kārttika. Karnaḍēva's predecessor was his father Gāṅgēyadēva, who was reigning, we know, in A.D. 1030,⁴ and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A.D. 1037-38.⁵ For Karnaḍēva as king we have the date Phalguṇa vadi 9, answering to 18 January, A.D. 1042.⁶ On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Vēṇi on Phalguṇa vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *saṁvatsarē śrāddhō* (read *śrāddhō*) of his father Gāṅgēyadēva. The editor emended the text here into *saṁvatsara-śrāddhō*, and interpreted the phrase as meaning "at the annual funeral ceremony" in honour of his father Gāṅgēyadēva. The emendation hardly seems necessary. However, in any case, the text appears to indicate distinctly, not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gāṅgēyadēva, but the first anniversary of his death; and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly, Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phalguṇa vadi 2, = 22 January, A.D. 1041.⁷ The month Kārttika in A.D. 1041 was, therefore, in the first year of Karnaḍēva. The month Kārttika in his seventh year came in A.D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday: it ended at about 11 hours 45 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), that is, at about 5.45 P.M., on Thursday, 5 November; and, being current at sunrise, it gave its number to that same day. And this date, Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1047, seems clearly to be the date of the record.

The result stated above is in agreement with the points, that this record gives the full titles of paramount sovereignty to Karnaḍēva in lines 33-4, and that it does not contain anything to suggest that Gāṅgēyadēva was living when it was drawn up. The following remarks, however, may be added, in case it might be thought that the use of the term *vyavaharāṇa*, 'transaction of business, management, administration,' instead of *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya*, implies that Karnaḍēva was reigning as the representative of his father, the latter being still alive. As we have seen, Gāṅgēyadēva was dead by 22 January, A.D. 1041. Before that, the nearest occasions on which the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika can be connected with a Thursday are as follows:—In A.D. 1026 it began at about 21 hours 5 minutes after mean sunrise on Thursday, 27 October: but the lateness of the time (3 hours 5 minutes after midnight) precludes the possibility that the *tithi* should have been cited with that day. In A.D. 1023 it ended at about 11 hours 35 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, at about 5.35 P.M., on Thursday, 31 October, and consequently, being current at sunrise, gave its number to the day: but this is altogether too early a date for Karnaḍēva to have been associated with his father in the administration for already six years; especially in view of the points, that for Karnaḍēva's son and successor Yaśaḥkarna the earliest known date is in A.D. 1120, and that for Yaśaḥkarna's son and successor Gayākarna we have dates in A.D. 1151 and 1155-56.

¹ Read भूतं.

² Read श्री.

³ Read उत्कीर्ण.

⁴ Alhōrūni tells us this: *India*, trans. Sachau, Vol. I. p. 202.

⁵ Richhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions, above, Vol. V. Appendix, No. 408.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 407: edited above, Vol. II. p. 305.

⁷ Or on 23 December, A.D. 1040, — Māgha vadi 2, if this *tithi* is preferred in consequence of what the editor pointed out in connexion with the weekday being not correct for Phalguṇa vadi 2 in A.D. 1042, and being correct for Māgha vadi 2, — 12 December, A.D. 1041. But it seems probable that the mistake lies in the weekday (or else in the *tithi*), rather than in the month.

No. 14.—NARASAPATAM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 967.

BY PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

The grant inscribed on these plates was first brought to light by Mr. Appa Rao, and a short note on it appeared on page 111 of Mr. Krishna Sastri's Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1908-1909. I now edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who has kindly sent me the following description of the plates:—

"Those are five copper-plates with slightly raised rims, of which the first bears writing only on the inner side. They measure roughly 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and fluctuate between 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth. The plates are held together by a circular ring, which measures 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The edges of the ring are secured in the bottom of an oval seal, which measures roughly 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in its diameters. The seal is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems around it, which Mr. Appa Rao says represent a conch, an elephant-goad, a *triśūla*, a battle-axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope, and a drum. The plates with seal and ring weigh 295 *tolas*. The plates were received from the Narasapatam tāluka of the Vizagapatam district".

The inscription consists of 74 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet is the same kind of *Nāgarī* as in Vajrahaṣṭa's Naḍagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979,¹ and in his Madras Museum plates of Śaka 984.² The *ñ* in conjuncts such as *ñch* and *ñj* is placed after the consonant. The compound *ñj*, which occurs in l. 69, is not used in any of the other known plates of Vajrahaṣṭa. It will be seen that the form of the *j* of this compound is slightly changed. There is almost no difference between *ḍa* (l. 55) and *ḍā* (l. 51); between *tu* (cf. l. 25) and *tū* (cf. l. 26); between *lu* (cf. l. 23) and *lū* (cf. l. 22). The *anusvāra* is usually denoted by a circle after the consonant. At the end of line 3 and before the sign of interpunction in l. 52, a *virāma* is added underneath. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *-nirahān*, l. 17; *-samabhaṇak*, l. 27. It has been omitted in *-ardāna*, l. 21; *-puras-sarāna* . . . *-janapadāna*, l. 51; *yāvata*, l. 56; *-ādityāta*, l. 58; *-gauravāta*, l. 64 f. In *-ardāna*, l. 21, and *-janapadāna*, l. 51, the bottom of the letter *n* has been somewhat lengthened. There are several superfluous signs of interpunction in the grant itself, ll. 53 ff. The numerical figures 967 occur in l. 73.

In ll. 7 and 50 some syllables and words are written in Telugu letters.

With regard to orthography we may note forms like *-prakṣhyalita*- instead of *-prakṣhālita*-, l. 4; *nairityā* instead of *nairityā*-, l. 67, and the use of *v* instead of *b*; compare *-śacū*-, l. 9 f.; *-lavdha*-, l. 12; *-valīt*-, l. 16; *-avāna*, l. 21; *-avāḍāna*-, l. 27; *-lavdha*-, l. 23; *Vaidhūm*-, ll. 36, 58; *-āva*-, ll. 39, 73; *-ārjayāh*-, l. 48; *-vāhira*-, l. 53. The class nasal and not the *anusvāra* is regularly written before surds. Before *k* and *p* we also find the *anusvāra*; thus, *śaśāṅka*-, l. 7; *-ālaṅkarishāṇā*-, l. 14; but *-Aniyāṅka*-, l. 26; *-paṅka*-, l. 46; *Taṁpārā*-, ll. 52 f., 71; but *-ālīmpantī*-, l. 46. Before *kh*, *gh* and *chh* there are no instances of the class nasal, but the *anusvāra* is used in all cases; thus, *-śaṁkha*-, l. 9; *-saṁghaṭṭa*-, l. 11; *-saṁghā*-, l. 39; *lāṁchana*, *v.* *lāṁchana*, l. 10. In all other nasal compounds, the class nasal is used.

The consonants *k*, *n*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *y*, and *v* are doubled in all the instances where they occur after an *r*; thus, *-ārṅka*-, l. 56; *-karṇa*-, l. 8; *-kīrttā*-, l. 36; *sārdḍha*-, l. 53; *dharmma*-, l. 64; *sūryya*-, l. 40; *sarvva*-, ll. 18, 54. A *g* after *r* sometimes remains single and is sometimes doubled; thus, *māryyāna*-, l. 42; *-vinirgata*-, l. 58; but *nripatir* = *Gy-nig*-, l. 26; *-varg[ga]*-, l. 42. The other consonants which are used after *r* in these plates, *viz.* *j*, *th* and *bh*, are never doubled.

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 183 ff.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 94 ff.

Compare *-nirjit-*, l. 33; *-varjitah*, l. 55; *=arthibhyah*, l. 24; *pārthivaiḥ*, l. 27; *maṇēr=bhagavatō*, l. 8; *-tir-bhucām*, l. 30; *kṛimīr-bhuvā*, l. 71. Between *m* and *r* a *v*, i.e. a *b*, is inserted in *tāmvera-*, l. 61. There are besides, several other mistakes which may be due either to the writer or to the engraver. Thus we find *a* for *ā* in *-prakshyalita-*, l. 4; *Gaṅg-*, ll. 13, 26, 44; *saṃrūḍḍhiman-*, l. 30; *-gīyaman-*, l. 36; *-challa-*, l. 55; *a* for *i* in *-kṛita-*, l. 39; *a* for *u* in *-ācharitaṃ*, l. 41; *ā* for *a* in *ān-*, l. 48; *gaurāvata*, l. 64 f.; *ā* for *ō* in *-kul-āttamasya*, l. 44; *i* for *ī* or *ai* in *iṣṇyē*, l. 69; *ī* for *ī* in *sāsanika-*, l. 71 f.; *ū* for *u* in *-sūlārīya*, l. 61; *ū* for *ō* in *-ēkūna-*, l. 34; *j* for *jj* in *-ujjala-*, ll. 10, 30; *-ra[j*]-jito*, l. 22; *l* for *l* in *-challa-bhalla-*, l. 55; *t* for *tt* in *-chchhatra-*, l. 10; *-ōtūṅga-*, l. 12; *t* for *d* in *-samutbhavāyās-*, l. 37; *d* for *t* in *praśchyōdan-*, l. 23; *y* for *yy* in *nyāyēna*, l. 41; *ś* for *s* in *āśin-*, l. 48; *-śim-*, l. 54; *śanu*, l. 59; *śimān-*, l. 65; *s* for *ś* in *-rimsatiṃ*, l. 34; *-mihescara-*, l. 49; *-pratēṣ-*, l. 55; *-yaso-*, l. 57; *kāsyapa-*, l. 57; *sasau-*, l. 61; *vamsa-*, l. 68; *-silā*, ll. 68, 70; *iṣṇyē*, l. 69; *sāsauka-*, instead of *sāsanika-*, l. 71 f.; *s* for *sh* in *-visayasya*, l. 65, and so forth. Mistakes such as *sē* for *tṣa* in *prasādāsēm-(-dat=sam-)*, ll. 8 f., the numerous instances where an *anuscāra* (cf. ll. 27, 39, 42, 53, 56, 72, 74) or a *visarga* (cf. ll. 21, 28, 51, 54) has been omitted: the omission of *jo* in *tasy-ānu[jō*]*, l. 21; of *r* in *-karishyō[r*]*, l. 14; *sānu[r*]*, l. 58; of *s* in *sana[s*]*, l. 21; of *sa* in *śi[su*]nam-*, l. 73, and the many mistakes in l. 62, are probably due to the engraver, while the long omissions in ll. 34 and 65 just as well can be due to the writer of the draft.

There are several instances of wrong or irregular *sandhi*: compare *-dattām=vā*, l. 70; *-nicahān śrī-*, l. 17; *-gājānu arthibhyah*, l. 24; *saḥ śrī-*, l. 25; *prasiddhah chatuḥ-*, l. 54; *-ādityata Rupaḍīyaḥ jātaḥ*, l. 58; *-pūrevaṇ-tā-*, l. 61 f.

In l. 51 several dots indicate a correction. The engraver probably had to copy a corrected draft, and has reproduced it as he found it. The original reading of the passage was probably *saṃastanāt'ya pramukha janapadān-* as in the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, or perhaps, *sāmātalanāt'ya pramukha janapadān-*; see the footnote to the passage.

The language is Sanskrit, but the construction in ll. 58 ff. is very loose and shows that the composer of the grant was not very well versed in the sacred tongue. With the exception of one imprecatory stanza, the body of the grant is written in prose. The introduction contains the same twelve verses as the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, with only one slight variation in verse 2, where our grant has *mahīpatih* while the other two read *=vanīpatih*. In the grant itself we find the curious expression *bhūmichchidrāpīḍhānanyāyēn-* instead of the common *bhūmichchidrānanyāyēna*, l. 55. The epithet *paranārīsa(sa)durāya* used of one of the donees in l. 60 f., is also curious.

The grant was issued from Dantipura by the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīraja Vajrahasta* (III), the overlord of the three Kalingas, and bestows some land on Irugana [alias] Śrī-Mānāditya Chotta and Vira-Bhūrīśvara. The name of the former was perhaps not Mānāditya Chotta but Āditya Chotta, though this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in l. 60. He was the son of Mānāditya or Āditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarāja and Rupaḍēvi of the Vaidamba family, to which Vajrahasta's mother Vinayamahādēvi likewise belonged. The donee Irugana Mānāditya Chotta was consequently a relative of the king.

The land granted comprised the Gōrasatta district with, i.e. including thirty-five villages outside Tampavā. Its boundaries are given in ll. 65 ff.: to the east Vistirṇasīlā, to the south-east a banyan tree sacred to Gaṇēśa (*Vinīyaka-vaṭa*); to the south a hill with the temple of Ṭaṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā, probably some form of Durgā; to the south-west the Andharavēṇī hill; to the west Kuñchaśīlā on the Vamsadhūrā; to the north-west Amrāpāthara; to the north

¹ *Bhūmichchidr-āpīḍhāna-* and *bhūmichchidr-āpīḍhāna-* occur in the two grants of Dandimahādēvi published by the late Prof. Kielhorn (above Vol. VI., p. 133, text line 31 and p. 142, text line 29), who has corrected them into *bhūmichchidr-ābhīḍhāna-*.

Madhupapālī; to the north-east **Tālañjaraśilā**. I cannot localise any of these names with the exception of the river **Vainśadhārā**, which flows through the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. On it is a village which in the Indian Atlas is called **Varanasy**, situated in 18° 51' N. and 83° 56' E., and which I would identify with the **Vārāṇasi-kāṭaka** mentioned in the Puri plates of **Nara-simhadōva** IV.¹ Another locality mentioned in **Gāṅga** plates, the **Varāhavarāṇi**,² I would look for in the course (*cartanī*) of the **Varāhanadi**, which rises in the Golkonda hills to the north of **Narasapatam** and flows into the Bay of Bengal at **Vātāda**.

The date of our grant is the **Śaka year 967**, on the ninth day of the (solar) month **Mīna**, on a **Monday**. It is consequently the oldest known grant of **Vajrahasta III**.

The writers of the grant, the *sandhinigraha* **Dhavalā**, who is described as the grant writer (*śāsanika kīyastha*) of **Tainpavā**, and the *kāraki* **Mēṇṭōju**, are not elsewhere known.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] Śrīmatām akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi-
- 2 naya-dayā-dāna-dākṣiṇya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā-
- 3 di-gu[ra]-ratna-pavitṛāṇām Atrēya-gōtraṇām
- 4 vimala-vichār-ā[ch]ā[ra]-punya-salila-pra[kshya]lī[ta]-⁴
- 5 Kālī-kāla-kalinasha-maṣiṇām mahā-Mahēndr-ācha-
- 6 la-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa[ch]ara[cha]-gurōḥ sakāla-
- 7 bhuvana-[nirmāṇa]-ku[sa] (sū)tradhārasya śasāṅka-chu(chū)ḍā-⁵

Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 maṇḍr-bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāminah prasāda-
- 9 śomāsādīt-aikaśaṅkha-bhēri-pañcha-mahāśa-
- 10 vda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra⁷-hēmachamara-varavṛishabhalāñchana⁸-samujva-
- 11 la-samasta⁹-śmārāja-mahimnam-anēka-samara-saṅgha-
- 12 tṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmi-samālīṅgit-ōtūṅga-¹⁰
- 13 bhujā-daṇḍa-maṇḍitāṇām Trikaliṅga-mahābhujāṁ ¹¹Gāṅgānām-anva-
- 14 yam-alamkarishṇō[r*] Vishṇōr-iva¹² vikram-ākṛānta-[dha]rā-maṇḍalasya Guṇa-
- 15 mahārṇava-mahārājasya putrah || ¹³P[ū]rvam bhūpatibhir-vvibhajya va-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 16 sudhā yā pañchabhīḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bh[ū]riparākramō bhujā-
- va(ba)lat-tā-
- 17 m-ēka eva svayam | ēkikṛitya vijitya śatru-nivahān¹⁴ śrī-Vaj[ra]ha-
- 18 [sta]ś-chataścha[tvā]rīṁśatam-atyudara-charitah sarvām-arakṣit-sa-
- 19 māh || [l*] Tasya tauṇyō Guṇḍama-rāja¹⁵ varsha-trayam-apā-
- 20 layata mahim || tadanujah Kāmārṇavadevāḥ¹⁶ pañchatri-

¹ Journ. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 136 ff.; 151 ff.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 127, note 5; Vol. IV, p. 185, note 5; Vol. IX, p. 95. ³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read -prakshālita-.

⁵ This line, with the exception of the syllables *rmanā*, *nai*, and *śasāṅka*, is written in Telugu characters.

⁶ Read prasādāt-sam-.

⁷ Read -chchhatra-.

⁸ Read -lāñchana-samujjvala-.

⁹ The *ta* of -samasta- has been engraved over the *pa* of -samupalavdha-, l. 12.

¹⁰ Read -ōtūṅga-.

¹¹ Read Gāṅgānām-.

¹² [There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over the *akṣara ri* of *ōriva*.—Ed.]

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁴ Read -nivahān-.

¹⁵ Read -rājō

¹⁶ Close to the upper circle of the *śisarga* there is another circle whose significance is not clear.

- 21 mśatam=avdāna¹ | Tasy-ānu² Vinayāditya[h*] samā[s*]=tiarah
 22 || ³Tatah Kāmārṇavā jāto jagatī-kalpabhūnah || [1*] yō=rājad=rājita-
 23 chchhāyō Vajrahastō mahīpatih⁴ || [2*] ⁵Praschyōdan-mada-gandha-
 luvdha(bdha)-madha-
 24 pa-vyāliḍha-gaṇḍān-gajūnn⁶= arthibhyah

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 25 samadāt=sahasram-atulā yas=tyāginām-agraṇih [1*] sah^{6a} śri-
 26 mām=Aniyañkabhima-nripatir-⁷Ggaṅg-ānvay-ōttamsakuh pa-
 27 űchatri[ni*]śatam-avda(bda)kūn=samabhunak prithivīm⁸ stutah pārthi-
 28 vaih || [3*] ⁹Tad-agrasūnu[h*] Surarāja-sūnuā samah sama-
 29 stān samit-āri-maḍalah [1*] sma pāti Kāmārṇava-bhūpa-
 30 t[i]r=[bhu]vām samiddh[i]man¹⁰=ar[ddha]samām ¹¹samujvalah || [4*] ¹²Tad-ann
 tad-ann-
 31 janma chittajann-ōpamānō gupānidhir=anavadyō Guṇḍam-ā-
 32 khyō mahīśah | sakulam=idam-ara-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 kshat-tri[ni] varshā[ni] dhātrīm(tri)-valayam-alaghu-tōjō-nirjit-ārāti-
 34 chakrah || [5*] ¹³Tato [dvai]mātura[s-tasya*] Madhukāmārṇavō nripa[h |
 avati sm=āvanīm-ōtām=avdan*] ōkūnavimsatīm¹⁴ || [6*] ¹⁵Atha Va-
 35 jahasta-nripater-ug[r]a-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jan-āgranyah [1*] Kāmārṇavāt=kav-i-
 36 ndra-p[r]agiyamān¹⁶=āvadāta-śubha-kīrttōh || [7*] ¹⁷Śriya iva Vaidumv-
 (mb)-anva-
 37 ya-payah-payōndhi-¹⁸samutbhavāyās=cha [1*] yah samajani Vina-
 38 ya-mahādevyah śri-Vajrahasta iti tanayah || [8*] ¹⁹Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-
 39 sa[ni*]khyam yāti Śāk-avda(bda)-sainghō Dinakṛita²⁰ Vṛishabha-sthē
 Rōhita-bhē su-
 40 lagne [1*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshō Sūryavārō tṛitiyā-yuji sakala-dhari-
 41 trīm rakshitum yō=bhishiktaḥ || [9*] ²¹Nyāyēna yatra samam=²²ācharitam
 tri-va-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 42 rg[ga][ni*] mārgeṇa rakshati ma[hīm] mahita-pratāpō | nirvyādhayaś=cha
 43 niraḡhāś=cha niraḡpadaś=cha śasvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūti-
 44 matyah || [10*] ²³Vyūptō Gaṅga-kul-attamasya yaśasā dik-chakravāl[ō] śasi-pra-
 45 dyōt-āmalinēna ya[sya]bhu]vana-prahlāda-saṁpādina [1*] saindū-
 46 [rair=a]tisandra-pāṅka-paṭalaih kumbbusthali-paṭṭākeshv-ālimpa-

¹ Read =*abdan*.

² Read, with the Nadagūm and Madras Museum plates, *tasy-ānujō*.

³ Metre: Ślōka; read =*vāj jāto*.

⁴ The Nadagūm and Madras Museum plates read =*vanīpatih*.

⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita; read *praschyōtan*.

⁶ Read =*gajān*.

^{6a} Cancel the *visarga*.

⁷ Read =*Agāṅg*.

⁸ Read *prithivīm*, to suit the metre.

⁹ Metre: Varāṣastha.

¹⁰ Read *samiddhimān*.

¹¹ Read *samujvalah*.

¹² Metre: Mālini.

¹³ Metre: Ślōka.

¹⁴ Read *ōkōna- vimśatīm*.

¹⁵ Metre: Gīti; read *Vajra*.

¹⁶ Read =*pragiyamān*.

¹⁷ Metre: Gīti.

¹⁸ Read =*samudbha*.

¹⁹ Metre: Mālini.

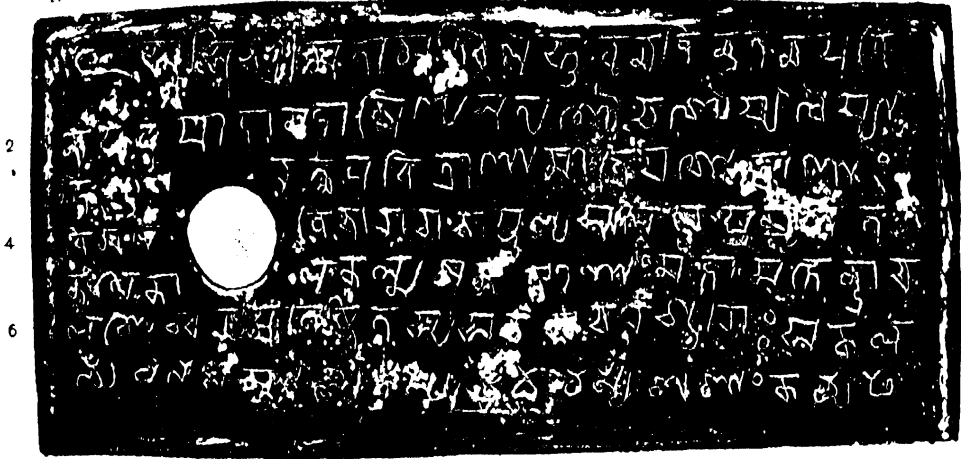
²⁰ Read =*kṛiti*.

²¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka; read *nyāyēna*.

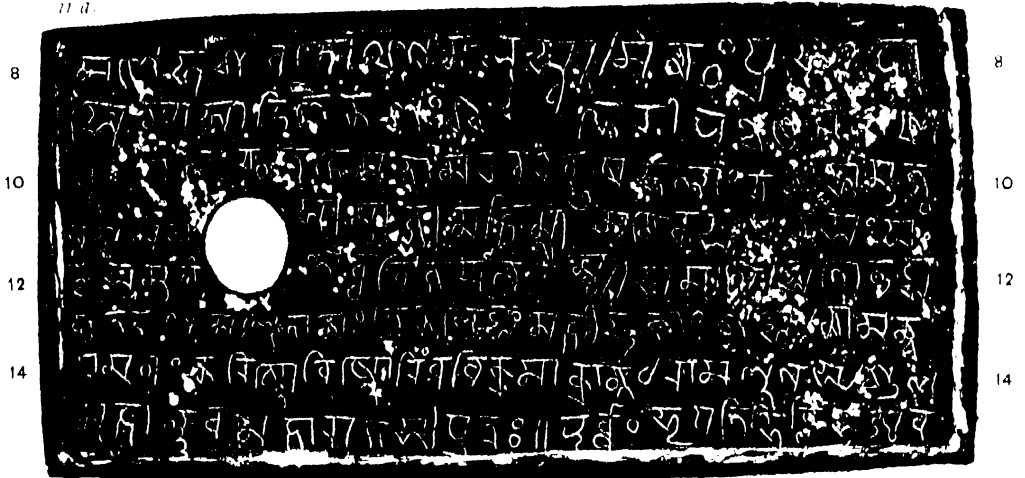
²² Read =*ācharitum*.

²³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita; read *Gaṅga-kul-ōtta*.

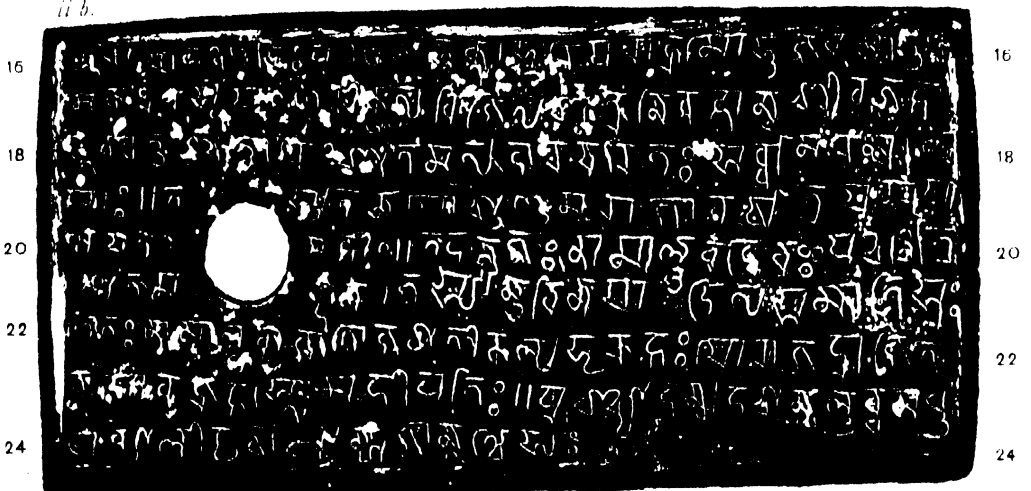
i.



ii a.



ii b.



[illegible]

34
36
38
40

42
44
46
48
50

- 47 [nti] punaḥ punaś=cha [ha]ritām=ā[dbōra]ṇā vāraṇān || [11*] ¹Anurāgē-
 48 ṇa guṇinō ya[sya va]kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōḥ | ²āsino Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=
³ānukū-
 49 lō vi[r]ājataḥ || [12*] Sa dēvaḥ || Dantipurāt=parama-⁴māhōsvara-
⁵paramabha-
 50 ⁶ttarakō mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅg-ādhipati-śrīmad-Vajrahasta-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 51 dēva[h*] kuśali ma[h-ā]mātya-purassarāna(n) sāmanta-pramukha-janapadāna(n)
 52 rāja-pād-ōpajivinaḥ⁶ samāhūya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatā[m] | Tam-
 53 pava-grāma-vāhira-(l)pañchatrimśatā⁷ grāmēṇa sārddha[m*] Gōrasatta-
 visha-
 54 yō=yam ⁸prasiddhaḥ chatuḥ-śim-āvachchhinna[h*] sajala-sthalaḥ sarva-
 pā(pi)-
 55 dā-vivarjitaḥ (l) ⁹aachatta-bhaṭṭā-prav[ē]śō bhūmi-chhidra-pidhāna-nyā-
 56 yēn=āchandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāla¹⁰ yāvata mātā-pitrōr=ā[ma]nāḥ pu-
 57 nya-yasō¹¹-vridhdhaye (l) Minamāsa-(l)navam[ē]¹² Sōmavārē ¹³Kāsyapa-gotrāya
 58 Pottakallu-vinirgata-Chotta-Vādayarājā tasya sūnu¹⁴ Vaidumvādityāta
 59 Rūpadēvyāḥ¹⁵ jātaḥ ¹⁶śrī-Mānāditya-Chottaḥ | asya sūnu¹⁶

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 60 Irugana-śrī-Mānāditya-Chottaya Vira-Bhūriśravāya cha | para-
 61 nārisudurāya¹⁷ (l) saty-ādhibhishṭita-chetasē || udaka-parvvan=stāmvrāsāsa-¹⁸
 62 nī-kṛitya paṭṭaka-p[ar]adatto=smābhira=atōsābhidhāyibhūyastōśra-¹⁹
 63 vanaḥkarṇiḥ kshētrakaraiś=cha samuchita-bhūga-bhōgādikaṁ samupanē-
 64 tavyam yathākāla-bhāvibhiḥ²⁰ svapati dāna=idaṁ Munno dharmma-gaṇ-
 65 rāvata²¹ || Gōrasatta-visayaśya²² śimānō likhyantē || pūrvvataḥ
 66 Vistirṇṇaśilā || āgūyē parvata-samipē Vināyaka-vaṭaḥ ||
 67 dakṣiṇē Taṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā-[si]ma-parvataḥ | nairityē²³ Andhārāvēṇi-
 68 parvataḥ || paśchi[m]ē ²⁴Vāmsadhārā-taṭō Kañchas[a]lā²⁵ || vāyavyō A-

¹ Metre: Śloka.

² Read *āsino*.

³ Read *ānukūlē* or *ānukūlyē*.

⁴ The aksharas ttarakō mahārājā are in Telugu characters.

⁶ It looks as if the engraver has placed two dots under *hā* in *mahā*, three under *ssa* in *purassarāna*, one before and one after *sā* in *sāmanta* and three under *i* in *jivinaḥ*. The *ma* of *mahā* seems to have been cancelled. I take the three dots under *purassarāna* and *rājapādōpajivinaḥ* to signify that these words should be cancelled. The two dots under *hā* perhaps correspond with the two dots, before and after *sā*, and indicate that *-hā-* should be replaced by *sāmanta*. We would then arrive at the reading *sāmantāmūtyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya*. The Nagazūm and Madras Museum Plates read *samastāmūtyapramukhajanapadān=samāhūya*, which may also be the reading intended.

⁷ Read *bāhira-pañcha-trimśatā*.

⁸ Read *prasiddhaḥ=chatuḥ-śim-*.

⁹ Read *achāṭṭabhaṭṭāpravēśō*.

¹⁰ Read *kālām yāvan-*.

¹¹ Read *-yasō-*.

¹² The *ē* of *mō*, the *ē* of *pravēśō* in line 55 and the *ē* of *chakravātē* in line 44 look like *i*; also the *ē* of *Māñṭāju* in line 73 f.

¹³ Read *Kāsyapa-*.

¹⁴ Read *sūnu=Vaidumvādityād-*.

¹⁵ Cancel the *visarga*.

¹⁶ In spite of *śrī-Mānādityachottāya*, (l. 60) which begins a verse in the śloka metre, we should perhaps read *śrīmān=Āditya-Chottaḥ*.

¹⁷ Read *sūnava*.

¹⁸ Read *stāmvrāsāsa-*.

¹⁹ Read *=atō=śya vidhāyē-bhūga samasta-pravānikaraiḥ*. [It is not impossible that *-bhūga=ājñā=śravaṇakaraiḥ* was meant; see above, Vol. IX. p. 173, text I. 10 f.—H. K. S.]

²⁰ Read *-bhāvibhir-bhūpatibhir-*.

²¹ Read *-gauravāt=paripālaniyam-itī*.

²² Read *-vishayaśya śimānō*.

²³ Read *nairityē*.

²⁴ Read *Vāmsa-*.

²⁵ Read *-śilā*.

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 69 m[r]āpātharah | uttarē Madhupapālīh || (1) isānyō¹ Tālañjara-
 70 silā² || Svadattām parādatām=vā³ harēt=kaśchid=vasundharām. [*]
 sa vi-
 71 śhīhāyām kṛmīr=bhūtā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || *Tampavā-
 grāma-sūśa-⁴
 72 nika-kāyastha-śrī-sandhivigrahi-Dhavalēna likhita[m*]
 73 śū[sa*]nam-idaṁ || Śakāvda(bda) 987 || iti kāraki-Mē-
 74 nṭōjun-āpi likhita[m]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Hail. The son of the *Mahārāja* **Guṇamahārṇava**, who by his prowess conquered the circle of the earth, as (*the god*) **Vishṇu** by his strides, wishing to adorn the lineage of the glorious **G[a]ṇgas**, the lords of the three **Kalīngas**, who were purified by gems (*in the shape*) of virtues praised over the whole earth, such as prudence, good breeding, generosity, charity, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, valour and firmness; who, were of the *Ātrēya gōtra*; who washed off the stains of the impurities of the *Kali* age by the holy water of (*their*) taintless thoughts and deeds; the grandeur of whose universal sovereignty was resplendent by the unique conch-shell, the drum, the five *mahāśabdas*, the white parasol, the golden chowrie, and the excellent bull crest which they had obtained by the favour of the blessed *Gokarṇasvāmīn*, who resides on the summit of the lofty *Mahēndra* mountain, the lord of what moves and what cannot move, the sole architect in the creation of all the worlds, whose crest jewel is the moon; who were adorned by lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of victory won in the scuffles of many battles,—

(Verse 1.) The glorious **Vajrahasta [I.]**, of exalted conduct, protected the entire (*earth*) for forty-four years, after he, the very valiant one, had, himself single-handed by the prowess of his arm, conquered the hosts of his foes and united the earth, which had formerly been divided and enjoyed in five parts by five kings.

(L. 19.) His son king **Guṇḍama [I.]** protected the earth for three years; his younger brother **Kāmārṇavadēva [I.]** for thirty-five years; his younger brother **Vinayāditya** for three years.

(V. 2.) Thereafter king **Vajrahasta [II.]** who was born of **Kāmārṇava [I.]**, and who shone like a wishing tree on earth, with radiant lustre,

(V. 3.) the incomparable head of liberal men, who gave to mendicants a thousand elephants, whose temples were sucked by bees attracted by the smell of the rut flowing (from them), he who was praised by kings, the glorious king **Aniyāṅkabhima**, the ornament of the family of the **G[a]ṇgas**, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five years.

(V. 4.) His eldest son, who was like the son of the king of gods, king **Kāmārṇava [II.]** protected the whole earth for half a year, prosperous and resplendent, after he had conquered the circle of (*his*) foes.

(V. 5.) After him his younger brother who was comparable to the mind-born (*Cupid*), a blameless treasure of virtues, the king named **Guṇḍama [II.]**, protected this whole circle of the earth for three years, after he had vanquished the host of (*his*) enemies with (*his*) mighty splendour.

(V. 6.) Then his brother from a different mother, king **Madhu-Kāmārṇava**, [protected this earth for nineteen years].

¹ Read *aisānyē*.² Read *-dattām vā*.³ Read *-silā*.⁴ Read *-śāsanika*.

iv b.

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 \mathbb{C}^n and

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 $\therefore b$

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(V. 7-8.) Then the son, named the glorious **Vajrahasta** [III.], born from **Kāmārpava** [II.], the foremost of all virtuous men, the eldest son of king **Vajrahasta** [II.], whose pure and shining fame was praised by the chiefs of poets, and from **Vinayamahādēvi**, who had sprung from the family of the **Vaidumbas**, as **Śrī** from the milk-ocean,

(V. 9.) he who was anointed to protect the whole earth when the aggregate of Śaka years reached the number of the sky (0), the seasons (6) and the treasures (9), while the sun was standing in Taurus, under the **Rōhini nakṣatra**, in the auspicious *lagna* of Dhanus, in the bright fortnight, on a Sunday, combined with the third (*tithi*) ;

(V. 10.) whose subjects are always enjoying wealth without ailments, sins and misfortunes, while (*he*), whose prowess is praised, protects the earth on the right path in order to get the three objects of life accomplished simultaneously ;

(V. 11.) while the circle of the (eight) quarters is being filled with the fame, spotless as the light of the moon and procuring joy to the earth, of him (*who was*) the best of the **Gjāṅga** family, the mahouts of the quarters over and over again anoint (their) elephants on the surface of (their) frontal globes with masses of thick red-lead paste ;

(V. 12.) through love of which virtuous man **Śrī** and **Sarasvatī**, sitting in (*his*) bosom and lotus-like mouth (respectively), shine in concord,

(L. 49.) he, the king, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the *Paramabhaktaraka Mahārājadhīrāja*, the lord of the three **Kaliṅgas**, the glorious king **Vajrahasta**, being in good health, issues the (following) order from **Dantipura**, having called together the people headed by the feudatories, preceded by the high ministers, who live at the king's feet,--

(L. 52.) Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, the well known **Gōrasatta** district (*vishaya*) with (its) thirty-five villages outside (*bāhira*) **Tāmpavā** village, circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, not to be entered by district officers (*chāṭas*) and *bhūtas*, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, by means of a charter, after having made (it) into a copper-plate grant, according to the maxim of the covering of a hole in the ground (*bhumi-chhidrapidhāna-nyāya*) to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, on the ninth day of the month **Mina**, on a **Monday**, to **Irugana Śrī-Mānāditya Chotta**, of the **Kāśyapa gōtra**, the son of **Śrī-Mānāditya Chotta**, the son of **Chotta Vādayarāja**, who came from **Pottakallu**, born of **Rūpadēvi**, the sun of the **Vaidumba** family,¹ and to **Vira-Bhūriśrava** (**Bhūriśravas**), who keeps far off from the wives of others, whose mind is set on truthfulness. Therefore, being obedient to him, the proper *bhūtagbhōga* and other (*income*) should be brought to him, together with the *pranāṁikara* and the *kṣetrakara*. Future kings [should preserve] this (my) gift, from reverence for the law of **Manu**, from time to time.

(L. 65.) The boundaries of the **Gōrasatta** district (*vishaya*) are (here) written : to the east **Vistiraṇṣilā** ; to the south-east the **Vināyaka-vuṭa** (tree) near the hills ; to the south the border hill of **Taṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā** ; to the south-west the **Andhāravēni** hill ; to the west **Kāñchasilā**, on the bank of the **Vaṇṣadhārā** ; to the north-west **Amrāpāthara** ; to the north **Madhupapali** ; to the north-east **Tālañjaraṣilā**. [Here follows one of the customary verses].

(L. 72.) This charter was written by the illustrious *sandhicigraha* **Dhavaḷa**, the grant-writer (*śāsanika-kīyastha*) of **Tāmpavā** village. The Śaka year 967. Thus also written by the *kāraki* **Mēṇṭōju**.

¹ [It is difficult to reconcile the fact that **Rūpadēvi**, a lady, is called the 'Sun' of the **Vaidumba** family. Perhaps **Vaidumbāditya** is to be taken as a proper name.—H. K. S.]

No. 15.—TIRUVELLARAI INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By K. V. SURESHMANAYA AIYAR, B.A., OOTACANUND.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on some of the stones forming the margin of the well on the southern side of the Pundarikāksha-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvellaṛai. This village is at a distance of 12 miles to the north of Trichinopoly and has several interesting ancient monuments. Among them may be mentioned (1) the rock-cut Śiva temple of Jambunātha² called in its inscriptions the Tiruvanniḱkal-Perumāṇadigaḷ, with an inscribed boulder in front,³ (2) the Viṣṇu temple of Pundarikāksha-Perumāḷ with another rock-cut cave⁴ on the southern side of its first *prāṇa*, and (3) the well on which the subjoined inscription is engraved.⁵ Besides the above, there are the ruins of another Śiva temple in that part of the village where the Pallava well is situated. A big *linga* and a large sized Nandi are still to be seen in a field not far from the well.

The stones bearing the record under notice are not in proper order, but as none of them is missing, it has been possible to piece them together and make out the inscription completely. It is in an excellent state of preservation, having been engraved after the stones had been dressed for the purpose. The engraver seems to have taken great care as the record is almost free from any mistakes. The letters are cut deeply and the inscription is written in two sections of two lines each. The language of the record is Tamil *proso* and *verso* with an admixture of Sanskrit words and phrases written in Grantha characters.

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve notice. The vertical line to the right of *sa* in *sa* reaches the full height of the top letter *sa*. The secondary *i* is written from the right to the left and touches the consonant on the right side only. The secondary *ā* is denoted by a short vertical stroke added to the right of the letter so as to touch it by a small horizontal line at the top. The length of the vowel *a* and the *ā* of the combined consonant *evā* are as distinctly marked as in the modern characters. *Va* presents an early type. The bottom portion of *da* is drawn out into a flourish as sometimes to completely cover the letter that precedes it. All the *ga*'s occurring in this inscription have a big loop at the beginning. The *ē* symbol

¹ No. 511 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.


² The inscriptions on the outer walls of this temple which may be considered not so old as the cave itself, belong to the time of Rājāśarivarmaṇ, Parāntaka I. and Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (Nos. 512 to 514 of 1905). The cave consists of a cell cut into the rock with two niches on either side. Of the two to the right, the first contains an image of Viṣṇu, while the second enshrines the god Gaṇēśa. In the two niches on the left side are put in stone images of a later date. The front part of the cave may be described as a verandah with four pillars cut out of the same rock.

As many as 16 inscriptions have been copied from this boulder (Nos. 515 to 530 of 1905). They range in date from the time of a Pāṇḍya king whose inscription is partially built in by a modern platform raised in front of the shrine of the goddess to those of the early Chōḷa sovereigns Rājāśarivarmaṇ, Parakēsarivarmaṇ, Parāntaka I. and Vikrama-Chōḷa. The texts of 13 of these records have been printed by the late Pandit Natesa Saastri (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 265 ff.)

³ Ten inscriptions of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 (Nos. 531 to 540) are from this cave, the kings represented being Nandivarmaṇ, Rājāśarivarmaṇ, Parakēsarivarmaṇ, Rājaraḷa I. and Parakēsarivarmaṇ 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya'. One of the inscriptions (No. 534 of 1905) dated in the 8th year of a Parakēsarivarmaṇ is interesting as it refers to gifts made by the queen of Uḍaiyūr-Āntimēraṇḍinār (*i.e.* the king who died on an elephant's back) to the god Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rukmini of the big temple at Tiruvellaṛai. At present there is no shrine in the Pundarikāksha-Perumāḷ temple dedicated to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa but there is an image of that god found on the outer *gōpura*, right of entrance. We cannot be certain if this is the image referred to.

⁴ Nos. 541 and 542 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 are engraved on stones forming the margin of this well.

touches the consonant that follows it. One graphic peculiarity of the record is that the loops of *ṇ* and *ṇ* are fully developed and the consonant *ṣi* resembles to a great extent the letter *ṇa*. The *palṭi* (or *visṭaṭ*) is invariably marked by a slightly curved line cut on the top of the letters. It is wrongly marked on *pe* in *peruāṭṭaṭṭa* (l. 2, section 1) and on *ṣi* in *raimmiṇṇi* (end of l. 2, section 2). The Sanskrit word and letters that occur in the inscription are: *śrasti* and *śri* at the beginning of the record, *liṅga*, *śaṅkha*, *paṇḍita*, *Dantivarman* and *Pallavar*, *tilatāḥṣṭhāra* in line 1; *raṣṭhā* of *raṣṭhāṇḍi* in line 2 and *śri* at the commencement of the Tamil verse in section 2, line 1.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the well called Marppidugu-porunṅināru by one Kaṇḍaṇ-Armyan, the younger brother of a certain Viṣṇayanathan of Ālabakkam. The work was commenced in the 4th year of Dantivarman, who belonged to the Pallavatilata (tilaka) family which is said to have sprung from the Bharadvajasūta, and completed in his 5th year. The capacity of the well accounts for the time taken in its construction. There are four entrances leading into the well and they are so constructed as to give it the shape of the *śrasti* symbol . The Tamil verse in section 2 is written in the *Aṣṭiṅgacuttam* metre, each line containing six feet (*śr*). It declares that no object in this world is permanent, that life is sure to decay, and that, therefore, if one commands wealth, he must, after taking what is required for his maintenance, utilise the remainder in doing works of charity.

An inscription dated in the 8th year (=A.D. 1262-3) of the Hoysala king Virabāmanāthadeva found on the margin of the same well records that a merchant (*śipara*) repaired it as it had suffered considerable damage from floods and other causes.² The same record refers to the well as having been built by a merchant. In the 13th century A.D. the builder of the well was believed to have been a private individual and not a chief, as the title *Ariyaṇ* appended to his name would lead one to believe.³ It is also interesting to learn that repairs were executed to it in A.D. 1262. It was perhaps then that the inscribed stones got out of order.

The proper names that occur in this record are of special interest. Ālabakkam may be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 miles from Talagud on the road to Ariyalūr. Dantivarman and his son Mithurantaka-chaturvēḍḍēṇṅilam were its other names in ancient times, and it was situated in Poyai-nādu which was a sub-division of Rājēndraśiṅgavalanādu.⁴ Tiruvelarai is said to have been a village in Vedaḍai-nādu, a district of Rājāsraya-valanādu. The members of the village assembly of Tiruvellāṅai are referred to in two records of the Chola king Rajaraja I. found in the Rameswaram

¹ From each of the entrances a flight of steps leads to the interior of the well. Midway between the entrances and the bottom of the well, on what may be described as the partition, a piece of sculpture which was, in all probability, carved at the time when the well was constructed, and hence synchronous with it. There are four groups of sculptures in all, on the four sides. The principal figures on the northern side are five and fifteen seated on a pedestal with attendant deities flanked on either side by a *śrī*. A number of female figures, probably the *saptamātṛis*, are found on the southern side. With an attendant deity on the right side, the 2nd *Mā* or *Sarasvatī* is figured on the eastern side in a sitting posture with legs folded and crossed and with something like a wheel passing round them. This group is flanked on the left by a lion while to the right is a *gīṭi*. I am not able to identify the images on the western side. Here are the figures of a warrior armed with a sword, a horse and a few other images.

² No. 512 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p. 63, paragraph 4.

³ In spite of this belief it is not impossible that the builder Kaṇḍaṇ-Armyan was a chief who belonged to the Muttaraiyan family.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903-10*, Part II., paragraphs 14 and 25.

⁵ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. Part III. p. 338.

temple at Tanjore and were required to supply two *brāhmachārins* as temple-servants and two other persons as watchmen to that temple.¹

The well Mārppidugu-peruṇṇiṇṇu should have been named either after the reigning king or a local chief under him. That it was not called after the builder is evident from the fact that it bore a different name. Nor do we know that Dantivarman had the surname Mārppidugu. It may be pointed out here that there was in ancient times a family of kings called **Muttaraiyan** ruling over a portion of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and a part at least of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.² Some of the members of this family had for their surnames Perumbidugu, Viḍelviḍuṇ, *etc.* Śendalai, one of the places where their inscriptions have been found, is not far off from Alambakkam whence the builder of the Tiruvellagai well hails. It may further be noticed that at Alambakkam, there was, according to its inscriptions, a big tank called **Mārppidug-ēri**. It is just possible that both the Mārppidug-ēri of Alambakkam and the Mārppidugu-peruṇṇiṇṇu of Tiruvellagai came into existence at the same time and were named after the same person who, to judge from the similarity of the name, might have been a member of the Muttaraiyan family and a feudatory of the Pallava king Dantivarman of our record.

From the Tamil work *Nīlīpiraprabandham*, it appears that the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvellagai was in existence from an early period,³ as the Vaiṣṇava saints Poriyālvār and Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār composed hymns in its praise. The latter saint mentions the village not less than four times in his compositions and there is not much doubt that one of these references, *viz.* *Veḷḷaraiyēḷḷallārimēl*⁴ has to be taken to denote the rock-cut cave in the Puṇḍarikaksha-Perumal temple. From the fact that Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār mentions in his hymn on Paramēśvara-ṣiṅgaṅa some of the battles where the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla gained victories over the Pandya sovereign and refers to another Pallava king Vayirameṅga, it has been surmised that the Ālvār was a contemporary of the latter and lived in the period immediately following the reign of the former whose achievements were fresh in the saint's mind.⁵ Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār⁶ has thus been assigned to the 3rd quarter of the 8th century A.D. Accordingly, the cave in the Puṇḍarikaksha-Perumal temple probably came into existence before that time. One of the earliest inscriptions in the cave belongs to the time of a **Pallava tilaka** king **Nandivarman**. This record mentions a certain **Viśaiyanallūḷan**, who is perhaps the same as that **Viśaiyanallūḷan** whose younger brother was **Kambaṅ-Arāḍayan**, the builder of the well at Tiruvellagai. If this be the case, it may be concluded that Nandivarman was perhaps the predecessor of Dantivarman. At any rate he could not be far removed in point of time from the latter.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 326 and 338.

² Inscriptions of this family have been found at Śendalai and Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District where there was a village called Viḍelviḍuṇ-chaturvōḷināṅalam. Tirumaiyam and Malakkōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai State also contain their records. The cave at Nārttāmālai was excavated by the son of Viḍelviḍuṇ-Muttaraiyan. A weight called *Viḍelviḍuṇ-kol* was in use at Uyyakkōṇḍān-Tirumalai near Trichinopoly.

³ From some of these stanzas, it appears that the god in the Viṣṇu temple was in a standing posture in ancient times also.

⁴ *Minnaiy-iru-śudarai Veḷḷaraiyēḷḷallārimēl* occurs in the *Perigatirumoli* of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 233-4.

⁶ One other king referred to by this saint is the ancient Chōḷa Kō-Chcheṅgaṇṇān who is mentioned both in the large Leyden and the Tiruvāṅkāṇu plates. Tamil literature speaks of this sovereign as having fought with the Chēra Kaṇaikkāl-Irumborai whom he eventually took prisoner and confined in a place called Kuḍavāyil-kāttam (*Peram* 74). The poet Poygaiyār celebrates the valour of this king in his *Kaḷavali-nāṇṇadu*. *Puṇam* 48 and 49 contain stanzas composed by the same author in honour of another Chēra king Kō Kkōḍai-mārbaṅ who, if not identical with Kaṇaikkāl-Irumborai, must have been a near relation of his and a contemporary of the Chōḷa Kō-Chcheṅgaṇṇān. It is worthy of note that the *Periṇṇapurāṇam* refers to the extensive building operations of this ancient Chōḷa king. The Śaiva saint Tiruṇāṇāṅambandar alludes to the construction of the temple at Tiruvāṅkāṇṇākkōyil and other places by the same king.

First Section.

புதிதானபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

Second Section

கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி
கொண்டிபுலகொண்டி

TRANSLATION.

First Section.

Hail! Prosperity! In the fourth year (of the reign) of Dantivarman who was born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gotra, Kamban Āraiyān, the younger brother of Viśaiyanallalan of Ālambakkam, commenced (to build) the big well at Tennūr¹ in Tiruvellārai and completed (it) in the fifth (year of the same reign). Marupidugu-porunṅinaru is the name of this (well). The three-thousand and seven hundred² of this village shall protect this (charity).

Second Section.

Prosperity! Without being (passionately) attached to this world where men seen (today) are not seen (tomorrow); without giving (yourself) up to despair looking for the (final) day appointed by the Creator; and before your (limbs) become weak at the appearance of old age with its (approach) of a stick; if you have (wealth) maintain (yourself) and devote (what remains to charity) so that (all) the world may know (it).

No. 16.—NEW SPECIAL TABLES FOR THE COMPUTATION OF HINDU DATES.

By HERMANN JACOBI, Ph.D.,

Sanskrit Professor at Bonn, Germany.

The new Special Tables which I publish now are intended to supplement the General Tables in the same way as the old Special Tables do, which were published in Vol. I. above, p. 450 ff., *i.e.* they are intended to test, according to one of the principal *siddhāntas* named at the head of the several Tables, the approximate result calculated previously by the General Tables. To these new Tables the remark in § 4, p. 493 *l. c.* applies also. "The General Table is to be used first; and only when by that table the end of the *tithi* falls very near the beginning of the day, and the week day comes out in error by one day only, need the Special Tables for the several *siddhāntas* be tried to see if one of them will furnish the desired result."

The plan on which the new Tables have been constructed is the same as in the General Tables, as far as their object, the highest possible degree of accuracy, will allow. Therefore the new Tables (1) refer throughout to mean sunrise at Lākū, not, as the old Special Tables do, to the beginning of the Solar year; (2) they furnish the quantities on which the *tithi* depends, in decimals of the circle and not in degrees, minutes and seconds as is the case in the old Tables. These innovations render the working of the new Tables very easy and almost mechanical.

The Special Tables differ from the General Tables in two points; (1) They contain three columns headed *a*, *b*, *c* instead of the two in the General Tables headed '*Tithi*' and '*☾*'s anomaly. *a* denotes mean distance of Sun and Moon, expressed in five decimals of the circle. By Tables XVIII, XIV, XV *a* can be converted into *tithis*, *ghaṭikās*, and *palas*; *b* denotes the mean anomaly of the moon in four decimals of the circle; and *c* the mean anomaly of the Sun, also in

¹ The southern part of Tiruvellārai was probably called Tennūr in ancient times.

² The signatory in one of the inscriptions of Rājaraṇja I (A.D. 985-1013) found at Māmallapuram in the Chingleput District is a certain Tiruvadiḷaḷ Maṇikanthan, a native of Tiruvell[ā]rai. He calls himself as one of the 3,700 of that village (*South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 65). This seems to indicate that at an early period there was a body of 3,700 persons at Tiruvellārai to whom later members traced their descent. Reference to another such body of men is found in the expression *Tillai-mūvaṇṇavar*.

four decimals. (2) To the sum of a (mean distance of Sun and Moon) *two* corrections (equations) must be applied, while in the General Tables only one equation is needed. The arguments of these equations are the sums of b and c , respectively, and they are to be looked out in the tables of equations under the several *siddhāntas*. In order to calculate the value of the equation for an argument not entered in the table, but lying between two table values, a column headed $\Delta 10$ has been inserted in the middle of these tables, which gives the increase or decrease of the equation for a difference of ten in the argument.

I now proceed to illustrate the working of the new Tables by a few examples.

First example.—Let it be proposed to verify the date: Kali-Yuga 4198, Chaitra *su. di. 2 ravan*, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. We first calculate the date according to the General Tables, and write down the calculation in the proper form (see above, Vol. I, p. 410).

4100 K.Y.	(1)	5:58	111	Ind. ●	=2043
98 years	(4)	399	59	Ind. su. di. 2	=2243

4198 K.Y.	(5)	9:57	170		
15th sol. Chaitra	(4)	22:52	593		

(2)	2:09	763			
	eq. 763=0				

2:09

Result: On the Monday (2) in question, the third *tithi* was running, it commenced on the preceding day (Sunday), about $5\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise. Now in order to calculate the result according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, proceed as follows. Look out K. Y. 4100 or 41st century K. Y. in table I, 98 years in table II, and 15th Chaitra in table XIII (which is the same for all Siddhāntas) and sum up the quantities in the several columns (rejecting integers); thus—

	w	a	b	c
41st century	(1)	18563	6157	7863
98 years	(4)	13299	571	9990
15th sol. Chaitra	(4)	75053	5932	9500

K. Y. 4198, 15 Chaitra	(2)	6915	2660	7353
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Now find the equation for b 2660 from table III, *viz.* 5, and the equation for c =7353 from table IV, *viz.* 3; then add these equations to a , *viz.* $6915 + 5 + 3 = 6923$. Table XVIII gives $6667 = su. di. 2$; the difference from a just found, $6923 - 6667 = 256$; this is according to tables XIV and XV equal to 4 *ghaṭikās* ($a=226$) and 32 *palas* ($a=30$). Therefore, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, the 2nd *tithi* ended 4 *ghaṭikās* 32 *palas* before mean sunrise. This result is very nearly right, and we may in most cases rest satisfied with it. If the highest degree of accuracy be required we subtract the increase of a b c for 4 *ghaṭikās* 2 *palas* from tables XIV and XV to the result found before; *viz.* from 6915 22—

4 <i>ghaṭikās</i>	226	24	2	6915	2660	7353
32 <i>palas</i>	30	3	—	—256	27	2
	256	27	2	6659	2633	7351

Equation for $b=2633$ is 4; equation c for 7351 is 3; the sum of both equations=7 added to 6659 makes 6666, which falls short of 6667 by 1. Therefore the end of the *tithi* occurred one *pala* after the moment calculated or 4 *ghaṭikās* 31 *palas* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

Second example.—Computing the date K. Y. 4276 Bhādrapada *su. di* 13 *ravan*, our calculation by the General Tables stands thus (*l. c.* p. 411) :—

4200 K. Y.	(1)	2.19	699	Ind. ● = 26.54
76 years	(5)	1.27	454	Ind. <i>su. di.</i> 13 = 9.54
	(6)	3.46	153	
3rd Āśvina	(2)	8.83	661	
	(1)	12.29	814	
eq. 814	=	0.03		
	(1)	12.32	= Sunday, <i>su. di.</i> 13.	

Let it now be required to calculate the end of the 13th *tithi* according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*. By the General Tables we find that this moment occurred about 40 *ghaṭikās* (= 0.68 *tithi*, table IV) after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. The Tables for *Ārya-Siddhānta* furnish the following data :—

4200 K. Y.	(1)	7236	1988	7848
76 years	(5)	4208	4555	9
3 Āśvina	(2)	28266	6615	4271
	(1)	39710	3158	2128
40 <i>ghaṭikās</i>		2257	242	18
		41967	3400	2146

equation b for 3400 is 215; equation c for 2146 is 1178; their sum 1393 added to a 41967 = 43360. The difference from 43333, the value of 13th *tithi*, is a 27 = 25 *palas*, by which the end of the *tithi* occurred before the moment calculated. The exact time is therefore 39 *ghaṭikās* 35 *palas* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

Possible error.—As in the tables fractions are neglected or counted as 1, according as they are less or larger than $\frac{1}{2}$, the absolute error in every quantity may amount to ± 0.5 . Usually the plus and the minus of the different figures will compensate for each other, but in extreme cases the neglected fractions may sum up to ± 2.5 or ± 3.5 , according as 5 or 7 a 's are summed up. This error, in time, would be 2, 7 and 3, 7 *palas*, or 1 minute 5 seconds and 1 m. 29 s., respectively.

SŪRYA-SIDDHĀNTA.

TABLE I.—For centuries (of the Kali-Yuga).

cent.	cent.	a	b	c	sol. corr.	
					gh. p.	
30	2	46261	2028	7854	+ 1 10	<p>For Sūrya-Siddhānta with <i>bija</i> the last two figures of <i>b</i> must be augmented by: 42 in 4500 K. Y.</p> <p>" 43 " 4600 "</p> <p>" 43 " 4700 "</p> <p>" 44 " 4800 "</p> <p>" 45 " 4900 "</p> <p>" 46 " 5000 "</p>
31	2	34960	7891	7857	— 6 18	
32	2	23659	3754	7861	—13 46	
33	2	12348	9616	7864	—21 13	
34	2	1057	5479	7868	—28 41	
						<p>For mean Distance $\odot - \oplus$ add 2206 to <i>a</i>.</p>
35	1	86370	979	7843	+23 52	<p>For mean Longitude of the Sun add to <i>c</i>:</p> <p>2145 between 3000 and 3300</p> <p>2146 " 3400 " 4400</p> <p>2147 " 4500 " 5000</p>
36	1	75068	6842	7847	+16 24	
37	1	63767	2705	7850	+ 8 56	
38	1	52466	8568	7853	+ 1 29	
39	1	41165	4431	7857	— 5 59	
						<p>For true Longitude of the Sun add 2206 to <i>c</i>, and subtract tenth part of equation <i>c</i>.</p>
40	1	29864	294	7860	—13 27	
41	1	18563	6157	7863	—20 54	
42	1	7262	2020	7867	—28 22	
43	0	92574	7520	7842	+24 10	
44	0	81273	3383	7846	+16 43	
45	0	69972	9246	7849	+ 9 15	
46	0	58671	5109	7853	+ 1 47	
47	0	47370	972	7856	— 5 40	
48	0	36069	6835	7859	—13 8	
49	0	24768	2698	7863	—20 36	
50	6	10080	8198	7838	+31 57	

TABLE II.—*Sūrya-Siddhānta*: Years of the century.

year	w	a	b	c	corr.		year	w	a	b	c	corr.	
					gh.	p.						gh.	p.
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	44349	7931	2	— 3	44
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15	32	51	1	80356	395	9995	+11	47
2	2	72013	4928	9986	+31	3	52	2	16362	2860	9987	+27	12
3	4	11406	7756	6	—13	25	53	4	55755	5687	8	—17	10
4	5	47412	220	9999	+ 2	6	54	5	91762	8151	1	— 1	38
5	6	83419	2684	9992	+17	38	55	6	27768	616	9994	+13	54
6	0	19426	5148	9985	+33	9	56	0	63775	3080	9987	+29	25
7	2	58818	7976	5	—11	19	57	2	3168	5907	7	—15	3
8	3	94825	440	9998	+ 4	12	58	3	39174	8371	0	— 0	28
9	4	30831	2904	9991	+19	44	59	4	75181	836	9993	+16	0
10	5	66838	5368	9984	+35	15	60	5	11187	3300	9986	+31	31
11	0	6231	8196	4	— 9	13	61	0	50580	6127	6	—12	57
12	1	42237	660	9997	+ 6	18	62	1	86587	8591	9999	+ 2	34
13	2	78244	3124	9990	+21	50	63	2	22593	1056	9992	+18	6
14	4	17637	5951	10	—22	39	64	3	58600	3520	9985	+33	37
15	5	53643	8416	3	— 7	7	65	5	97993	6347	5	—10	51
16	6	89650	880	9996	+ 8	24	66	6	33999	8811	9998	+ 4	41
17	0	25657	3344	9989	+23	56	67	0	70006	1276	9991	+20	12
18	2	65049	6171	9	—20	32	68	1	6012	3740	9984	+35	44
19	3	1056	8636	2	— 5	1	69	3	45405	6567	4	— 8	45
20	4	37062	1100	9995	+10	30	70	4	81412	9031	9997	+ 6	47
21	5	73069	3564	9988	+26	2	71	5	17418	1496	9990	+22	18
22	0	12462	6391	8	—16	26	72	0	56811	4323	10	—22	10
23	1	48468	8856	1	— 2	55	73	1	92818	6787	3	— 6	39
24	2	84475	1320	9994	+12	37	74	2	28824	9251	9996	+ 8	53
25	3	20482	3784	9987	+28	8	75	3	64831	1716	9989	+24	24
26	5	59874	6611	7	—16	20	76	5	4224	4543	9	—20	4
27	6	95881	9076	0	— 0	49	77	6	40230	7007	2	— 4	33
28	0	31887	1540	9993	+14	43	78	0	76237	9471	9995	+10	59
29	1	67894	4004	9986	+30	14	79	1	12243	1936	9988	+26	30
30	3	7287	6831	6	—14	14	80	3	51636	4763	8	—17	58
31	4	43293	9296	9999	+ 1	17	81	4	87643	7227	1	— 2	27
32	5	79300	1760	9992	+16	49	82	5	23649	9691	9994	+13	5
33	6	15307	4224	9985	+32	20	83	6	59656	2156	9987	+28	36
34	1	54699	7051	6	—12	8	84	1	99049	4983	7	—15	52
35	2	90706	9516	9998	+ 3	13	85	2	35055	7447	0	— 0	21
36	3	26712	1980	9991	+18	55	86	3	71062	9911	9993	+15	11
37	4	62719	4444	9984	+34	26	87	4	7068	2376	9986	+30	42
38	6	2112	7271	5	—10	2	88	6	46461	5203	6	—13	46
39	0	38118	9736	9997	+ 5	29	89	0	82468	7667	9999	+ 1	45
40	1	74125	2200	9990	+21	1	90	1	18474	131	9992	+17	17
41	2	10132	4664	9983	+36	32	91	2	54481	2596	9985	+32	49
42	4	49524	7491	4	— 7	56	92	4	93874	5423	5	—11	40
43	5	85531	9956	9996	+ 7	35	93	5	29880	7887	9998	+ 3	52
44	6	21537	2420	9989	+23	7	94	6	65887	351	9991	+19	23
45	1	60930	5247	10	—21	22	95	0	1893	2816	9984	+34	55
46	2	96937	7711	3	— 5	50	96	2	41286	5643	4	— 9	34
47	3	32943	176	9995	+ 9	41	97	3	77293	8107	9997	+ 5	58
48	4	68950	2640	9988	+25	13	98	4	13299	571	9990	+21	29
49	6	8343	5467	9	—19	16	99	5	49306	3036	9983	+37	1

TABLE IV.—*Sārya-Siddhānta*.

Equation c.

argument : c		equation.	Δ 10.	equation.	argument : c	
0	5000	604	384	604	0	5000
104	4896	644	384	644	9896	5104
208	4792	684	384	684	9792	5208
313	4687	724	384	724	9687	5313
417	4583	763	374	763	9583	5417
521	4479	801	365	801	9479	5521
625	4375	839	365	839	9375	5625
729	4271	875	345	875	9271	5729
833	4167	910	336	910	9167	5833
938	4062	943	317	943	9062	5938
1042	3958	975	307	975	8958	6042
1146	3854	1006	288	1006	8854	6146
1250	3750	1034	269	1034	8750	6250
1354	3646	1061	260	1061	8646	6354
1458	3542	1086	240	1086	8542	6458
1562	3438	1108	211	1108	8438	6562
1667	3333	1129	201	1129	8333	6667
1771	3229	1147	179	1147	8229	6771
1875	3125	1163	154	1163	8125	6875
1979	3021	1174	134	1174	8021	6979
2083	2917	1188	102	1188	7917	7083
2187	2813	1197	086	1197	7813	7187
2292	2708	1203	058	1203	7708	7292
2396	2604	1206	029	1206	7604	7396
2500	2500	1208	020	1208	7500	7500

TABLE III.—*Sārya-Siddhānta*.

Equation b.

argument : b		equation.	Δ 10.	equation.	argument : b	
0	5000	1402	892	1402	0	5000
104	4896	1307	883	1495	9896	5104
208	4792	1215	874	1587	9792	5208
313	4687	1124	864	1678	9687	5313
417	4583	1035	854	1767	9583	5417
521	4479	947	845	1855	9479	5521
625	4375	861	835	1941	9375	5625
729	4271	777	806	2025	9271	5729
833	4167	696	778	2106	9167	5833
938	4062	619	740	2183	9062	5938
1042	3958	546	720	2258	8958	6042
1146	3854	473	681	2329	8854	6146
1250	3750	407	653	2393	8750	6250
1354	3646	344	604	2458	8646	6354
1458	3542	286	557	2516	8542	6458
1562	3438	233	509	2569	8438	6562
1667	3333	185	460	2617	8333	6667
1771	3229	142	413	2660	8229	6771
1875	3125	104	364	2698	8125	6875
1979	3021	72	307	2730	8021	6979
2083	2917	45	260	2757	7917	7083
2187	2813	25	181	2777	7813	7188
2292	2708	10	144	2792	7708	7292
2396	2604	2	077	2800	7604	7396
2500	2500	0	038	2804	7500	7500

ĀRYA-SIDDHĀNTA.

TABLE V.—Centuries of Kali-Yuga.

A.—Original Ārya-Siddhānta.

cent.	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol. corr.	
					gh.	p.
36	1	76166	6718	7826	+15	0
37	1	63891	2580	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52615	8442	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41340	4304	7837	— 8	45
40	1	30064	166	7841	—16	40
41	1	19789	6028	7845	—24	35
42	1	7515	1890	7848	—32	30

B.—The same with Balla's corrections.

cent.	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol. corr.	
					gh.	p.
36	1	76166	6718	7826	+15	0
37	1	63844	2596	7830	+ 7	5
38	1	52523	8475	7834	— 0	50
39	1	41201	4353	7837	— 8	45
40	1	29880	232	7841	—16	40
41	1	18558	6110	7844	—24	35
42	1	7236	1988	7848	—32	30
43	0	92528	7504	7824	+19	35
44	0	81206	3383	7828	+11	40
45	0	69884	9261	7832	+ 3	45
46	0	58563	5140	7835	— 4	10
47	0	47241	1018	7840	—12	50
48	0	35919	6896	7843	—20	0
49	0	24597	2775	7847	—27	55
50	6	9890	8291	7823	+24	10

For mean Distance (—⊙ add 1987 to *a*.

For mean Longitude of the Sun add 2167 to *c*.

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2227 to *c* and subtract tenth part of equation *c*.

TABLE VI.—*Ārya-Siddhānta*: Years of the Century.

year	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol. corr.		year	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol. corr.	
					gh.	p.						gh.	p.
0	0	0	0	0		0	50	0	44339	7939	2	— 3	58
1	1	36006	2464	9993	+15	31	51	1	80345	404	9995	+11	34
2	2	72013	4928	9986	+31	2	52	2	16312	2868	9988	+27	5
3	4	11405	7756	61	—13	26	53	4	55744	5695	8	—17	24
4	5	47412	220	9999	+ 2	5	54	5	91751	8160	1	— 1	53
5	6	83418	2685	9992	+17	36	55	6	27757	624	9994	+13	39
6	0	19424	5149	9985	+33	7	56	0	63763	3089	9987	+29	10
7	2	58817	7977	5	—11	21	57	2	3156	5916	7	—15	19
8	3	94823	441	9998	+ 4	10	58	3	39162	8380	0	+ 0	12
9	4	30830	2966	9991	+19	41	59	4	75169	845	9993	+15	44
10	5	66836	5370	9984	+35	12	60	5	11175	3309	9986	+31	15
11	0	6223	8197	4	— 9	16	61	0	50568	6136	6	—13	14
12	1	42235	662	9997	+ 6	15	62	1	86574	8601	9999	+ 2	17
13	2	78241	3126	9990	+21	46	63	2	22580	1065	9992	+17	49
14	4	17634	5953	10	—22	43	64	3	58587	3530	9985	+30	20
15	5	53640	8418	3	— 7	11	65	5	97979	6357	5	—11	9
16	6	89646	882	9996	+ 8	20	66	6	33986	8822	9998	+ 4	12
17	0	25653	3347	9989	+23	51	67	0	69992	1286	9991	+19	54
18	2	65045	6174	9	—20	37	68	1	5998	3751	9984	+35	25
19	3	1052	8639	2	— 5	6	69	3	45391	6578	4	— 9	4
20	4	37058	1103	9995	+10	25	70	4	81397	9042	9997	+ 6	27
21	5	73064	3567	9988	+25	56	71	5	17404	1507	9990	+21	59
22	0	12457	6395	8	—18	33	72	0	56796	4334	10	—22	30
23	1	48464	8859	1	— 3	1	73	1	92803	6799	3	— 6	59
24	2	84470	1324	9994	+12	30	74	2	28809	9263	9996	+ 8	32
25	3	20476	3788	9987	+28	1	75	3	64816	1727	9989	+24	4
26	5	59869	6615	7	—16	28	76	5	4208	4555	9	—20	25
27	6	95875	9080	0	— 0	56	77	6	40215	7019	2	— 4	54
28	0	31882	1544	9993	+14	35	78	0	76221	9484	9995	+10	37
29	1	67888	4009	9986	+30	6	79	1	12227	1948	9988	+26	9
30	3	7281	6836	7	—14	23	80	3	51620	4775	8	—18	20
31	4	43287	9301	9999	+ 1	9	81	4	87626	7240	1	— 2	49
32	5	79293	1765	9992	+16	40	82	5	23633	9704	9994	+12	42
33	6	15300	4229	9985	+32	11	83	6	59639	2169	9987	+28	14
34	1	54692	7057	6	—12	18	84	1	99032	4996	7	—16	15
35	2	90699	9521	9999	+ 3	13	85	2	35038	7460	0	— 0	44
36	3	26705	1986	9991	+18	45	86	3	71044	9925	9993	+14	47
37	4	62711	4450	9984	+34	16	87	4	7051	2389	9986	+30	19
38	6	2104	7277	5	—10	13	88	6	46443	5217	6	—14	10
39	0	38110	9742	9998	+ 5	19	89	0	82450	7681	9999	+ 1	21
40	1	74117	2206	9990	+20	50	90	1	18456	145	9992	+16	52
41	2	10123	4671	9983	+36	21	91	2	54462	2610	9985	+32	24
42	4	49516	7498	4	— 8	8	92	4	93855	5437	6	—12	5
43	5	85522	9962	9997	+ 7	24	93	5	29861	7902	9998	+ 3	26
44	6	21528	2427	9990	+22	55	94	6	65868	366	9991	+18	57
45	1	60921	5254	10	—21	33	95	0	1874	2830	9984	+34	29
46	2	96927	7719	3	— 6	3	96	2	41267	5658	5	—10	0
47	3	32934	183	9996	+ 9	28	97	3	77273	8122	9997	+ 5	31
48	4	68940	2647	9989	+25	0	98	4	13280	587	9990	+21	2
49	6	8333	5475	9	—19	29	99	5	49286	3051	9983	+36	34

TABLE VIII.—*Ārya-Siddhānta* :
Equation c.

argument : c.		equation	Δ 10	equation	argument : c
0	5000	597	3.74	597	0
104	4896	636	3.74	636	9896
208	4792	675	3.74	675	9792
313	4687	713	3.64	713	9687
417	4583	752	3.64	752	9583
			3.55		5417
521	4479	789	3.46	789	5521
625	4375	825	3.46	825	5325
729	4271	861	3.26	861	5129
833	4167	895	3.26	895	4933
938	4062	929	2.98	929	4738
					5938
1042	3958	960	2.88	960	6042
1146	3854	990	2.78	990	6146
1250	3750	1019	2.59	1019	6250
1354	3646	1046	2.40	1046	6354
1458	3542	1071	2.11	1071	6458
					5342
1562	3438	1098		1098	6562
1667	3333	1114	2.02	1114	6667
1771	3229	1132	1.73	1132	6829
1875	3125	1149	1.63	1149	6771
1979	3021	1162	1.25	1162	8125
			0.96		6875
					6979
2083	2917	1174	0.77	1174	7083
2187	2813	1182	0.66	1182	7187
2292	2708	1189	0.38	1189	7292
2396	2604	1193	0.10	1193	7396
2500	2500	1194		1194	7500

TABLE VII.—*Ārya-Siddhānta* :
Equation b.

argument : b.		equation	Δ 10	equation	argument : b
0	5000	1390	8.74	1390	0
104	4896	1290	8.71	1481	5100
208	4792	1208	8.64	1572	5104
313	4687	1118	8.54	1662	5208
417	4583	1029		1751	5313
			8.35		5417
521	4479	942	8.16	1838	5521
625	4375	857	7.97	1923	5625
729	4271	774	7.68	2006	5729
833	4167	694	7.59	2086	5833
938	4062	626	7.10	2164	5938
1042	3958	542	6.72	2238	6042
1146	3854	472	6.43	2308	6146
1250	3750	405	5.95	2375	6250
1354	3646	343	5.57	2437	6354
1458	3542	285	5.09	2495	6458
					5342
1562	3438	232	4.61	2548	6562
1667	3333	184	4.03	2596	6667
1771	3229	152	3.64	2638	6829
1875	3125	104	3.07	2676	6771
1979	3021	72	2.69	2708	8125
					6875
					6979
2083	2917	46	2.02	2734	7083
2187	2813	25	1.44	2755	7187
2292	2708	10	0.77	2770	7292
2396	2604	2	0.19	2778	7396
2500	2500	0		2780	7500

BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA AND SIDDHĀNTA-ŚĪRŌMAṆĪ.

TABLE IX.—Centuries of Kali-Yuga.

A.—BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA.

cent.	w	a	b	c	sol. corr.
37	1	63840	2581	7857	gh. p. + 13 7
38	1	52564	8469	7861	+ 8 45
39	1	41287	4358	7866	— 5 37
40	1	30010	247	7870	—14 59
41	1	18734	6135	7874	—24 22
42	1	7458	2024	7878	—33 44
43	0	92795	7550	7855	+ 16 53

B.—SIDDHĀNTA-ŚĪRŌMAṆĪ.

cent.	w	a	b	c	sol. corr.
42	1	7263	1995	7849	gh. p. —33 44
43	0	92595	7520	7825	+ 16 53
44	0	81114	3408	7828	+ 7 31
45	0	70033	9296	7832	— 1 52
46	0	58752	5184	7836	—11 14
47	0	47471	1072	7839	—20 37
48	0	36190	6960	7841	—29 59
49	0	24909	2848	7846	—39 22
50	6	10241	8373	7822	+ 11 16

For mean Distance of —☉ add 1999 to a.

For mean Longitude of the Sun add to c: 2164 before 4100 K. Y. and 2165 after 4100 K. Y.

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2224 to c and subtract tenth part of equation c.

NOTE.—The beginning of the Solar month according to the Brahma-Siddhānta and the Siddhānta-Śīrōmaṇī is earlier by one day than according to the other Siddhāntas.

TABLE X.—*Brahma-Siddhanta and Siddhanta-Śirōmaṇi; Years of the Century.*

NOTE.—The Table is correct for Siddhanta-Śirōmaṇi; for Brahma-Siddhanta the table value of *a* must be augmented: by 1 after the year 7, by 2 after 22, by 3 after 37, by 4 after 51, by 5 after 65, by 6 after 80, by 7 after 94.

year.	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol. corr.	year	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	sol. corr.
					gh. p.						gh. p.
0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	40359	7944	2	— 4 41
1	1	36006	2465	9993	+15 30	51	1	80366	408	9994	+10 49
2	2	72013	4929	9986	+31 1	52	2	16373	2873	9987	+26 19
3	4	11406	7756	6	—13 29	53	4	55766	5700	8	— 8 10
4	5	47413	221	9999	+ 2 2	54	5	91773	8165	1	— 2 40
5	6	83420	2685	9992	+17 32	55	6	27779	629	9993	+12 51
6	0	19427	5150	9985	+33 2	56	0	63786	3094	9986	+28 21
7	2	58820	7977	5	—11 27	57	2	3179	5921	7	—16 9
8	3	91827	442	9998	+ 4 3	58	3	39186	8386	0	— 0 38
9	4	36833	2906	9991	+19 33	59	4	75193	850	9993	+14 52
10	5	66840	5371	9984	+35 3	60	5	11199	3315	9985	+30 22
11	0	6233	8198	4	— 9 26	61	0	50593	6142	6	—14 7
12	1	42240	663	9997	+ 6 4	62	1	86599	8607	9999	+ 1 23
13	2	78247	3127	9990	+21 35	63	2	22606	1071	9992	+16 54
14	4	17640	5955	10	—22 55	64	3	58613	3536	9984	+32 24
15	5	53646	8419	3	— 7 24	65	5	98006	6363	5	—12 6
16	6	89653	884	9996	+ 8 6	66	6	34013	8828	9998	+ 3 25
17	0	25660	3348	9989	+23 36	67	0	70019	1292	9991	+18 55
18	2	65053	6176	9	—20 53	68	1	6026	3757	9983	+34 25
19	3	1060	8640	2	— 5 23	69	3	45417	6584	4	—10 4
20	4	37066	1105	9995	+10 7	70	4	81426	9049	9997	+ 5 26
21	5	73073	3569	9988	+25 38	71	5	17433	1513	9990	+20 57
22	0	12466	6397	8	—18 52	72	0	56826	4341	10	—23 33
23	1	48473	8861	1	— 3 21	73	1	82832	6805	3	— 8 3
24	2	84480	1326	9994	+12 9	74	2	28839	9270	9996	+ 7 28
25	3	20487	3790	9987	+27 39	75	3	64846	1734	9989	+22 58
26	5	59880	6618	7	—16 51	76	5	4239	4562	9	—21 32
27	6	95886	9082	0	— 1 20	77	6	40246	7026	2	— 6 1
28	0	31893	1547	9993	+14 10	78	0	76253	9491	9995	+ 9 29
29	1	67900	4011	9986	+29 41	79	1	12260	1955	9988	+25 0
30	3	7293	6839	6	—14 49	80	3	51652	4783	8	—19 30
31	4	43300	9303	9999	+ 0 42	81	4	87659	7247	1	— 4 0
32	5	79306	1768	9992	+16 12	82	5	23666	9712	9994	+11 31
33	6	15313	4232	9985	+31 42	83	6	59673	2176	9987	+27 1
34	1	54706	7060	5	—12 57	84	1	99066	5004	7	—17 29
35	2	90713	9524	9998	+ 2 43	85	2	35072	7468	0	— 1 58
36	3	26720	1989	9991	+18 13	86	3	71079	9933	9993	+13 32
37	4	62726	4453	9984	+33 44	87	4	7086	2397	9986	+29 3
38	6	2119	7281	4	—10 46	88	6	46489	5225	6	—15 27
39	0	38126	9745	9997	+ 4 45	89	0	82486	7689	9999	+ 0 3
40	1	74133	2210	9990	+20 15	90	1	18492	154	9992	+15 34
41	2	10140	4674	9983	+35 45	91	2	54499	2618	9985	+31 4
42	4	49533	7502	3	— 8 44	92	4	93892	5446	5	—13 26
43	5	85540	9966	9996	+ 6 46	93	5	29899	7910	9998	+ 2 5
44	6	21546	2431	9989	+22 16	94	6	65906	375	9991	+17 35
45	1	60939	5258	10	—22 13	95	0	1912	2839	9984	+33 6
46	2	96946	7723	2	— 6 44	96	2	41306	5667	4	—11 24
47	3	32953	187	9995	+ 8 47	97	3	77312	8131	9997	+ 4 6
48	4	68960	2652	9988	+24 18	98	4	13319	596	9990	+19 37
49	6	8353	5479	9	—20 12	99	6	49326	3060	9983	+35 7

TABLE XI.—*Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi.*

EQUATION b.

argument: b.		equation.	Δ 10	equation.	argument: b.	
0	5000	1395	8.74	1395	0	5000
104	4896	1304	8.73	1486	9896	5104
208	4792	1212	8.64	1578	9792	5208
313	4687	1122	8.54	1668	9687	5313
417	4583	1033		1757	9583	5417
			8.35			
521	4479	946		1843	9479	5521
625	4375	861	8.25	1929	9375	5625
729	4271	772	7.97	2012	9271	5729
833	4167	697	7.78	2093	9167	5833
938	4062	619	7.59	2171	9062	5938
			7.01			
1042	3958	546		2244	8958	6042
1146	3854	474	6.91	2316	8854	6146
1250	3750	407	6.43	2383	8750	6250
1354	3646	345	5.95	2445	8646	6354
1458	3542	277	5.57	2503	8542	6458
			5.09			
1562	3438	234		2556	8438	6562
1667	3333	186	4.61	2604	8333	6667
1771	3229	143	4.13	2647	8229	6771
1875	3125	105	3.64	2690	8125	6875
1979	3021	73	3.07	2717	8021	6979
			2.49			
2083	2917	47		2743	7917	7083
2187	2813	26	2.02	2764	7813	7187
2292	2708	11	1.44	2779	7708	7292
2396	2604	2	0.86	2788	7604	7396
2500	2500	0	0.19	2790	7500	7500

TABLE XII.—*Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi.*

EQUATION c.

argument: c.		equation.	Δ 10	equation.	argument: c.	
0	5000	604	3.75	604	0	5000
104	4896	643	3.85	505	9896	5104
208	4792	683	3.85	525	9792	5208
313	4687	722	3.75	486	9687	5313
417	4583	760	3.65	448	9583	5417
			3.65			
521	4479	798		410	9479	5521
625	4375	835	3.56	373	9375	5625
729	4271	871	3.46	337	9271	5729
833	4167	908	3.36	302	9167	5833
938	4062	940	3.26	268	9062	5938
			3.07			
1042	3958	972		236	8958	6042
1146	3854	1002	2.88	206	8854	6146
1250	3750	1031	2.78	177	8750	6250
1354	3646	1058	2.59	150	8646	6354
1458	3542	1083	2.40	125	8542	6458
			2.21			
1562	3438	1108		102	8438	6562
1667	3333	1127	2.02	81	8333	6667
1771	3229	1146	1.83	62	8229	6771
1875	3125	1162	1.53	46	8125	6875
1979	3021	1176	1.34	32	8021	6979
			1.15			
2083	2917	1188		20	7917	7083
2187	2813	1197	0.86	11	7813	7187
2292	2708	1203	0.58	5	7708	7292
2396	2604	1207	0.38	1	7604	7396
2500	2500	1208	0.19	0	7500	7500

TABLE XIII.

For the months and days

4

CHAITRA OF PRECEDING YEAR.										JYAIŚTHA										ĀSHĪṬHA										ŚRAVANA										BHĀDRAPADA																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
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day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a	b	c	day	v	a

TABLE XIX.

For the months and days.

day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c	day	w	a	b	c
0	6	18168	5596	4189	23038	6776	5038	0	4	24672	7664	5559	8188	6853	0	6	21079	8713	7447
1	0	21433	1589	4216	26460	7189	5045	1	5	29459	8027	5880	8851	6850	1	0	24465	9476	7474
2	1	24879	6282	4344	29855	7502	5092	2	6	31445	8380	5914	8914	6765	2	1	27551	9489	7502
3	2	28266	6815	4371	33942	7865	5129	3	0	34881	8753	5941	9277	6785	3	2	31298	9602	7529
4	3	31632	6975	4398	38628	8228	5147	4	3	38918	9116	5958	9640	6782	4	3	34924	1052	7536
5	4	35068	7341	4426	43401	8591	5174	5	2	44864	9479	5966	9867	6780	5	4	38610	1052	7536
6	5	38425	7704	4453	48091	8954	5202	6	3	48890	9842	6023	9846	6817	6	5	41937	1052	7536
7	6	41811	8066	4480	52757	9317	5229	7	4	52877	1024	6051	9846	6817	7	6	44783	1052	7536
8	0	45197	8429	4408	57173	9680	5257	8	5	57168	1067	6075	1002	6812	8	0	48109	1016	7606
9	1	48584	8792	4435	61860	10034	5284	9	6	61849	1109	6105	1032	6812	9	1	51366	1016	7606
10	2	51970	9155	4463	66546	10408	5311	10	7	66535	1153	6133	1058	6812	10	2	54682	1016	7606
11	3	55356	9518	4490	71332	10782	5338	11	8	71322	1197	6160	1084	6812	11	3	58008	1016	7606
12	4	58743	9881	4517	76119	11156	5365	12	9	76109	1241	6187	1110	6812	12	4	61334	1016	7606
13	5	62129	10244	4545	80904	11530	5392	13	0	80894	1285	6215	1136	6812	13	5	64660	1016	7606
14	6	65515	10617	4572	85689	11904	5420	14	1	85679	1329	6242	1162	6812	14	6	67986	1016	7606
15	7	68901	10990	4600	90474	12278	5448	15	2	90460	1373	6270	1188	6812	15	7	71312	1016	7606
16	8	72288	11363	4627	95259	12652	5476	16	3	95245	1417	6297	1214	6812	16	8	74638	1016	7606
17	9	75674	11736	4654	100044	13026	5503	17	4	100029	1461	6324	1240	6812	17	9	77964	1016	7606
18	0	79061	12109	4682	104829	13400	5530	18	5	104814	1505	6351	1266	6812	18	0	81290	1016	7606
19	1	82447	12482	4710	109614	13774	5558	19	6	109600	1549	6379	1292	6812	19	1	84616	1016	7606
20	2	85833	12855	4738	114399	14148	5585	20	7	114385	1593	6406	1318	6812	20	2	87942	1016	7606
21	3	89219	13228	4766	119184	14522	5613	21	8	119170	1637	6434	1344	6812	21	3	91268	1016	7606
22	4	92605	13601	4794	123969	14896	5640	22	9	123955	1681	6461	1370	6812	22	4	94594	1016	7606
23	5	95992	13974	4822	128754	15270	5667	23	0	128740	1725	6488	1396	6812	23	5	97920	1016	7606
24	6	99379	14347	4850	133539	15644	5694	24	1	133525	1769	6515	1422	6812	24	6	101246	1016	7606
25	7	102726	14720	4878	138324	16018	5721	25	2	138310	1813	6542	1448	6812	25	7	104571	1016	7606
26	8	106073	15093	4906	143109	16392	5748	26	3	143095	1857	6569	1474	6812	26	8	107896	1016	7606
27	9	109420	15466	4934	147894	16766	5775	27	4	147869	1901	6596	1500	6812	27	9	111221	1016	7606
28	0	112767	15839	4962	152679	17140	5802	28	5	152653	1945	6623	1526	6812	28	0	114546	1016	7606
29	1	116114	16212	4990	157464	17514	5829	29	6	157438	1989	6650	1552	6812	29	1	117871	1016	7606
30	2	119461	16585	5018	162249	17888	5856	30	7	162220	2033	6677	1578	6812	30	2	121196	1016	7606

TABLE XV.—For *Pāṇas*.

pala	a	b	pala	a	b
1	1	0	31	29	3
2	2	0	32	30	3
3	3	0	33	31	3
4	4	0	34	32	3
5	5	0	35	33	3
6	6	1	36	34	4
7	7	1	37	35	4
8	8	1	38	36	4
9	9	1	39	37	4
10	10	1	40	38	4
11	11	1	41	39	4
12	12	1	42	40	4
13	13	1	43	41	4
14	14	1	44	42	4
15	15	2	45	43	5
16	16	2	46	44	5
17	17	2	47	45	5
18	18	2	48	46	5
19	19	2	49	47	5
20	20	2	50	48	5
21	21	2	51	49	5
22	22	2	52	50	5
23	23	2	53	51	5
24	24	2	54	52	5
25	25	3	55	53	6
26	26	3	56	54	6
27	27	3	57	55	6
28	28	3	58	56	6
29	29	3	59	57	6
30	30	3	60	58	6

TABLE XIV.—For *Chaitāṃs*.

gh	a	b	c	gh	a	b	c
1	56	6	0	31	1750	157	14
2	113	12	0	32	1806	164	15
3	169	18	0	33	1862	170	15
4	226	24	0	34	1919	176	16
5	282	30	2	35	1975	182	16
6	339	36	3	36	2032	188	16
7	395	42	3	37	2088	194	17
8	451	48	4	38	2145	200	17
9	508	54	4	39	2201	206	18
10	564	60	5	40	2257	212	18
11	621	66	5	41	2314	218	19
12	677	73	5	42	2370	224	19
13	734	79	6	43	2427	230	20
14	790	85	6	44	2483	236	20
15	847	91	7	45	2540	242	21
16	903	97	7	46	2596	248	21
17	959	103	8	47	2653	254	21
18	1016	109	8	48	2709	260	22
19	1073	115	9	49	2765	266	22
20	1129	121	9	50	2822	272	23
21	1185	127	9	51	2878	278	23
22	1242	133	10	52	2935	284	24
23	1298	139	10	53	2991	290	24
24	1354	145	11	54	3046	296	25
25	1411	151	11	55	3094	302	25
26	1467	157	12	56	3151	308	26
27	1524	163	12	57	3207	314	26
28	1580	169	13	58	3263	320	27
29	1637	175	13	59	3319	326	27
30	1693	181	14	60	3386	333	27

TABLE XIII
(Continued from p. 177.)13
CHAITRA.

day	w	a	b	c
0	3	24260	488	9080
1	4	27046	851	9117
2	5	31033	1214	9144
3	6	34419	1577	9172
4	0	37805	1940	9199
5	1	41192	2303	9226
6	2	44578	2665	9254
7	3	47964	3028	9281
8	4	51349	3391	9308
9	5	54735	3754	9335
10	6	58121	4117	9363
11	0	61507	4480	9391
12	1	64894	4843	9418
13	2	68280	5206	9445
14	3	71666	5569	9473
15	4	75053	5932	9500
16	5	78439	6295	9527
17	6	81825	6658	9555
18	0	85212	7020	9582
19	1	88598	7384	9610
20	2	91984	7746	9637
21	3	95371	8109	9664
22	4	98757	8472	9692
23	5	102143	8835	9719
24	6	105529	9198	9747
25	0	108916	9561	9774
26	1	112302	9924	9801
27	2	115689	10287	9829
28	3	119075	10650	9856
29	4	122461	10113	9883
VAIŚAKHA OF FOLLOWING YEAR.				
0	5	25848	1375	9911
1	6	29234	1738	9938
2	0	32620	2101	9966
3	1	36007	2464	9993
4	2	39393	2827	20

TABLE XVI.—For converting Decimals of the circle into Degrees, Minutes and Seconds.

1st Decim. .	°	2nd Decim. .	'	3rd Decimal.	° ' "	4th Decimal.	' "	5th Decimal.	' "
0.1	36	0.01	36	0.001	0 21 36	0.0001	2 10	0.00001	0 13
0.2	72	0.02	7 12	0.002	0 43 12	0.0002	4 19	0.00002	0 26
0.3	108	0.03	10 48	0.003	1 4 48	0.0003	6 29	0.00003	0 39
0.4	144	0.04	14 24	0.004	1 26 24	0.0004	8 38	0.00004	0 52
0.5	180	0.05	18	0.005	1 48	0.0005	10 48	0.00005	1 5
0.6	216	0.06	21 36	0.006	2 9 36	0.0006	12 58	0.00006	1 18
0.7	252	0.07	25 12	0.007	2 31 12	0.0007	15 7	0.00007	1 31
0.8	288	0.08	28 48	0.008	2 52 48	0.0008	17 17	0.00008	1 44
0.9	324	0.09	32 24	0.009	3 14 24	0.0009	19 26	0.00009	1 57

TABLE XVIII.—Tithi Table.

TABLE XVII.—For converting Degrees, Minutes and Seconds into Decimals of the circle.

(Argument A = a corrected by eq. b and eq. c.)

Degrees.		Minutes.		Seconds.	
1	0.00277.8	1	0.00004.6	1	0.00000.1
2	0.00555.6	2	0.00009.3	2	0.00000.2
3	0.00833.3	3	0.00013.9	3	0.00000.2
4	0.01111.1	4	0.00018.5	4	0.00000.3
5	0.01388.9	5	0.00023.1	5	0.00000.4
6	0.01666.7	6	0.00027.8	6	0.00000.4
7	0.01944.4	7	0.00032.4	7	0.00000.5
8	0.02222.2	8	0.00037.0	8	0.00000.6
9	0.02500.0	9	0.00041.7	9	0.00000.7
10	0.02777.8	10	0.00046.3	10	0.00000.8
20	0.05555.6	20	0.00092.6	20	0.00001.5
30	0.08333.3	30	0.00138.9	30	0.00002.3
40	0.11111.1	40	0.00185.2	40	0.00003.1
50	0.13888.9	50	0.00231.5	50	0.00003.8
60	0.16666.7				
70	0.19444.4				
80	0.22222.2				
90	0.25000.0				
100	0.27777.8				
200	0.55555.6				
300	0.83333.3				

Tithi.	Bright fort- night.	Dark fort- night.
	A	A
0	0	50000
1	3333	53333
2	6667	56667
3	10000	60000
4	13333	63333
5	16667	66667
6	20000	70000
7	23333	73333
8	26667	76667
9	30000	80000
10	33333	83333
11	36667	86667
12	40000	90000
13	43333	93333
14	46667	96667
15	50000	00000

No. 17.—NAVALAKHI PLATES OF SILADITYA I.—[GUPTA-] SAMVAT 286.

By PROFESSOR H. M. BHADKAMKAR.

I edit the following plates from two impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Archaeological Superintendent, Western Circle. The two impressions together leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the original, with the exception of two names at the beginning of the second plate. In the case of these two names, the original itself seems to be damaged.

The plates were first found in 1904-5 at Navalākhi, near Shahāpur, a village about 8 or 10 miles from Junāgaḍh, and are now preserved in the Bahadur Museum, Junāgaḍh. They are two in number, each inscribed on one side only. The edges are fashioned into rims on the four margins. The plates appear to have been held together by thick rings passing through two holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second. The holes are 'nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ ' in diameter, and seem to have been bored before the grant itself was inscribed. The usual seal must have been attached to one of these copper rings, but as it is not forthcoming, I presume it has been lost. The plates measure about 10·5" by 9". The first bears 21 lines and the second 16. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ".

The subjoined inscription is comparatively free from mistakes and differs in this respect from other records of the same dynasty, e.g. the Rājkoṭ Museum plates of the same reign dated in Gupta-Samvat 290, published by Dr. Bühler¹ (referred to in the sequel for the sake of brevity as '*the grant of 290*'). The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. As regards palæography, it is enough to note that the aksharas *ph* and *qh* are hardly distinguished (e.g. *karyya-phalah*, l. 7, and *pīthōḍaḍha*, l. 14). The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of three imprecatory verses at the end. The rules of *śandhi* are followed in many places but neglected in others. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—

The letter *gh* is used instead of *h* in *saṃghatīs* (l. 5), and *saṃghatārati*² (l. 11). The guttural *ṇ* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *chatvāriṃśatā* (l. 25) according to the practice of the Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇas in their Vedic recitations; and the dental *n* takes its place in '*bhasurātaramsa*' (for '*tarāṃsa*') as is the practice with the Gujarātīs of the present day. The final *m* of a word is changed only once into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs in *sāmānyā cha* (l. 30), while in other cases it is generally changed into an *anusvāra*. The letters *tri* in '*tridāśagurā*' (l. 6), and *tri* in '*triṇarad*' (l. 7) are both wrong and should be corrected by a reciprocal interchange. Consonants conjunct with the *rēpha* are generally doubled (according to Pāṇini VIII, 4. 46) except in the case of sibilants, e.g. *darśayitā* (l. 11), and *varśka* (l. 33). When the letter *dh* is conjunct with *ya*, the unaspirated *d* is also prefixed, e.g. '*pāṭanaddhyāta*' (ll. 12-13), in '*sambaddhyamānān*' (l. 18), and in '*savaddhyāya*' (ll. 19-20). The double *ṇa* is written as *ṇna* in '*chandrārkārṇava*' (l. 28). The sign of *jihvāmūliya*, which, in form, is just the letter *m*, is written conjunct with *kh* in l. 16, and *k* in l. 17, and to the group so formed the vowel signs of *i* in the first case, and of *u* in the second are added in the way usual with other conjunct letters. These are the only two occasions for this sign in the whole of this inscription, but while there are about half a dozen cases where the *apudhmāṇya* symbol may be expected, it is written only twice in conjunction with *p* in '*mātāpitrōhṇyapṇyāyānāya*', l. 19, and '*śidhuhpunarādātā*', l. 33. This sign is like the letter *chh*. Final *t* is denoted by the usual sign for the syllable *ta* with a slight stroke at the top slanting to the right.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 237, et seq.

This inscription is one of the *Paramamahāśvara śrī-Silāditya I. alias Dharmāditya*, the son of *śrī-Dharasēna*, and grandson of *śrī-Guhasēna* who belonged to the royal family founded by *Bhaṭārkkā*. It is dated in the year 286 (A.D. 605) on the 8th day of the dark half of *Āshāḍha*. The date furnishes the numerical symbols for 200, 80, 6, and 8. The preamble of this grant, including the description of each one of the kings, is, as is quite natural, exactly the same as that of the grant of 290, referred to above.¹ A comparison of the copper-plate records of the family shows that Silāditya I. was the first king who omitted the names of the kings intervening between Bhaṭārkkā, the founder, and Guhasēna, the grandfather of the present donor,—a practice which was subsequently adopted in all the later grants of this family.

The subjoined inscription records the gift of a village called *Bhōṇḍānaka*, situated within the provincial limits of *Vaṭanagara*. I am not certain whether this *Vaṭanagara* is the same as *Vaṭnagar* in the Baroda State, or is the *Vaṭapadra* which Dr. Bühler took to be the modern *Vaḍodra* or Baroda.² In any case, the village cannot be identified. The gift was made to forty-four *Brāhmaṇas* who had emigrated from *Samgapuri*, which is believed to be the same as the present *Shahāpūr* near *Junāgaḍh*. The cause of the immigration is not recorded. Probably they were induced to settle in this place by the present gift.

The names of the *Brāhmaṇas* are curious. Some look like surnames or family names, while others are clearly the names of particular individuals. The name *Boppasvāmi* may show that he was very likely a *Tailāṅga Brāhmaṇa*.³ Some are *Prākṛit* forms of *Sanskṛit* names, e.g. *Khaṇḍa-Skandā*, *Sihā-Simha*, *Nattaka-Nartaka*, *Gōraśarmma-Gōpaśarmma*, as also *Bhatti* which seems to be derived from *Bhartṛi*. The last name is familiar as the one borne also by the author of the *Bhaṭṭi-kavya*. It is probable that the names *Bappaṭaka*, *Nāvuvaka*, *Khokkhaka*, *Gimjaka*, and *Goggaka* are also similar in origin, though I am unable to suggest the precise derivation.⁴ Other names are pure *Sanskṛit*. *Vatsa* is a *gōtra* or family name of several *Brāhmaṇas* even at present. The names *Droṇa*, *Bhaṭṭi*, *Aditya*, *Bhadra*, *Bappaṭaka* and *Gōpa* appear to belong to more persons than one among the donees of the present grant, and hence the individual of the same name subsequently mentioned is distinguished from the first named person, by prefixing *dei*, *tri* as may be required. The prefixes mean, I believe, the second and the third.⁵

The following officials are mentioned in the grant :—

- (a) *Āyuktaka*.—This word appears to be very old being found in *Pāṇini* II. 3, 40, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character, and from the nature of the example given in the *Kaumudī* to illustrate the rule, it seems probable that these may be *Brāhmaṇas* employed for religious or charitable purposes, such as the *pājāris* or the worshippers at temples, etc., or the *āśritas*, i.e. the learned men patronised by the king for holy merit.

¹ [The text follows more closely the *Walā* plates of *Silāditya I.* dated in *Gupta-Samvat* 286.—Ed.]

² The fact that the grant of 290 records the names of several villages ending in *ānaka*, gives greater probability to the second alternative. The fame, however, of *Vaṭnagar* as an early residence of *Brāhmaṇas* is yet preserved in the name of the local caste of *Brāhmaṇas*, and hence one feels inclined to the first supposition. I cannot decide the matter for want of more accurate information.

³ Compare the name of *Bopadōva*, the grammarian.

⁴ It is not unlikely that they are derived from the names of the villages to which their families originally belonged. The name *Guhilābhāṭṭi* (l. 20) may be traced to *Gohilwad-prānta* of *Kāthiāwād*.

⁵ This leads to the inference that these may be family names. It is worthy of remark that among these names we recognise two of the modern ones of the *Kōkannastha* families, viz. *Bappaṭ* and *Bhānu*. These are now met with only amongst the so-called *Dakṣiṇī Brāhmaṇas* and I believe are not to be found amongst the original residents of *Gujarāt* or *Kāthiāwād* at present. [In later inscriptions, e.g., the *Māndhātā* plates (above, Vol. IX, p. 106), the abbreviations *dei* and *tri* stand for *devēda* and *trivēda*.—H. K. S.]

- (b) *Viniyuktaka*.—This may be the officer in charge of the village as *pāṭil* (the headman), *kuḷakarnī* (the clerk of the village) or some such village officer.
- (c) *Draṅṅika*.—The word *draṅṅa* means 'a town,' and *draṅṅika* may denote a town officer or merely an inhabitant of it.
- (d) *Maha'tara*.—This is often used to signify men of special respectability in a place, such as the heads of particular communities. It is also possible that this may form one word with the previous one and the two together may then mean 'the respectable inhabitants of the town.'
- (e) *Chāṭa*.—Monier Williams' Dictionary raises the query whether this should properly be *chāra* (a spy). As, however, the word occurs in this form in almost all the grants of this family, this explanation is not tenable. Dr. Bühler renders it by 'fortune-teller' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV, p. 106, note) though he is not certain of it. Yājñavalkya speaks¹ of *chāṭas* along with thieves, etc., as men who are likely to be injurious to the public. In *Mṛichchhakatikā*, Act V, the friend of the hero remarks in Prākṛit that "even dogs won't go to a place where the *chāṭas*, courtesans, etc. reside" (Bombay Sanskrit series, Vol. I, p. 223, line 63). The similarity in sound with *chāṭu*, 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer'; and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers. [For other explanations of the term *chāṭa*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 284, note 10, and p. 296.—Ed.]
- (f) *Bhāṭa* means 'a soldier.' Perhaps the word is connected with *Bhāṭa*—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.
- (g) *Kumārāmātyas* is rendered by Dr. Bühler as 'the princes and ministers' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 175). As, however, the word *rājasthāniya* occurs before the expression under consideration, I believe it should be rendered as one word by 'the princes, the noble lords of *Rājasthāna*.' Dr. Bühler, however, translates the epithet as 'representing royalty.' The princes of the royal blood are even now given the epithet of *kumāra*, and I believe in old times they formed a council of the nobles, and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. [For a different explanation of the word *kumārāmātya*, see above, Vol. X, p. 50, note 2.—Ed.]

The requirements of a formal *śāsana* include also an accurate description of the granted land, which should be declared as given free of all dues for ever. The subjoined attributes of the word *grāma*, should accordingly be interpreted as supplying these requirements :—

sōdrangah.—The word *udraṅga* is given in the Petersburg Dictionary as a synonym of *draṅga* (a town) and hence this adjective of *grāma* may be rendered by 'together with the hamlets.'

sōparikarah.—Possibly means 'together with its appurtenances' as timber, trees, etc. standing on the land. Drs. Bühler and Fleet, however, suggest that all these attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case, this adjective may mean 'together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen, etc. for the management of the town' in accordance with Manu VII, 137.² It appears to

¹ चाटतस्करदुष्टमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।

पोशमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ Yāj. Sm. I. 384-5.

² यत्किञ्चिदपि वर्षस्य दापयेत्करसंज्ञितम् ।

व्यवहारेण जीवन्तं राजा राष्ट्रं पृथक्जनम् ॥

me, however, that all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective *sadhānyahiranyādēyaḥ*. Hence it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift.

savātabhūtapratyāyaḥ.—Several grants read *pratyayaḥ* instead of *pratyāyaḥ*. The meaning of both seems to be nearly the same. The compound word may be translated by 'as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place.' I am told that this word is actually used in the *Narmadāmāhātmya* to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the Narmada, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described by Nārada,¹ quoted in many other *smṛitis*, as fivefold: viz. (1) huge trees or mountains; (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is, I believe, to all these that this adjective refers. See, however, Dr. Bühler's note on the word (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 106). He understands the word as referring to certain dues from the village. Dr. Fleet also, in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 170, note 9, appears to agree with Dr. Bühler.

sadhānyahiranyādēyaḥ is clearly 'together with the revenues in grain and gold.'

sadaśāparādhah.—'with the right to the fines for the ten offences,' see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 189, note 4.

sōtpadyamānavishṭiḥ.—*viṣṭi* yields *vēṭha* in Marāṭhī. The adjective means 'with the right to forced labour as occasion for it occurs' as prescribed by Manu VII, 138.²

ahastaprakṣhēpaṇīyaḥ.—This word is equivalent to the Marāṭhī idiom *hāta ghālanē* (lit. to put one's hand in a matter). The phrase, therefore, should be rendered 'not to be meddled with' by any of the royal officers.

bhūmichchhidhranyāyēna.—'according to the principle of a hole in the earth.' This popular maxim is variously explained by Dr. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 46) and by Dr. Bühler (*ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 106, note). In the uncertainty thus caused I may propose a third explanation. The word usually occurs after *pūrvapratta-dēvabrahmadēyanarjitaḥ*, though sometimes without it, and is to be connected grammatically with *niṣṛiṣṭaḥ* that follows. It appears from this that both these words signify the reservations from the gift. The previous attribute having reserved the gifts to temples or Brāhmaṇas previously made, this word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasures, etc. The right of the king to these³ is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. The word, therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of the land.

The word *dūṭaka* (l. 34) is translated by some as 'messenger.' Seeing, however, that in several cases, princes of the royal blood are styled in this manner, I believe this must be a responsible officer who had to attest such *śāsanas* as required by the *Smṛitis*. In Manu VII, 63-5 the *dūṭa* is spoken of as a chief minister in special confidence with the king. His counsel was always sought on matters of utmost importance like peace and war. The word, therefore, should

¹ भजिनी मस्विनी चैव नैषाणी भयवर्जिता ।

राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा कृता ॥

² काश्चकान् शिखिनश्चैव शूद्राशाम्भोपजीविनः ।

एकेकं कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि महीपतिः ॥

³ See *Ānandarāmāyaṇa*, *Sārakūṇḍa* III, 264.

यद्भूत्या वर्तते विना तद्भूपस्य न संशयः ।

be translated with Dr. Bhandarkar as 'the minister, the executive officer.' In this sense the word may perhaps be derived from द्वितीय, a joint officer.¹

The word *divirapati*² seems to signify the head-clerk or at the most the chief secretary of the king. According to the Smritis, a *śāsana* had to be in the handwriting of the clerk whose business was to draft the important orders of peace and war; so it must be such an officer who is spoken of as *divirapati*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति 'वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामिच्छाणां 'मैत्रकाणामतुलबल'संपन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगसंस्त'प्रहारशतसंस्तप्रतापा[त्य]-
- 2 तापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत[त्रे]णीबलावामराज्यत्रियः प-
रममाहेश्वरश्री-
- 3 भटार्कादिव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकक्षपः शैश-
वाग्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबा-
- 4 हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्व^{7a}निकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासं-
सक्तपादनखरश्मि-
- 5 'संवतिस्रकलक्षृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्मन्त्र्यराजशब्दः रूप-
कान्तिस्थैर्यधैर्य^{9a}गा-
- 3 श्रीर्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः ¹⁰स्मरशशङ्काद्विराजोदधि¹¹तदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानश्चरणागता-
भयप्रदान¹²परतया
- 7 ¹²चिणवदपास्ताशेषस्रकार्यफल¹³ प्रार्थनाधिकार्यप्रदानानन्दितविह्वलप्रणयि¹⁴हृदयः
पादचारीव¹⁵ सकलभुवन-

¹ See also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 100, note 3.

² It is interesting to note that this word *divira* presents a close similarity to the word *ḍabira*, and is possibly a Sanskritised form of the latter. *Ḍabira*, I learn, is an Arabic word meaning 'manager' or 'secretary.' It was the official name of one of the eight ministers of Shivaji and is equivalent to the title *sumanta* of Sanskrit origin. This officer was very much the same as a "foreign secretary" and had charge of all the records concerning treaties, etc. with foreign powers.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ For the position, etc. of this city, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 165, and note.

⁵ For *Maistrakas* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 361, note.

⁶ For "*sampanna*" here and in later grants; the earlier reading is "*aspanne*", on which see Dr. Hultzsch's interesting remarks in Vol. III, p. 319, above.

⁷ For "*prahāra*" here and in later grants; the earlier ones of the same family read "*samprahāra*".

⁸ Read "स्मरश्".

⁹ Read "संस्त".

¹⁰ The word *dhairyya* does not occur in this compound in any of the Valabhi grants except the present one, the grant of 290, and that of Dharaśena II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 71). In its absence the word *adhirāja* in the following compound means *Himālaya*, but when the word occurs, the phrase *adhirāja* has to be split into two to correspond to the two qualities *sthairyya* and *dhairyya*. In that case *adri* may mean any mountain as a type of steadiness (*sthairyya*) and *rāja* may perhaps denote *Dharmarāja* as a type of courage (*dhairyya*), as suggested by his name *Yudhishthira*.

¹¹ Read "शशङ्क".

¹² Read "चिदशगुरु".

¹³ Read "तत्त्ववद".

¹⁴ Read फल. The reading *phala* is also found in other grants.

¹⁵ Read "सुहृत्प्रणयि".

¹⁶ *Pādachārīva* means 'personified as it were'; cf. पञ्चदस्यैव धर्मस्य प्रसादी स्तितं चरः; *Uttarāramacharita*, VI. 10.

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FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR. D. R. BHANDARKAR.

- 8 मण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तान-
विसृतजाङ्ग[वी]जलौघप्र-
- 9 चालिताशेषकक्षाषः प्रणयिग्रतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पदूपलोभादिवाञ्छितस्वरभसमा-
भिगामिकैर्गुणैः¹
- 10 सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविष्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्वरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपाल-
यिता धर्मदा-
- 11 यानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-
सस्य² संघतारातिपक्ष-
- 12 लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्चिः³ परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध-
रसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
- 13 क्षातस्मकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिक्षुलक्ष्मरशतविजयशो-
भासनायमण्डला-
- 14 यद्युतिभासुरतरन्सपिठो⁴ दूढगुहमनो[र]थमहाभारस्वर्गविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविम-
लमतिरपि सर्व्व-
- 15 तस्मिन्भाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषस्ममप्रलोकागाधगाभीर्य्यद्वयोपि
सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-
- 16 क्लपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदयकीर्त्तिर्हर्मानुप-
रोधोज्ज्वल⁵तरीकृता-
- 17 त्सुखसंपदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः कु-
शली सर्व्वानिवायुक्त-
- 18 कविनियुक्तकद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटभटकुमारामात्यादीनभ्यां च यथाभिसंबद्धमानका-
न्ममाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः
- 19 संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रीः पुण्याप्यायनाय संगपुरीविनिर्गतनाना-
गोत्रचरणतपरस्वः⁶
- 20 क्षायोपेतब्राह्मणद्रोणः⁷ इक्षवसु-वत्स-षष्ठि-गुहिला-भट्टिसूर्य्य-दिक्षभट्टि-
- 21 लुद्रक-आदित्यवसु-हिद्रोण-चिद्रोण-कुमारशर्मा-भट्टि-आदित्यरवि-

Second Plate.

- 22 [गणकः?]⁸ उ[ज्ज]क⁹ गोपाक्यक-खन्द-शर्मा-भट्ट-आदित्य-हिष्मादित्य-बप्पटक-मत्तुश-¹⁰
- 23 र्मा-ईश्वर-बोपस्वामि-हिबप्पटक-गोप-दाम-हिभट्ट-खोक्कक-केशव-

¹ *Abhigāmikāḥ guṇāḥ*, 'inviting virtuous qualities'; see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 169, note 2.

² Read संघताराति°.

³ Read पार्थिवश्रीः.

⁴ Read भासुरतरांसपिठो°.

⁵ Read ज्ज्वल°.

⁶ Read स्त्राध्यायोपेत°.

⁷ Read इक्षवसु (?).

⁸ I am not able to make out the name. It may be *Ganaka*, or *Ganarkka* (a mistake for *Ganarkka*). But the letter after *na* is more probably *tna*, in which case it may be *Ganātna* (a mistake for *Ganaratna*).

⁹ I am not sure whether I have read the name correctly, nor can I make out anything of it.

¹⁰ Read मातृशर्मा.

- 24 गोवशर्मा-अग्निशर्मा-द्विगोप-नावुव[क]-कुमारभद्र-सीह-नटक-गिंजक-गोगक-संगम[-]
 25 द्विभट्टि-भानु-एवं चतुसत्वारिंशते¹ ब्राह्मणेभ्यः वटनगरस्थस्यन्तर्गतभोण्डानक-
 ग्रामस्योदङ्ग-
 26 स्मोपरिकरस्वातभूतप्रत्यायस्यधान्यहिरण्यादेयस्सदशापराधस्योत्पद्यम[1]न²विष्टिस-
 व्यर[1]-
 27 जकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच-
 28 न्द्रार्कागर्भव³चितिसरित्यर्व्यतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्यभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण
 धर्मदायो
 29 निष्टुष्टः यतः ए[षां] भुंजतां [क्त]पतां कर्षयतां प्रदिशतां वा न कैश्चिद्व्या-
 सेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्र-
 30 नृपतिभिरप्यस्म[द्]शजैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च
 भूमिदानफलम्-
 31 वगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेति ॥ ⁴बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राज-
 भिस्सग-
 32 रादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ ⁵यानीह
 दारिद्र्यभयाक्षरेन्दैर्जनानि ध-
 33 म्मायतनीकृतानि [1*] निर्भुक्तामाख्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु⁶
 पुनराददीत ॥ [प]ष्टिं वर्षस-
 34 हस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदेत⁷ भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकथा-
 35 च भट्टादित्ययशः [1*] लिखितं सन्धिविषयाधिकृतदिवोरपतिवचभट्टिना⁸ ॥⁹
 36 सं २०० ८० ६ आषाढ ब ८ ॥०॥
 37 खहस्तो मम ॥

¹ More properly ^० चतुसत्वारिंशते.

² Read ^० विष्टिस्^६ or ^० विष्टिकस्, according to several other grants.

³ Read ^० गर्णव^०.

⁴ This verse is introduced in the grant of 290 by the words *uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdayāsēna Vyāsēna*.

⁵ The metre is *Upajāti* made up of *Upēndravajrā* and *Indravajrā*.

⁶ For *mōdēta* many other grants read *mōdati*, but we have got *vasati* instead in the Smṛiti passages where it occurs.

⁷ The original clearly reads the name as *Vatrabhattinā*, which does not make any sense. The grant of 290 reads *Chandrabhattinā* instead which perhaps is the proper spelling of the name. It should be noted, however, that Dr. Bhandarkar's plate (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 17) also appears to read the name as *Vatrabhatti* which the Doctor reads as *Vashabhata*, as it does not look quite clear at the place.

⁸ [The symbol here corresponds to the symbol at the beginning and may be read *om*. — H.K.S.]

No. 18. —BANSWARA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Although the approximate period of the reign of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Dhārā is settled from references in contemporary literature,¹ the only inscription of his time which had been discovered so far was the Ujjain copper-plate grant of Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.² The copper-plate inscription now published is dated about two years earlier, viz. in the [Vikrama] year 1076, on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha (l. 31). The date of the grant was the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa (l. 10). It follows from this that Bhōjadēva had undertaken an expedition into the Koṅkaṇ either in Samvat 1075 or in one of the years preceeding it.

The subjoined transcript is based on an ink-impression prepared by Pandit Ganrishankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and transmitted to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. I have received no description of the original, which was found in the possession of the widow of a *ṭhathārā* (copper-smith) living at Banswara.³ But as the impression shows two ring-holes at the bottom of the first side and at the top of the second side, it may be presumed that the inscription is engraved on two copper-plates which are held together by two rings and measure 13½ inches in breadth and 9½ inches in height. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border (before lines 23 to 32) a flying figure of Garuḍa, facing the proper left and carrying a snake in his left arm.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same type as in the Ujjain plates.⁴ The *avagraha* is used, improperly, for marking the elision of a short *a* after a long *ā* in ll. 10 and 22. The consonant *ṣ* is expressed by *ṣ* throughout. Once *ṣ* is wrongly replaced by *ś*,⁵ and *ś* by *ṣ* in four cases.⁶ The gerund *कुवा* is twice spelt *कुवा*.⁷

The document is drawn up in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses which are nine in number. Excepting the different date and the particulars of the donee and the object granted, the new grant is practically identical with the Ujjain plates. A short abstract of it will therefore be sufficient for all purposes.

After two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakēśa*, v. 1, or *Smarārāti*, v. 2), Bhōjadēva, successor of Sindhurājadēva, successor of Vakpatirājadēva, successor of Siyakadēva informs all royal officers coming to Vatāpadraka included in the Ghāghradora district (*bhōga*) of the Sthali province (*maṇḍala*) and the Brāhmaṇas and other inhabitants, that, at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa, having bathed and worshipped Śiva (*Bhavanīpati*, l. 10), he granted 100 *nivartanas* (in words and figures, l. 16) of land in the above-mentioned village (viz. Vatāpadraka) to the Brāhmaṇa Bhāilla, son of Vāmana, of the Vasishṭha *gōtra* and the Vāji-Mādhyamīna *sākhā*, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chbiñchhā city (*sthāna*, l. 18).⁸

¹ See Bühler's remarks in Vol. I. pp. 230-233, above.

² Published, with English translation, by N. J. Kirtane, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 53 ff. The date was calculated by Kielhorn, *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 301, No. 169.

³ This fact is very suggestive. If the copper-smith had not died, and if Mr. Ojha had not rescued the copper-plates from his widow, they would have shared the fate of many of their fellows, viz. the conversion into copper vessels.

⁴ See the lithograph, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 53 and 54. Instead of °विनिर्गततराधसुर° (l. 2 f. of plate ii) we may have to read विनिर्गत (ii) भूसुर°.

⁵ See note 3 on p. 183.

See notes 6 and 11 on p. 183.

⁶ See notes 6 and 9 on p. 182, and 2 and 5 on p. 183.

⁷ Cf. *Chimcha-kshetra*, above, Vol. IV. p. 207, text line 29.

Line 31 contains the date : **Samvat 1076 Māgha śu di 5.** A facsimile of the royal signature : "this (is) the own hand of śri-Bhōjadēva" is affixed at the end of either plate (ll. 15 and 32).

The date does not include any details which admit of actual verification. But Dr. Fleet tells me that, with the year 1076 taken as expired, as in the Ujjain record, the details which are given take us to **3rd January, A.D. 1020.** The localities named in the grant cannot be identified, because there is no clue as to the exact neighbourhood in which we are to look for them, and because enough of them are not mentioned.

TEXT.¹

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 1 श्री² [॥*] जयति व्योमकेशीसौ³ यः सर्गाय विभर्त्ति⁴ तां । ऐंदवीं
शिरसा लेखां ज-
- 2 गङ्गीजांकुराकृतिं⁵ ॥ [१*] तन्वंतु वः स्मरारातिः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ॥ क-
- 3 स्वांतसमयोद्दामतड्डिलयपिंगलाः ॥ [२*] परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 4 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[सी]यकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
- 5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाकृतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
- 7 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥
- 8 स्थलीमंडले घाघ्रदोरभोगांतःपातिवटपट्टके "शमुपगतान्मस्तुराजपु-
- 9 'रुषान्ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिजनपदादींश्च समादिशत्यसु⁶ वः संविदितं ॥
- 10 यथाऽस्माभिः कौकणविजयपर्वणि आत्वा⁷ चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं
- 11 समभ्यर्च्य स[स]ारस्या[स]ारतां दृष्ट्वा । वाताम्नविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमा-
- 12 चमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणागजलविदुसमा¹⁰ नराणां (i) धर्मः सखा
- 13 परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [३*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राधाराधाराभिमां श्रियं⁸ ।
प्राप्य ये न
- 14 ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ [४*] इति जगतो विनश्यत् स्वरूपमा-
कलयोपरि-¹¹
- 15 स्वहस्तीयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 लिखितग्रामात¹² भूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं नि १०० स्वसीमावृणोचरयूतिपर्वतं
हिरण्या- (i)

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read 'केशीसौ'.

⁴ Read विभर्त्ति.

⁵ Read जगद्बीजां°.

⁶ Read समुप.

⁷ Read 'रुषान्ब्रा°.

⁸ Read 'त्यसु.

⁹ Read स्मरारा.

¹⁰ Read 'गजलविदु°.

¹¹ This line is continued on the next plate (l. 16).

¹² Read 'ग्रामाद्.

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- 17 दायसमेतं सभागभोगं सीपरिकरं सर्वदायसमेतं 'ब्राह्मणभाइलाय वामन-
 18 सुताय 'वशिष्ठसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय ष्विच्छास्थानविनिर्मा-
 तपूर्व-
 19 जाय मातापिचोराकनश्च पुण्ययसोभिहृदये' अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्राकार्ण-
 20 वक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या 'शाशनेनोदकपूर्व प्रतिपादितमिति
 मत्वा त-
 21 त्रिवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरद्विरष्टादिकमाश्रायवणविधेयै-
 22 भूत्वा सर्वमस्मी समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं 'बुध्वाऽस्मदंशजे-
 रन्वी-
 23 रपि ' भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमंतव्यः' पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं
 च । व-
 24 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [५*]
 25 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रैर्हानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मास्यवांतिप्र-
 तिमानि
 26 तानि कौ नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [६*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-
 रन्येच दानमि-
 27 दमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचंचलायां दानं फलं परयशः-
 परिपाल-
 28 नं च ॥ [७*] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
 29 सामान्यीयं धर्मसेतुर्दृष्टपाषाणं काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८*]
 इति काम-
 30 लदलांबुविंदुलोलां¹⁰ त्रियमनुचिक्छ मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदा-
 31 हृतं च बुध्वा¹¹ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ [९*]
 संवत् १०७६ माघ शु दि ५ [१*]
 32 स्वयमाज्ञा । मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

¹ Read ब्राह्मण°.⁶ Read चंद्राकार्ण°.⁷ Read °धर्मादायो°.¹⁰ Read °दलांबुविंदु°.² Read वशिष्ठ°.⁵ Read शाशने°.⁸ Read व°.¹¹ Read बुध्वा.³ Read °यशो°.⁴ Read बुध्वा.⁹ Read °बुद्बुद°.

NO. 19.—THE SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHASIVA-GUPTA.¹

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A., NAAGER.

Sirpur is a small village on the right bank of the Mahānadi in the Mahāsarjunda tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is 37 miles north-east of Raipur and 15 miles from Arang. Sirpur was once the capital of **Mahā-Kōśala**² and was then known as **Śripura**,³ as given in the stone inscriptions found there, and also in the copper plates found in Rajim⁴ and Baloda.⁵ The ruins in and around the village indicate that it was once a great city and there are scores of temple sites, the identification of which is now rendered impossible by the removal of the idols they contained to a place near a brick temple, which is the only one now standing as it was originally built. It is popularly known as the 'Lakshmana temple.' Writing of the bricks with which it is built, Mr. Cousens who visited it in 1904 remarked⁶ that they were of a finer make than any he had till then seen, either ancient or modern. They are moulded and carved with considerable artistic skill. About a third of the temple tower was gone, while the *mandapa* had totally collapsed and was a heap of ruins when it was taken under Government conservation. It was while removing the *debris* of this *mandapa* that the subjoined inscription was found and removed to the Raipur Museum where it is at present deposited. Sir A. Cunningham visited Sirpur in 1881-82 and noticed all the inscriptions he found there, remarking that *one of them* must belong to this temple. He was right in supposing that the temple must have had some inscription but it had not come to light then and it was about 2 years⁷ ago that it was accidentally discovered.

It is perhaps the biggest inscription yet found in Sirpur. It is engraved on a thick reddish stone, which is not exactly rectangular, the breadth of the upper corner being 3' 8½" and that of the lower 3' 9", while the height at the right side is 2' 3½" and at the left 2' 1½". The writing covers a space 3' 8" by 2' 1". There are altogether 26 lines of writing, but some parts of the stone coming in contact with others have peeled off, and portions of lines 3, 4, 5, 6 at the left hand top corner and the last 4 lines have been partially damaged. The characters are **Nāgarī**, beautifully engraved, their average height being ¾". They belong to the Northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The most noticeable peculiarities are the antiquated forms of the letters *i*, *na*, *sa*, *dha*, *tha*, *bha* and *ja*. The *mātrā* of *ā* is represented by a top stroke, and *ē* by a small stroke prefixed to the letter. The sign of *u* is added in the middle of the letter *ra* as usual, but when made long it is bent upwards as in *gurūpacharanē* in line 7 and *-rūpāḥ* in line 12. In the case of the short *ru* in *Purushōttama* in line 1, the bend is upwards instead of downwards, but this is probably a mistake as other short *rus* have it in the usual way downwards. The signs for *ñ* and *ṇ* when joined to a class letter appear to be identical: compare *puñja* in line 1 and *mandanam* in line 12. Forms of final *m* occur in ll. 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14 and of *ṭ* and *ṇ* in ll. 6 and 16 respectively.⁸ The language is excellent **Sanskrit**, highly rhetorical, containing 42 verses in various metres.

The record consists of two parts, viz. a eulogy in 23 verses and rules for the temple management from line 16 to the end. The inscription begins with an invocation to *Purushōttama*, which is in prose. The first three verses are devoted to the praise of the *Nṛsiṃha* or man-lion incarnation of *Vishṇu*. King **Mahāśivagupta**, his mother and two ancestors

¹ [This paper was partially prepared for the Press by Dr. Sten Konow when he was Government Epigraphist in 1908 and by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri when he officiated in that post for two months, from 17th July to 17th September 1911.—Ed.]

² [On this name and its denotation, see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 68 f. —Ed.]

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 179, and Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 25 ff.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 291.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII. p. 102.

⁶ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year 1904*, p. 20.

⁷ That is calculating from the date this article was given for publication in 1908.

⁸ [Final *n* occurs in line 6 also.—Ed.]

(father and grandfather), are next mentioned. The historical information which is here furnished is that, in the lunar race, there was a hero whose name is illegible (v. 4). His son was **Harshagupta** (v. 9). From him was born **Mahāśivagupta** (v. 12) who was also known as **Bālārjuna** owing to his proficiency in the use of arms (v. 13). He apparently had a younger brother named **Raṇakēśarin** (v. 12). We are then informed that his mother, named **Vāsaṭā** (v. 15), was the daughter of **Sūryavarmā**, king of **Magadha** (v. 16). She became a widow (v. 17) and caused to be constructed a temple of **Hari** (v. 20), the same to which this inscription was affixed. She and her acts are praised in seven verses (vv. 17 to 23).

The writer of this eulogy who calls himself *praśastikāraḥ kaviḥ* was **Chintaturāṅka Īśāna** (v. 24)¹, who in the second part proceeds to lay down the regulations for the management of the temple as follows:—Five villages, viz. **Tōḍaṅkaṇa**, **Madhuvēḍha**, **Nālipadra**, **Kurapadra**, and **Vānapadra**, were given (v. 25) for the maintenance of the temple to which apparently a *sattra* or an almshouse was attached. The villages were divided into four shares, three of which (subdivided into three separate parts) were to be reserved for the maintenance of the almshouse, repairs (to the temple) and for the support of the servants attached to the sanctuary (v. 26). The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, of which twelve were to be enjoyed by a corresponding number of Brāhmaṇas fully conversant with the Vēdas, each of the three Vēdas (**Rik**, **Yajus** and **Sāman**) having four experts. The remaining three parts were to be enjoyed by a sacrificial priest and two others who were **Bhāgavatas**.² The names of these fifteen persons are duly recorded and it is enjoined that their descendants should inherit the gift if properly qualified for it, otherwise the grant should go to some other relatives by their own selection and not by order of the king (vv. 27 to 34). An additional village named **Vargullaka** is stated to have been given separately to the god himself, for meeting the expenses of offerings to him (v. 36). The engraver was a certain **Ārya Goṇṇa** (v. 35), the same who wrote the slab built flat into the pavement of the new work outside the court wall of the **Gandhēśvara** temple at Sirpur.³

Like other inscriptions of Sirpur this is also undated, and therefore its age can only be determined from its characters, which, as stated before, belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. **Mahāśivagupta** who is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions so far found in Sirpur, seems to have been a temple-builder, or at least he encouraged others to build them. Apparently he was a Śaiva, although his mother was a Vaishṇava and so was his father who is described in verse 20 as *upāsītachyutah*, i.e. by whom Vishṇu was worshipped. From an inscription in the temple of **Gandhēśvara** (correctly **Gandharvēśvara** as given in an inscription affixed to the parapet there) we know five ancestors of **Mahāśivagupta**, so that our inscription gives no additional information about the family, as it only takes us back to his grandfather. But verse 6 leads us to the important inference that **Mahāśivagupta's grandfather [Chandragupta]** had an elder brother who was the king's commander-in-chief. This elder brother cannot I suppose be any other than the **Tivaradēva** of the **Rājim** and **Balodā** plates. He was the son of **Nannadēva**, **Chandragupta's** father. **Tivaradēva's** inscriptions were issued from **Śrīpura** and he is described as being the 'supreme lord of **Kōsala**'.⁴ He had apparently no issue and his brother probably succeeded him. A second historical fact to be gleaned from our inscription is the discovery of one additional name in the line of **Varmā** kings of **Magadha**, viz. **Sūryavarmā** who must have flourished about the 8th century A.D. He apparently belonged to the **Western Magadha** dynasty. He must have been a contemporary of **Chandragupta**, to whose son **Harshagupta** he gave his daughter in marriage.

Attention may be called to the name **Raṇakēśarin** (in verse 12) who would appear to have been a younger brother of **Mahāśivagupta**, although the word has been used in a double sense. Dr. Kielhorn⁵ has drawn attention to this name with a view to show that names

¹ [The name intended seems to be **Īśāna** alias **Chintātura**.—H. K. S.]

² [That these three parts were to be so disposed of, is implied. It is not clearly expressed in the text of the inscription.—Ed.]

³ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, 1904, p. 50.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 179.

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 257.

ending in Kōsarin were not foreign to this family as a curious coincidence between the Sirpur kings and the Orissa Kēsari family. The second name of Bhavadēva who, Dr. Kielhorn says,¹ was 'a cousin of Indrabala's son Nannadēva, the father of both Tivaradēva and Chandragupta,' was also Rapakēsarin, but we meet it in the direct line here. In spite of the overwhelming palaeographic evidence² which tends to disprove any connection between 'the Sirpur dynasty and that of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak (or more correctly of Vinitapura or Yayatinagara), in both of which a Śivagupta occurs, it seems possible that General Cunningham may still prove to have been right in linking them together, although the dates assigned to them by him are all wrong.³ The kings of Sirpur appear to have been ousted by the kings of Śarabhapura,⁴ which place has not been identified as yet.⁵ The inscriptions of the latter have been found in the country round about and in close vicinity of Sirpur, viz. at Ārang, Raipur, Khariār and Śārangarh which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west. I have already identified several of the villages mentioned in them (see above, Vol. IX. p. 283) and their position shows that a very large portion of the present Chhattisgarh Division came under their sway. Probably they could not conquer the whole of Maha-Kōsala which extended from the confines of Berār to the boundary of the Katak District. The Sirpur dynasty having been driven further east settled in some place on the bank of the Mahanadi. They still continued to rule at least a part of Kōsala. That seems to be the reason why they continued to call themselves 'Lord of Kōsala' unwilling to show a reduced front. They had probably lost the western portion of Mahā-Kōsala for ever, and that seems to be the reason why most of the villages granted by them are situated in the Samtāpur District and the adjoining feudatory states of Paṭṇā and Sonpur.⁶ The Sirpur dynasty probably regained its former power but could not regain the lost kingdom, as although the Śarabhapura kings seem to have fallen as quickly as they rose, they were succeeded by another rising power, the Haihayas of Tummana, who eclipsed the chiefs of the whole of Chhattisgarh and extended their dominions still farther.

Dr. Fleet assigns the characters of the records of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak to the eleventh century and says that even if a somewhat earlier period than what has been arrived at, should be hereafter established for Śivagupta and his successors of the Katak line, the palaeographic changes in so many details appear more than can possibly be covered by the lapse of a single generation.⁷ His conclusion is that the kings mentioned in these inscriptions 'are to be placed somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1100.'⁸ Since the characters of the Sirpur inscriptions are believed to belong to about the 9th century, it would appear that Dr. Fleet would place an interval of a little more than 100 years to account for the palaeographic difficulties. This is a period which may easily be covered by three generations, and on examining the genealogical table made out from the records of the Sōmavamśi kings as given by Dr. Fleet,⁹ it seems to me that a link of two generations is at present missing, which further discoveries might bring to light.

¹ J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 622.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 333.

³ [The date assigned by Prof. Kielhorn to Śivagupta Balājuna on the 'amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty' is about the beginning of the 9th century, while the Katak king Mahābhavagupta II. and his three predecessors belong to about the 11th century (above Vol. IV. p. 257). If these two approximate dates are correct, then we would have two kings, viz. a doubtful Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, of whom no records have so far been found, for about two centuries. — Ed.]

⁴ [Mahāśudēva of Śarabhapura has been assigned by Mr. Hiralal to about the 8th century (above, Vol. IX. p. 283). And Tivaradēva, Prof. Kielhorn has assigned without hesitation to the middle of the 8th century. If these two approximate dates are correct, the usurpation by the Śarabhapura kings would have taken place at a time when the Sirpur kings must have been powerful. — Ed.]

⁵ It may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śirpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name, who is believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kīcārī (lions).

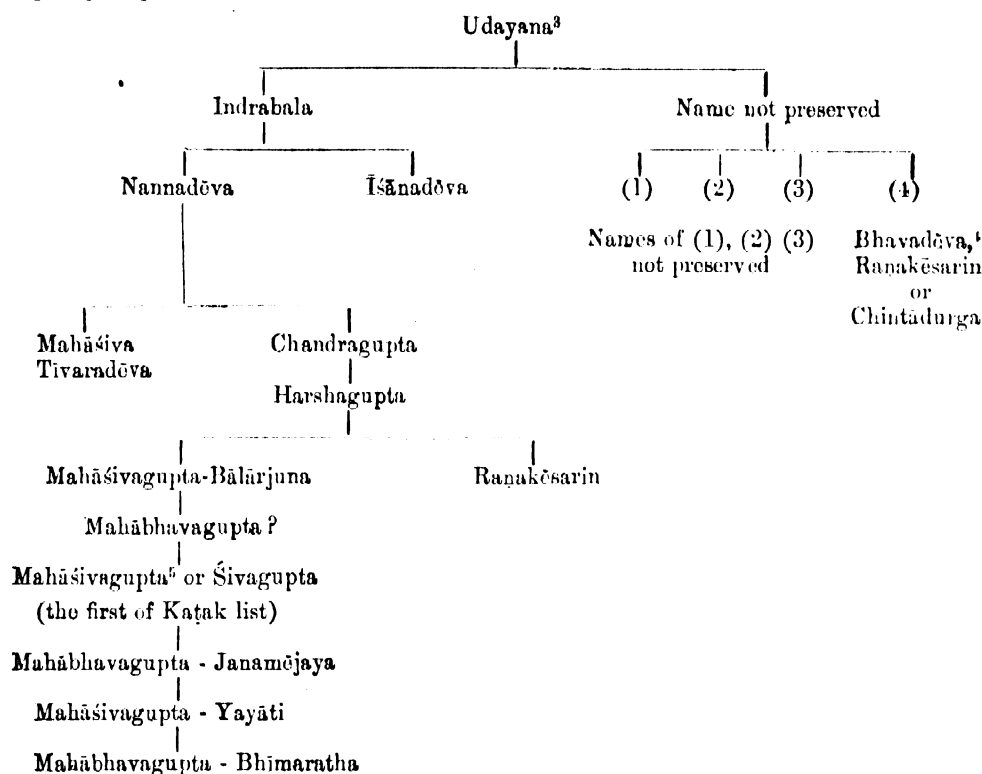
⁶ See tabular statement appended at the end giving the geographical information ascertained by local enquiry or otherwise and map showing the situation of places identified.

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 331.

⁸ Ibid. p. 333.

⁹ Ibid. p. 323.

There are four kings in this list, but there are only two names, *viz.* Śivagupta and Bhavagupta.¹ Three of them have a second name which may have been their birth-names or titles. The Śivagupta of our inscription had also a second name, *i.e.* Bālārjuna. This Bālārjuna Śivagupta may possibly be the grandfather of the titleless Śivagupta of the Katak inscriptions. By the way it may be noted that his granduncle Tivaradēva who was king was also called Mahāśiva as stated in the Balodā and Rajim plates.² I suppose that the title of Harshagupta must have been Mahābhavagupta, and any further discoveries giving both the names would, I venture to think, confirm this surmise. So we can trace back the official title of Mahāśiva up to Tivaradēva at least and he was possibly great-great-granduncle of the first Śivagupta of the Sāmavamsi records. According to this view the genealogical tree of the amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty would be as under:—



¹ These were probably official names, assumed on installation as king, as is still done in some of the states towards Orissa; for instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either a Sūkhaladēva or a Tribhuvanadēva. The present chief whose name was Satchidānanda when he was *yuvārāja*, is Tribhuvanadēva, and so was his grandfather, and his grandson will bear the same name.

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 103, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 236.

³ For sources of information for this genealogy, see *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 179, *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 621, Cousen's *Progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1904, p. 54, and above, Vol. III. p. 827. Note that Mahāśiva Tivaradēva's regal uncle and his possible predecessor at least in one part of Mahā-Kōśala was a Bhavadēva, Chintadurga or Ranakēśarin. Whether the name Bhavadēva was merely fortuitous or otherwise, I leave the reader to consider.

⁴ [From the extracts given by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. IV. p. 257) it appears that Bhavadēva was the fourth son of Udayana and not the fourth grandson as represented in the genealogical table. But on further examination of the inscription, Prof. Kielhorn has stated that "Bhavadēva Ranakēśarin was the fourth son of Indrabala's younger brother whose name has not been preserved;" (*J. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 621 f. -Ed.)]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 140.

The Sirpur inscriptions show that Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta must have been in a fairly prosperous state and so it was probably his son, a possible Mahābhavagupta, who was ousted from his ancestral capital. If we do not find any of his records, there is nothing to wonder at. A person in calamity driven out of his home would hardly think of bestowing grants or revel in perpetuating his name when his own position was so shaky, and his descendants would hardly be inclined to mention one who was in such a plight, it being better to omit than to record his tale of defeats.¹ For the matter of that, they might also have omitted his son Śivagupta's name as he also does not seem to have been in a much better position, but he was the direct ascendant of his renowned son, and it is possible that he might have prepared the way to the conquest of Trikalīṅga of which all his successors are called *adhipati*, though no such title attaches to his name in any of the inscriptions. It appears that it was Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (I) who retrieved the good name of his dynasty by conquering the Trikalīṅga country. So far as is known, he was the first in his line to take the title of Trikalīṅgādhipati, though it was disputed by the Haihaya kings of Chēdi, as we find the title used by the Kalachuri Karṇadēva of Tripurī in his Benares plate of 1042 A.D.² and by other members of the same family up to 1174 A.D. But they were apparently raiders with superior power, the real rulers of Trikalīṅga being the Sōmavāṁśis. There is little doubt that these two houses came in contact with each other as in one of the Patnā plates (marked II) the donor claims a victory over Chēdi.

With regard to geographical names, the country of Magadha whence the temple builder was brought in marriage is well known. The other places mentioned are 6 villagos given to the temple and its accessories. Of these, I think Karapadra is the same as Kulapadar, 15 miles south-east of Sirpur, and Vargullaka is apparently Gullū, about 10 miles south-west of Sirpur and 5 from Ārang. Tōḍaṅkaṇa may be Turēṅga near Kulapadar. About 4 miles from Turēṅga there is a village named Madhuban which may be identical with Madhuvēḍha of the inscription. As regards the remaining two, Nālipadra and Vānapadra, I could not find any villages answering to their names. Vānapadra must have been quite close to Sirpur, as it is stated to be 'on the spot'.

An endeavour has been made in the appended statement to identify places mentioned in other records of these kings, and it may not be out of place here to discuss the unsettled question of the capital of these kings. In the records of the Sōmavāṁśis the phrase '*śrīmatō vijaya-Kaṭakāt*' occurs which has been interpreted to mean 'from the victorious Kaṭaka', the capital, in preference to its simple meaning 'from the victorious camp'. That the latter is the real meaning clearly appears from the copper plates³ of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya belonging to the 3rd year of his reign (the oldest of all so far found), in which the word *skandhāvīrāt* has been used instead of the usual *kaṭakāt*. It will be observed from other inscriptions that whenever *kaṭaka* is used, the name of the camp (a separate place-name) is invariably⁴ given, but this is not the case when the charters purport to be issued from Yayātinagara or Vinitapura, which Dr. Fleet considers to be fanciful names of Kaṭaka itself. It has been assumed that Kaṭaka was the capital of these kings, but I am

¹ Another reason why his name is omitted may be found in the fact that all the records of this dynasty give only the name of the donor and his father in the ordinary business-like way, and since his son Śivagupta for reasons stated further on in the text probably never made a grant, it seems very doubtful whether we would ever get a direct proof of his existence.

² Above, Vol. II, p. 298.

³ These plates were found some 13 years ago at Sōnpur, the capital of the state of the same name. They were shown to me when I visited that place about 12 years ago (i.e. 1896) and I took a copy of the inscription. [They have been published by Mr. Mazumdar (above, pp. 93 ff.).—Ed.]

There is only one exception found in the Patnā plates marked II in which Vinitapura and Kaṭaka are both mentioned; but Mr. Laskar has noted that this record is full of mistakes and gross inaccuracies. See *J. A. S. B.* 1905, Vol. I, p. 6.

unable to share this view. The question has already been discussed by other scholars,¹ and the identification of Yayātinagara with the modern Jajpur has been suggested, but Dr. Fleet² has pointed out that this suggestion is untenable as the inscriptions distinctly imply that Yayātinagara was on the Mahānadi, whereas Jajpur is only on the Vaitarapi, about 50 miles away from the former river.

The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinitapura during the reign of Yayāti otherwise known as Mahāśivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscriptions. In fact he himself used the older name Vinitapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably somewhere between the 15th and 24th year of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and 25th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th year of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has usually asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinitapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binkā. This is a small town in the Sonpur State, 16 miles north of the present capital of that state. It fulfils all the conditions appertaining to Vinitapura. It is on the bank of the Mahānadi, and the river scenery there is as beautiful as described in the inscriptions. From Sirpur it is about 100 miles as the crow flies and about 180 by river—quite a safe distance to which the ousted family might have removed itself. The two places are so situated that if one fled straight to the east he would meet Binkā as the first place on the Mahānadi, as between these two places the river flows in a curve.³ Binkā, moreover, is central to all the camps from which the kings issued their charters. Of the 13 so far discovered, 5 were issued from the capital itself, 3 from a pleasure garden, which must have been somewhere in the big groves still to be seen on the outskirts of Binkā, 3 were issued from Mūrasima or the present Mursingā in the Patnā state, about 11 miles from Binkā, one from Sonpur, and one from Vamaṇḍāpāṭi⁴ or Bāmra, 60 miles to the north-east, but this last was issued by a feudatory from his own headquarters, and he has mentioned his overlord's capital as Yayātinagara. The villages granted so far as they have been identified are situated close to and round about Binkā as a glance on the accompanying map will show.⁵ The existence of a village named Rājpalī (meaning royal hamlet) within a mile of the present Binkā town is significant. There are also remains of a fort close by and a ghāt embankment on the Mahānadi.

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 139 (where Professor Hultzsch prefers to take *kaṭaka* in the sense of 'a camp') and *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, Vol. I., pp. 2 and 3.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 355.

³ My idea is that when Bālārjuna's successor was driven out from Sirpur he fled straight off to the east and settled at a spot where he first met the sacred Mahānadi whose waters had sanctified generations of his ancestors. To this obscure place he in his dejection gave the appropriate name of Vinitapura or the 'town of the humbled.' I feel this is rather fanciful, as at this distance of time it is difficult to read the motives which actuated the founder to name the town in that way, and all that can be said is, that the explanation is plausible.

⁴ It may be noted that Bāmra is still called Bāmaṇḍā by the Oriyā people of Sambalpur.

⁵ It is remarkable that there are amongst the donees Brāhmaṇa immigrants from Madhyadeśa and even distant Śrāvastī in Oudh. Their advent to this remote place may easily be explained by the fact that Binkā lay, as it does now, on the high road to Jagannāth Puri, one of the four *dhāmas* or the most sacred places of India, which Hindus from all corners of the country visited as they still continue to do. Some of these learned Pandits of the celebrated district of Śrāvastī might have been induced to settle there, either by solicitations of the king or by necessity owing to the difficulty of crossing long distances for want of good communications, accentuated by the dangers of the road which was infested by robbers of all description.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री² नमः पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥³ अन्योन्यप्रान्तरान्तर्विचलदुर्ममत्पुञ्जगुञ्जारवोद्यै-
रङ्गुल्यैरुदञ्चनखकिरणशिखास्यष्टदंष्ट्राकरालैः । क्रामन्वः पातु पञ्चानन
इ[व] चरणखकिरणः खे घनीघान्निध्वस्य ध्व[त्]।
- 2 म्नाधाम्नः करिण इव करिन्मौक्तिकाभानि भानि ॥⁴ [१*] लब्धो निर्भन्तुमेभिर्न रिपु-
रिति रसाहत्तचर्चुर्नखेषु चासात्तचोड⁵रन्म्रीदरकुहरदरीमेव लीनं विलोक्य ।
हामोक्षासावहेलं तदितरकरजायेण निर्भय [सद्यः कोशा] ⁶श्चिपेप तज्जं
मलमिव
- 3 दनुजं यः स वोव्यावृत्तिः ॥⁷[२*] वहदिव [रु]चा शा[ङ्ख्या दंष्ट्रां]
सजिह्मिवाभिना ज्वलदिव दधञ्चक्रेणास्यं गदां मुकुटीमिव । असितुमसुरा-
न्मभूयेव श्रितान्तकविभ्रमं दुरितमिति [वेदीयं⁸ विष्णोः] ॐ — ॐ ॐ
— ॐ — ॥⁹[३*] [आसीच्छ्री]व भुवनाद्भुतभूतभूति¹⁰—
- 4 रुद्रभूतपति[भक्तिसम]प्रभावः । चन्द्रान्वयैकति[ल]कः खलु चन्द्रगुप्तराजा-
ख्यया पृथुगुणः प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ॥¹¹[४*] गरीयान्भारीयं दुरधिगमिदं
वर्त्म पुरतो न मे प्रष्टः कश्चिन्न च समधुरः कश्चन सखा । इ —
— — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ गणेशः स्वशक्त्या
- 5 निर्व्यूढं ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॥¹²[५*] दुर्धर्ष[कौर]-
वर[दो] रणदारुणे¹³ सोरायुधः स इव कंसनिषूदनस्य । राजाधिकारधवलः
सबली बभूव यस्याग्रजोप्यनुचरश्चरतो रणे¹⁴ ॥¹⁵[६*] कुम्भैरङ्कितमस्तका-
नति[ग?] ¹⁶दिव्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्रान्यस्तवृणानधःकृतकरा-
- 6 आतङ्गकान्मारयन् । श्वेव श्वापदराट् न यस्य नृपतेः शौर्यं जगामोपमां
हन्तुः कोशपराक्रमान्वयनयस्तीतत्विषां विद्विषां ॥¹⁷[७*] तस्याभूदवनिभृता-
मधीश्वरस्य प्रस्थातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः । रत्नानां वसति-
रखण्डितोरुप[क्षो] मैनाको गिरिरिव यः [स्व]भावतुङ्गः ¹⁷[८*]

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ This stroke is corrected from a *visarga*.⁴ Metre: Sragdharā.⁵ Read 'चोड' or 'चोड'. [On the impression the reading seems to be 'रन्म्रीद'. —H. K. S.]⁶ Read 'कोशा'.⁷ Read 'सिंहः'. Metre: Sragdharā.⁸ [The reading here intended appears to be 'वेदीयं'.—Ed.]⁹ Metre: Harinī.¹⁰ The *akshara* त of भूत looks as if it had been corrected from ति.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹² Metre: Sīkharinī.¹³ Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri suggests the reading वैरिवरवारणदारुणे¹³ which gives better sense and is adopted in the translation.¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁵ Probably नयच. [On the impression the reading appears to be 'नतिमद'.—H. K. S.]¹⁶ Metre: Śūrdūlavikṛidita.¹⁷ Metre: Praharshinī.

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- 7 स्थानं चिरादुचितमेतदभून्ममेति लक्ष्मीः प्रसूतिसमये यमुवाह हर्षम् । तेना-
हतः सततमेव शुचामगम्यः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति नाम ततो [य ऊहे] ॥¹[८*]
संसक्ताः सकलोपभोगविषये धर्माध्वनि प्र(प्रा)ध्वराः सन्नोष्टोषु निरन्तराः
परबलध्वन्ने²प्यवध्याः सदा । [अक्षुण्णाः] सततं [गुरू]पचरणे
- 8 यान्ति स्म विस्मापिनो यस्यानेकसुखक्रियासु युगपत्संभाविनो वासराः ॥³ [१०*]
क्षुण्णा भित्तिरनेकधा विघटिताः सर्वप्यमो [स]न्धयो वीथ्यङ्गान्यपि विच-
तानि परितः शुष्कोऽस्थि(व)न्धक्रमः । चित्रं प्रथुतमामुखादपि कथं किं
वोचितेनामुना यस्येति द्विषतां कुलाटकमिव द्विष्टं पुरं
- 9 प्रेक्षकैः ॥⁴[११*] तस्मादजायत महाशिवगुप्तराजो धर्मावतार इति निर्वि-
तथं प्रतीतः । भोमेन यः सुत इव प्र[य]मः पृथायाः पृथ्वीं जिगाय
रणकैसरिणानुजेन ॥⁵[१२*] भावी हन्त पितामहादपि महाना⁶चर्यमप्यो-
जसा जेष्यत्येष रणे बलेन भविता तत्कोस्य वैकर्त्तनः । अस्त्रा[भ्य]स्तिष
यं सम[स्त]-
- 10 जयिनं मत्वेति बालार्जुनं स्वे देहेपि जहुः स्पृहामरिगणाः प्रागेव
सम्पत्तिषु ॥⁷[१३*] यः प्रदेषवतां वधाय विक्रतोरास्थाय मा[य]ामयोः
कृष्णो [योव]तरन्नभृदिह स खल्वव्याजलूनद्विषः । नासीदेव समो
हरिर्धवलतामात्यन्तिकीं बिभ्रतो यस्याकल्मसतेन चापि भविता क[ल्की]
भविष्यन्पुनः ॥⁸[१४*]
- 11 तस्योरुजग्यजयिनी जमनी जनानामीशस्य शैलत[न]येव मयु[र]केतोः ।
विस्मापनो विबुधलोकधियां बभूव श्रीघासटेति नरसि[ङ्ग]नो⁹ सटेव ॥¹⁰
[१५*] निष्यङ्गे मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्याभिः
कृतिभिः कृतो कृतमनःकम्पः सुधाभो[जि]नाम् ।
- 12 यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा नृपः प्राप प्राक्परमेश्वर-
श्चश्रुतागर्वानिखर्वं पदम् ॥¹¹[१६*] गर्ताप पत्न्यौ दिव[मेक]रूपैः सदो-
पवासव्रतकर्षितैरपि । न मुक्तमेवावयर्वैर्यदीयैः स्वभावलीलामयमात्ममण्डनम्
॥¹²[१७*] या वरणाश्रमिणां त्रयीव शरणं राज्यस्य नीति[र्य]था
- 13 प्रज्ञेव प्रविषेचनी सदसतोस्तृष्णावतां श्रीः स्वयम् । उत्खाताखिलकल्मषप्रसरया
किञ्चिच्चलन्ती स्थितेः सन्धानाय यया सखीव पृथिवी भूयः कृतं स्मारिता ॥¹³

¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.² Read ध्वन्ने⁹.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka.⁶ Read 'चार्य'.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Read नरसिङ्ग मनुमूर्त्ति तत्रि स्त्री स्यात् त्रिषत्ये विरले कृषे—इति मेदिनी.⁹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- [१८*] दमयन्त्या [अपि] पुरा यः स्थलं प्राप्य गर्वितः । स
क[लिः] स्वपि समये हतमानः कृतो यया ॥^१[१८*] तथा निजः
- 14 प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधे वसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः । प्रकाशितं तादृशमेव
कारितं विभोरिदं धाम हरः सनातनम् ॥^२[२०*] दिव्यादेः सकलस्य
जन्तुनिवहस्योच्चावचैः कर्मणां वैचित्र्यादयमद्भुतो बहुविधावस्थैर्वपुःपञ्चरैः ॥
[यः*] प्रामादहृ[ह]च्छलिन क-
- 15 धितः संसार एव स्फुटं पश्यन्तस्तदिमं मनः कुरुत भो पापेषु मा
भूमिपाः ॥^३[२१*] क्षणमधः क्षणमुत्पतितैर्नभः पवनलोल[त]या [ध्वज]-
पल्लवैः । (।) हरणपालनयोरुचिते गती कथयति स्वयमेव महोभुजां
॥^४[२२*] तट एव भवास्बुधेस्तरौतुं निहि-
- 16 तो धर्ममयः प्लवो महान् । परिपालयितव्य एष भूपैरवदोष्णीं हि निमज्ज-
यत्यधः ॥^५[२३*] इति वः प्रशस्तिकारः कविः स चिन्तातुराङ्ग ईशानः
॥ यत्पालनार्थमर्थयति पार्थिवास्तां स्थितिं शृणुत ॥^६[२४*] तीडङ्गण-
म[धु]-
- 17 [वेढौ] नालीपद्रश्च कुरपद्रश्च^७ [१*] स्थानेच वाणपद्रश्च पञ्च दत्ता इमे ग्रामाः
॥^८[२५*] एषां भागास्त्रयः सन्ने खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कृतौ । पादमूलपरीवा-
रपोषणे च त्रिधाकृताः ॥^९[२६*] यस्तु [च]तुर्थी भागः स पञ्चदश-
धाकृ-
- 18 तो विभागेन ॥ तत्र द्वादश विप्राः प्रतिवेदं प्रतिचतुष्केन ॥^{१०}[२७*]
ब्रह्मत्रिविक्रमोर्कश्च विष्णुदेवस्तथापरः ॥ तथा महिरदेवश्च चत्वारो
बह्वृचोत्तमाः ॥^{११}[२८*] एवं कपर्दीपाध्यायो भास्करो मधुसूदनः ॥ वेद-
गर्भश्च चत्वा-
- 19 रो यजुर्वेदस्य पारगाः ॥^{१२}[२९*] तथा भास्करदेवश्च स्थिरोपाध्याय एव
च ॥ त्रैलोक्यहन्मो मोडङ्गश्चत्वारः सामपारगाः ॥^{१३}[३०*] भाव्यं
तत्पुत्रपौत्रैश्च साग्नि[हो]त्रैः षडङ्गिभिः ॥ द्यूत[वि]श्यायनासत्तैरपि द्वाकैरसैवकैः
॥^{१४}[३१*] य[स्तु]
- 20 नवविधो^{१५} स[हि] यस्यापुत्रो विपत्स्यते ॥ तयोरङ्गे प्रवेश्योन्मः पूर्वोक्तगुण-
वान्निजः ॥^{१६}[३२*] स चैषामेव सम्बन्धो सविद्यत्वे वयोधिक^{१७} [१*]

^१ [On the impression the reading seems to be अपि. — H. K. S.]

^२ Metre: Anushtubh.

^३ Metre: Vamśasthāvila.

^४ [On the impression the reading seems to be ब्र instead of द. — H. K. S.]

^५ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^६ Metre: Drutavilambita.

^७ Metre: Āryā.

^८ Read पद्रः.

^९ Metre: Vaitāliya.

^{१०} Metre: Āryā.

^{११} Metre: Anushtubh.

^{१२} Metre: Āryā.

^{१३} Metre: Anushtubh.

^{१४} [On the impression the reading appears to be भावो. — H. K. S.]

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एभिरेव च साम्प्रत्याश्रयेऽश्वो न नृपा[ज्ञ]या(तु) ॥¹[११*] ततो वास-
वनन्दोति [वि]प्रः

• 21 पु[ण्याङ्]वाचकः ॥ द्वौ च भागवती नाम्ना वामनः श्रीधरस्तथा ॥
[१४*] एते पञ्चदशाङ्गा विवर्जिता दानविक्रियाधानैः ॥ सर्व्वेपि
[च] सङ्गोऽन्याः (॥) लेखकश्चार्यगोष्ण इति इति⁴ ॥⁵[१५*] यस्तल ए[व]
ग्रामो वर्गगुणकसंज्ञितः स [दि]-

22 वस्य [॥] बलिचरुनिवेद्यसन्नो[प]करणहेतोः पृथग्दत्तः ॥⁶[१६*] अथ च
साधिष्ठानैः सपादमूलैश्च सर्व्वकार्याणि ॥ सन्भूय विप्रमुख्यैः करणीयाभ्ये-
कमत्येन ॥⁷[१७*] स्थितिरियं क्षितिपाः परिपात्यतां च[ल]तु

23 १सैष कृतोपकृति[क्र]मः ॥ [न]नु भविष्यति का पुनरुत्तरा[] गतिरहो
भवतामपि की[र्त्ति]षु ॥⁸[१८*] [ग]जज्ञानं ज्ञातं [खलु] चरणकुहाल-
नमिदं स्वयं पुण्योत्थानं⁹ यदिह परकीर्त्तिक्षतिकृतां ॥

24 १मदङ्गाम्यसन्धीनयनतरलाब्धौ विभवानतः श्रेयः १०शुचं व्रतम[नुचर]स्कीर-
[नु?]दिरं ॥¹¹[१९*] भवाब्धिध[र्म्म]प्लवक[र्ण]धारो बभूव देव्याः कुलशील-
शाली ॥ वेदारनामा स [इ]दं समग्र-

25 मकारयत्पुण्यमहानिधानं ॥¹²[२०*] श्री शिवगुप्तो राजा कृत्वा चैलोक्य —
○ — ○ — — ○ ○ — — — — — त्येन प्रादा[त्गो]पा-
[र्य्य]भट्टाय १३[१४१*] भागमिदं स्या[नं]¹⁴ गुणवद्भि¹⁵जभोज्यमुत्तमगु-
[णाय] ॥

26 शास्त्रव्याख्याविदुषे विदुषे १६शास्त्रेषु वेदेषु ॥¹⁷[२२*]

¹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. [The letter, read न, resembles a floral device which was perhaps inserted to indicate that the main part of the grant ended here.—H. K. S.]

² [On the impression this word looks like पुस्तक^o—Ed.]

³ [The metre requires this syllable to be long; perhaps we have to read लेखाङ्गवाच.—H. K. S.] [On the impression the reading appears to be लेखकश्च.—Ed.]

⁴ इति is repeated a second time by mistake. It must be cancelled. Metre: Āryā.

⁵ Metre: Āryā.

⁶ सै looks like सै.

⁷ Metre: Drutavilambita.

⁸ [On the impression the reading is पुण्योत्थानं.—H. K. S.]

⁹ [On the impression the reading seems to be ०ङ्गाम्यन्तरी^o.—H. K. S.]

¹⁰ [On the impression the reading seems to be शुचं व्रतं ननु श्री चौरमदिरं.—H. K. S.]

¹¹ Metre: Śikharipi.

¹² Metre: Upajāti.

¹³ Metre: Āryā. [On the impression

the reading seems to be प्रादागोपायभट्टाय.—Ed.]

¹⁴ [On the impression the reading seems to be स्याने.—Ed.]

¹⁵ [Read गुणवद्भि^o.—H. K. S.]

¹⁶ [On the impression the letter looks like सा.—Ed.]

¹⁷ Metre: Āryā.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Salutation to Purushōttama (Vishṇu).

(Verse 1.) Let the discus-holder's (*Nṛsiṃha's*¹) foot protect you—the foot whose sharp claws emitted a sound like that of *guñjā* berries (*shaken*) by the gust of strong winds passing through the long spaces between each other, and (*looked*) terrific (more so) with the jaws shining with the flame of rays (*emanating*) from the nails, when they being lifted up, tore through the mass of dark clouds in the sky and revealed the stars with pearly brilliance, like a lion who, having overcome that storehouse of darkness,— the elephant, jumps about scattering brilliant pearls (*torn from his temples*).

(V. 2.) Let that Nṛsiṃha protect you, who looking with eagerness at (*his own*) nails, for the enemy (*Hiraṇyakaśipu*) who had not been secured for being torn with these (claws), happened to see him hiding through fear in the cavern-like cavity in the interior of the deep hollow of those (nails). With a laugh (*at his foolishness in taking shelter in the place where he could be easily crushed out*), joy (*at finding him out*) and contempt (*at the miserable creature*) he split the demon at once with the point of the other claw and threw him away with wrath like dirt that had collected there.

(V. 3.)² As if bearing the jaws like a beautiful conch and the tongue like a sword, with the face burning like the discus (*and*) with the eye-brows (*as if carrying*) the mace, this form of Vishṇu born for devouring, like sins, the demons, presented the appearance of the god of death

(V. 4.) There was the unequalled crest-jewel of the lunar race, whose wealth was wonderful on earth, just as the origin of the moon was miraculous and whose dignity was commensurate with his devotion to the lord of goblins (Śiva). He was indeed of manifold virtues, (*and*) famous on the earth by the name of [*Chandraguptarāja*.]

(V. 5.) This task is very difficult, this path before (me) insurmountable. I have no guide nor (*have I*) any friend (*who can*) share the burden (*with me*). I accomplish this single-handed

(V. 6.) Even his elder brother shining with regal power,³ became his follower in battles and (*through him*) mighty, like him whose weapon is the plough (Balarāma), who likewise followed the killer of Kaiṁsa (Kṛṣṇa) in tearing up the mighty elephants of his unassailable enemy.⁴

(V. 7.) In bravery, a lion killing the elephants with (*swelling*) frontal globes,— rendered dull by the cries (*due to*) excessive rut,—with fodder placed in their mouths, or the trunks hanging down, is like a dog and cannot stand comparison with the king destroying (*his*) enemies blooming with the prosperity of their treasures, prowess, race and statesmanship.⁵

¹ [There seems to be a reference here not to Nṛsiṃha but to the Trivikrama-avatār of the god Viṣṇu.—H. K. S.]

² The poet here seems to show that the terrific face of Nṛsiṃha bore the symbols of Viṣṇu as also of Yama. The jaws being white bones were like the conch, the tongue like the sword which is also one of the weapons of Viṣṇu, the round face, the discus and eye-brows the mace. Yama's attributes are projecting jaws, long tongue, red hot face and a club.

³ [Perhaps Adhikārādhavala was a name or surname of his elder brother.—H. K. S.]

⁴ [As the reading in the text is clearly °*dārṇēṣhu* (not *dāraṇēṣhu* as Mr. Hiralal seems to take it) the compound ending with that word is evidently an attribute of the word *raṇēṣhu*.—Ed.]

⁵ [The passage कुम्भैरिदममलक्ष्मणतिसद्व्याहारसुग्धामनो वज्रव्यसनादयानधःकृतकरान् admits of two meanings, one applicable to the subdued kings and the other to elephants.—H. K. S.]

(V. 8.) Of him, the lord of the rulers of the earth, was born a son famous in the world (*who was*) a very treasure of jewels, (*who had*) a large number of undivided allies and (*who was*) high in character, (*thus*) resembling the high Maināka hill which is the offspring of the lord of mountains, *viz.* the Himādri (mountain), has extensive wings which are unclipped and is a mine of jewels.

(V. 9.) At the time of his birth, the goddess of wealth was transported with joy saying 'It is a long time since I found such a suitable place for myself.' Ever filled with joy (*harsha*) and verily inaccessible to grief he accordingly bore the name śrī **Harshagupta**.

(V. 10.) His precious days passed in enjoying all the sensuous objects, (*they were*) indefatigably applied in the path of, virtue, and unceasingly (*spent*) in good assemblies; they never went fruitless (*when employed*) in the destruction of hostile power and were uninterruptedly devoted in the service of the elders. Thus they always caused wonder in (*the performance of*) many pleasing duties simultaneously.

(V. 11.) His enemies' town is hated by the spectators as the walls are crushed to powder, all the joints are separated in various ways, the limbs of the streets are also torn asunder, and on all sides there is an exhibition of dry bones. (*They exclaim*) 'what is to be seen here? How has the variegated appearance even of the entrance (*of the town*) disappeared?' Thus (*saying*) (*the spectators*) hate it like a bad drama destitute of interest even in the prologue, with torn curtains (*bhitti*), disjointed incidents, broken dialogues and dry plot.

(V. 12.) From him was born king **Mahāśivagupta** truly renowned as an incarnation of virtue (*dharmāvatāra*)¹ who conquered the earth with (*his*) younger brother **Raṇakēśarin** as did Prithā's first son (Yudhishtira) with the aid of his younger brother Bhima who was like a lion in battle.

(V. 13.) Indeed! greater than even his grandfather (*as he is*) he would beat even his teacher in battle with his prowess and strength; who would therefore be his vanquisher (*karttana*)? The crowd of enemies considering him **Bālārjuna**, (to be) an all-conqueror amongst practisers of arms, gave up the hope even for their lives (*as they had done*) already for their wealth [like the foes of Arjuna (*i.e.* the sons of Dhṛitarāshtra) who first gave up their hope for wealth when they found that young Arjuna promised to excel Bhishma and surpass Drōṇa in prowess. What was Karṇa before him in the practice of weapons!]

(V. 14.) He who took deceptive forms for destroying the enemies, who was born black (**Kṛishṇa**) on this (*earth*) and who again becomes in the future also sinful (**Kalki**)—that Hari (**Vishṇu**) could not really stand comparison with him who kills his enemies without practising any deception, who bears the utmost whiteness² and who has no sinful motives.

(V. 15.) Of that lord of men, the conqueror in fierce battles, the illustrious **Vasatā** was the mother, like the very mane (*śaṭā*) of the man-lion form (of Vishṇu) bewildering the minds (*even*) of wise men (and of the gods), just like the mother of him who rides the peacock (**Kārttikēya**), the daughter of the mountain (*viz.* Pārvati).

(V. 16.) Born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of (*their*) supremacy over **Magadha**, the illustrious (and) pious king **Sūryavarmā** who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter, obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (**Paramēśvara**) of the East, like Himāchala (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter Pārvati to the great god (*paramēśvara*), Śiva).

¹ [Dharmāvatāra may have been a *bṛuda* of the king.—H. K. S.]

² [Perhaps the king had the surname Atyantadhavala.—H. K. S.]

³ [It is worthy of note that the Śarabhapura kings Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudōva granted villages in the Eastern country (Pūrva-rāshtra); Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 192, 196, 197 and 199.—Ed.]

(V. 17.) Even after (*her*) lord went to heaven, in spite of her always observing fasts and austerities, which cause leanness (*of the body*), her unaltered limbs retained their natural charming grace.

(V. 18.) She, like the Vēdas, was the shelter to the people belonging to the four *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas*¹ (or) like Policy to a kingdom, like Wisdom (*herself*) in deciding between truth and falsehood, (*and*) the goddess of Wealth herself to the greedy. The spread of all sins was checked by her and the earth that was about to abandon her fidelity (*by wooing, so to speak, the Kali age*) was again reminded by her, as a friend, of the *kṛta* (*age*) for the sake of reunion [*as a lady's maid reminds her mistress of (her husband's) acts to bring about a union (between them) when somewhat disturbed.*]

(V. 19.) By whom Kali during his own regime (*i.e.* the Kali age) was dishonoured, that Kali who boasted of having access even to Damayanti² in olden times.

(V. 20.) By her this eternal abode of the lord Hari was caused to be made, to show exactly (*the abode Vaikuṇṭha*) where her deceased lord lived worshipping daily the imperishable (*Vishṇu in the heavens*).

(V. 21.) Oh kings! do not turn your minds to sins, seeing what has been clearly described of this wonderful world (*saṃsāra*) under the guise of the temple (*i.e.* the diversity of acts of all creatures high and low— with cage-like bodies (*passing*) through various stages of existence—from the celestial beings (*downwards*)).

(V. 22.) This itself tells the kings the appropriate fate of destruction and protection (*of charity*) by (the waving of) its flags (*tossed*) by the unsteady wind, in one moment going down, and in another rising up towards the sky.

(V. 23.) On the very bank of (*this*) ocean of the world, the great boat of *dharma* has been placed to cross it. This must be protected by kings. Neglected (*it*) would sink down.

(V. 24.) O (*future*) kings! (*Now*) listen to the perpetuation which the poet Chintā-turāṅka Īśāna, author of the *praśasti*, submits to you for the protection of it (*i.e.* the charity).

(V. 25.) Tōḍaṅkaṇa, Madhuvēḍha, Nālipadra, Kurapadra and in this place (*sthāna*) Vāṇapadra,— these five villages are given.

(V. 26³.) Of these (*villages*) three shares have been divided in three ways for (*the maintenance of*) the almshouse, the repair of breaks and cracks (*in the temple*) and the support of the servants of the sanctuary (*one share being allotted for each of the purposes*).

(V. 27.) The fourth share has been divided into fifteen parts. Those are (*for*) twelve Brāhmaṇas, four for each Vēda.

(V. 28.) Brahma-Trivikrama, Arka and another Vishṇudēva, as well as Mahiradēva (*are*) the four best learned in the Rīgveda.

¹ The Śūdras cannot study the Vēdas and have no *āśramas*.

² Damayanti pretended that she would remarry, thinking that hearing this news, her husband Nala would come forward and disclose himself, and although her intention was most noble, she nevertheless committed a sin by pronouncing an unholy wish, and Kali thus secured a victory over this exemplary chaste lady, who was free from sin by act, thought or speech. The 19th verse alludes to this occurrence, and I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda, M.A., Officiating Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, for pointing it out to me and for his kindness in going over the manuscript.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Kṛishṇa Śūstrī for pointing out that खंडकुटित has a technical sense here. पादमूल he thinks means 'the sanctuary', both of which I have adopted in the translation.

(V. 29.) Similarly, **Kapardōpādhyāya**, **Bhāskara**, **Madhusūdana** and **Vēdagarbha** (*are*) the four fully conversant with the *Yajurveda*.

(V. 30.) Again, **Bhāskaradēva**, **Sthirōpādhyāya**, **Trailōkyahamsa** and **Mōuḍḍha** (*are*) the four accomplished in the *Sāmaveda*.

(V. 31.) Their sons and grandsons (*who succeed them*) should be such as offer sacrifice to fire and know the six supplements of the *Vēdas*, who are not addicted to gambling, prostitutes and such other (*bad associations*), who have their mouths clean (*apiṭṭaka*) and who are not servants.

(V. 32.) If one does not answer to this description, (*he should be abandoned*); also one who dies sonless—in their places must be appointed other *Brāhmaṇas* possessing the foregoing qualifications.

(V. 33.) He should be their relative, advanced in age while being learned. He should be appointed by their consent alone and not by order of the king.

(V. 34.) Further, (*there are*) the *Brāhmaṇa* **Vāsavanandin** who at sacrifices declares holidays¹ and the two *Bhāgavatas* by name **Vāmana** and **Śrīdhara**.

(V. 35.) These fifteen parts, (*the alienation of which is*) prohibited by gift, sale and mortgage, must all be (*thus*) enjoyed by virtuous men. The writer of this is **Ārya-Goṇṇa**.

(V. 36.) The village which is on a low level² and is known as **Vargullaka** is separately given (*as a supplementary contribution*) for the maintenance of the almshouse, for *balī*, *charu* and *nivēdya* to the god.

(V. 37.) All the transactions should be performed unanimously by the principal *Brāhmaṇas* (resident there), and the worshippers (*pādamula*) meeting together.

(V. 38.) Oh kings! protect this organization. Let this arrangement of mutual obligation continue (*for ever*). Alas! what indeed, will be the future of your fame!

(V. 39.) The establishment of (*the places of*) *punya* (*i.e.* *almshouses*, *etc.*) by those who destroy the (*deeds of*) glory of others is just like an elephant-bath (*throwing dust on one's own head*) or an axe for (*cutting one's*) feet. Therefore, seeing that riches are as fickle as the eyes of an intoxicated woman, it is better to follow the path of virtue and³

(V. 40.) He who was distinguished for the nobility of his character and family and whose name was **Kēdara**, became the helmsman of the boat of virtue in the ocean of existence for the queen and got this great receptacle of religious merit built completely.

(V. 41.) The illustrious king **Śivagupta** the three worlds, gave to **Gōpārya-Bhaṭṭa**

(V. 42.) One part of this (*gift*) which is to be enjoyed by a virtuous *Brāhmaṇa* is reserved for one who is well read in the *Śāstras* and (*their*) commentaries, as well as the *Vēdas* and is of excellent character.

¹ [*Puṇyāha-vāchaka* (as Mr. Hiralal has read) is a priest who officiates in all auspicious ceremonies and proclaims by certain *mantras* a happy day to the ceremony and its performer.—H. K. S.]

² [*Tala* *śva* may be more appropriately translated 'close at hand'.—H. K. S.]

³ [Following the note 10 on page 193 above, I translate:—'O men! keep therefore (your) virtue, which is lovely as milk, unsullied'.—H. K. S.]

Geographical names in the records of the Śamavarāṣi kings of (Katak) Pātāpura, with identifications where ascertainable.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Name of place whence issued.	Villages granted.	Name of country in which the village granted was situated.	Grantee's residence and place from which he emigrated.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A.—Pātā copper-plate grant of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. III. p. 341.	Pātā State	(1) Mūrasīra = Mursīgā, in Pātā State, about 13 miles south-west of Bolangir, the present capital of Pātā State.	(1) Vakaveddā = probably Bakti, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles south of the Oṅṅā river.	(1) Oṅṅā-ta-viśhaya = district on the bank of the Oṅṅā river which flows in Pātā forming the boundary between it and Soupur in the north.	(1) Lēśringā = Loisingā, the headquarters of a Zamindār of the same name in Pātā State, 11 miles north of Bolangir. (2) Khandakabētra = Khandapara? in the tributary state of the same name touching the south-western boundary of Cuttack district	In all the inscriptions of these kings they are invariably recorded as lords of Trikalīṅga, which is identified with Telingana and is believed to have included the whole of Orissa.
					(3) Lipatāṅga = probably Lepta (?), 6 miles south-east of Bolangir. (4) Pampāsarsī. (5) Odayaśringā = probably Udayagiri in Cuttack district, 4 miles from the celebrated Bhuvanēśvar. (6) Koṅkaleda = probably Kokara in Bora Sambhar Zamindār of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narsinghāth. (7) Kalinga = country on the east of Bay of Bengal. Kalinganagara = Mukhalīngam in the Ganjam district.	

<p>B.—Katak copper-plate grant of the 31st year of Mahābhava- gupta I. Vol. III. Above, p. 845.</p>	<p>Chandwār oppo- site Cuttack on the other side of the Mahā- nadi.</p>	<p>(2) Ārāma or Pleasure garden.</p>	<p>(2) Bandā = Bandā in Paṭṇā State, 6 miles east of Bolangir.</p>	<p>(2) Pōvā-vishaya = Pow in Sonpur State, 19 miles south of Binkā, 12 miles north-east of Bolangir and 9 miles north-east of Rēṇḍā.</p>	<p>(8) Turvunā. (9) Takārī = possibly the one, 16 miles north-west of Gya.</p>
<p>C.—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year. Above, Vol. III. p. 345.</p>	<p>Chandwār oppo- site Cuttack.</p>	<p>Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No. (2).</p>	<p>(4) Alāṇḍalā = Alāṇḍā, 3 miles east of Bolan- gir.</p>	<p>(3) Kōśala-dēśa = country between Berar and Cut- tack afterwards limited to Chhattisgarh.</p>	<p>Turvunā, same as No. (8).</p>
<p>D.—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year. Above, Vol. III. p. 345.</p>	<p>Chandwār oppo- site Cuttack.</p>	<p>Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No. (2).</p>	<p>(5) Tulēṇḍā or Trulēṇḍā = Tulēṇḍī?, 6 miles north of Bolangir in Paṭṇā State.</p>	<p>(4) Tulumva-Khaṇḍa = Turun on the Mahānadi, 27 miles south of Sambal- pur. Kōśala-dēśa same as No. (3).</p>	<p>Takārī, same as No. (9).</p>
<p>E.—Katak copper-plate grant of the 8th year of Mahāśiva- gupta. Vol. III. Above, p. 351.</p>	<p>Found among the official re- cords at Cut- tack.</p>	<p>(3) Vinītapura = Binkā on the Mahānadi in the Sonpur State, about 16 miles up.</p>	<p>(6) Chāṇagrāma</p>	<p>(8) Marada-vishaya (9) Dakṣiṇa-Kōśalā, i.e., southern Kōśalā.</p>	<p>(10) Śīlābhājja-pāṭi. (11) Odra-dēśa = Orissa. (12) Śrīvallacrāma = probably Bilgrāma, 20 miles from Ayōḍhya. (13) Madhya-dēśa = The country lying between the Himālaya, the Vindhya, Vināśāna in the west and Prayāga in the east. Takārī, probably same as No. (9).</p>

In plates issued
from Vinīta-
pura or Yayāti-
nagara, the
well-known
river Mahānadi
which rises in
the Raipur Dis-
trict and falls
into the Bay of
Bengal is men-
tioned.

Geographical names in the records of the Śamavarani kings of (Katak) Vintapura, with identifications where ascertained—contd.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Name of place whence issued.	Villages granted.	Name of country in which the village granted was situated.	Grantee's residence and place from which he emigrated.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F.—Katak copper-plate grant of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta II. Above, Vol. III, p. 355.	Believed to have been found somewhere close to Cuttack.	(4) Yavātinagara, apparently another name of Vintapura No. (3).	(7) Gaṇḍasimipillī.	(10) Kōśala-Sakhaṅga-dyaṇhā (Khaḍgiyaṇhā?) vishaya.	(14) Singā-grāma = probably Singhar in the Khariar Zamindārī in the extreme south of the Raipur district. (15) Dēvibhūga-vishaya = Deobhog in the Bindrā Nāwāgarh Zamindārī in the extreme south of Raipur District. Kōśala-dēśa] = Chhattisgarh. (16) Kāśilī. (17) Śrāvastī-maṇḍala in Oudh, round about the present Sahet Mahet. (18) Kommāpīra.	
G.—Patnā copper plates of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I. p. 4.	Patnā State	Mūrasīma, same as No. (1).	(8) Pāsitalā = Pointalā, 2 miles east of Bolangir.	(11) Potā? probably same as No. (2).		
H.—Patnā copper plates of the 8th year of Mahāśivagupta. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I. p. 6.	Patnā State	Vintapura, same as No. (3).	(9) Talakajja = Talagaja, 10 miles south-east of Bolangir. (10) Dāsānariya anadi. This is probably now known as Nimuruti river to the north of which is Jalajoda and to its south Talagaja, the distance between the two villages being only 2 miles.	(12) Sandilā—Soinnūla in Patnā State, 20 miles south of Bolangir and 22 miles south-west of Talgaja. Kōśala-dēśa, same as No. 3.	(19) Jalajōḍa = Jalajōḍa near Talagaja, 10 miles south-east of Bolangir. (20) Mādhvīla.	The plates mention the Chēdi country which lay south of the Jumna and extended at least up to the Bilāpur District of the Central Provinces; also Dahana, probably another name of Dābala, or Jubbulpore country.

<p>L.—Patnā copper plates of the 24th year of Mahāśvagupta J. A. S. B. 1895, Vol I, p. 7.</p>	<p>Patnā State</p>	<p>Yayātinagara, same as No. (4).</p>	<p>(11) Hēlābhīlī or Dēlā-dēli.</p>	<p>(13) Telātata = country on the bank of the river Tel, a tributary of Mahā-nadi rising in Kālā-handi and joining it at Sonpur.</p>	<p>(21) Antarādī. (22) Lāvādā-vishaya = Lebdā p. 48 miles south-west of Bolangir. Kāsili, same as No. (16). Śrāvastī, same as No. (17). Antarādī, same as No. 21. Lāvādā, same as No. 22. Kāsili, same as No. 16. Śrāvastī, same as No. 17.</p>
<p>J.—Patnā copper plates of the 28th year of Mahāśvagupta. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol I, p. 8.</p>	<p>Patnā State</p>	<p>Yayātinagara, same as No. (4).</p>	<p>(12) Luttarumā.</p>	<p>Kōśala, same as No. (3). Telātata, same as No. (13). Kōśala, same as No. 3.</p>	<p>(23) Hastipada.</p>
<p>K.—Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta II. Above, Vol. IV. p. 256.</p>	<p>Kudopali in Bargarb taluq of Sambalpur district.</p>	<p>(5) Vānarāṇṣīpātī = Bāmā, a feudatory state in Bengal still called by the Oriyas Bāmānā. Bāmānā-garb (old capital of Bāmā) is 60 miles north-east of Binkā.</p>	<p>(13) Lōisārā, a village of the same name in Bargarb taluq of Sambalpur District, 13 miles south-east of Bargarb and 16 miles south-west of Sambalpur. It is 9 miles south of Sarandā and 3 miles south of Kudopali.</p>	<p>(14) Gidāṇḍā (correctly, Sīdāṇḍā)-mandala, is the same as Sarandā in Bargarb taluq, 11 miles south-west of Sambalpur town.</p>	<p>Lēnapura is mentioned as the inscription writer's residence.</p>
<p>L.—Nāgpur Museum plates of the 8th year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. VIII. p. 138.</p>	<p>Satlamā in Sambalpur district.</p>	<p>M[?]rāṇa, same as No. 1.</p>	<p>(14) Satallamā = Satlamā, in Bargarb taluq of Sambalpur District, 15 miles south of Bargarb and 32 miles south-west of Sambalpur.</p>	<p>(15) Kāsālōḍā-vishaya = Kusardā, 15 miles south-west of Bargarb and 34 miles south-west of Sambalpur. It is 10 miles north-west of Satlamā.</p>	<p>(24) Murujunga. (25) Purushamandapa in Ōdra-dēśa (same as No. 11).</p>
<p>M.—Sonpur copper plates of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, p. 93 ff.</p>	<p>Sonpur</p>	<p>Suvarnapura = Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the capital of a feudatory state of the same name in Bengal.</p>	<p>(15) Vakratantulī = Bārentenuli in Sonpur State, 16 miles west of Sonpur town.</p>	<p>(16) Luptatārā-khanda, probably the same as No. 3 of column 6.</p>	<p>(26) Mērandā = Mendā, 17 miles west of Sonpur. (27) Rādāphamavallikandara = Rairākhhol, a feudatory state contiguous to Sonpur, the village Rairākhhol being 45 miles from Sonpur.</p>

No. 20.—THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE.

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

The Wardak vase or urn was found by Masson in the topos of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan during the years 1834-7. He called the place Kohwāt and gave this description of it:—"These topos are situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazārajāt, flows through Loghar into the plain east of Kabul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about 30 miles to the west of Kabul" (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117). The map of Kabul and its neighbourhood compiled by the Survey Department of India shows the district as "**Khawat or Wardak**," and as lying from 34 to 50 miles south-west of Kabul. Khawat therefore and not Kohwāt is the correct name of the spot where the vase was found in the Wardak district. Masson's description of the finding of the vase is this:—"There are five or six topos, strictly so called, with numerous *tumuli* I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period; and before the present Afghan inhabitants had dispossessed the former occupants, Hazāras, about one hundred years since . . . In the principal tope an internal cupola was enclosed, or rather had been I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topos, and pointed out a number of *tumuli* which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed: the results proved successful, in great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and stoneware, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Pali inscription, of which I did not take a copy, as to have done so I must have cleansed it. I was averse to take this liberty, being aware that the characters being firmly dotted in could by no chance be obliterated" (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117-8).

The inscription was copied and published in a plate, which is numbered X in E. Thomas's Edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. I; and E. Thomas there says:—"I have devoted plate X to the exhibition of the inscription on the brass urn discovered in a tope about 30 miles west of Kabul in the district of Wardak. This urn, which in shape and size approximates closely to the ordinary water-vessels in use in India to this day, has originally been thickly gilt, and its surface has in consequence remained so excellently well preserved, that every puncture of the dotted legend may be satisfactorily discriminated" (*ibid.*, 161-2). He tried to decipher the inscription and published his results there. Mr. E. C. Bayley then took the inquiry up but was not satisfied with his endeavours, and the elucidation was then entrusted to Babu Rajendralala Mitra. He published his rendering of the inscription together with the same plate in *J. A. S. B.*, 1861, p. 337, to which Mr. Bayley added a note (*ibid.*, p. 347). Prof. J. Dowson next undertook the decipherment of this and other records in the Kharōṣṭhī character and published his results together with the same plate in *J. R. A. S.*, 1863, vol. XX, pp. 221-68. His scrutiny left many parts of this inscription still undeciphered, and so the matter rested. Other scholars have given some attention to this inscription lately but were unable to complete the investigation.¹ Dr. Fleet then asked me in November 1910 to undertake the work, and supplied me with excellent ink-impressions. I now publish the results that I have been able to obtain.²

This vase is now in the British Museum, and I have inspected it and compared the ink-impressions with the inscription. The vase is 6·9 inches high and 6·6 inches broad at its

¹ See for instance M. Senart's rendering of part, *Journal Asiat.*, sér. 8, vol. XV (1890), p. 121; and sér. 9, vol. VII (1896), p. 8; and Prof. Lüders', *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 661.

² I have to thank Dr. F. W. Thomas for valuable suggestions and criticisms on my results; and for the convenience of scholars I have mentioned many of them, at his desire, when they differ from my results.

widest part. Dr. Read tells me that it bears no traces of ever having been gilt, but that parts of the brass might have presented a brilliant appearance like gold, if they had been protected by remaining in contact with certain earth while buried in the tumulus.

The inscription is in the **Kharōṣṭhī** script and consists of two portions. The first is written in three lines encircling the shoulder of the vase; and the second consisting of one line is written around the broadest part of the vase below the former and separated from it by three lines, and occupies not quite half the circumference. The first is the main portion and is in letters varying generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height. In the fourth line or second portion the letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch longer and correspondingly broad. They are formed of minute dents pricked into the metal, and the dents are so close together that from 8 to 10 are generally contained in $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the first three lines, and from 7 to 8 in the last line.

The two plates annexed hereto, giving a facsimile of the record, have been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision from the ink-impressions which also were made under his direction. The shape of the part of the vase where lines 1 and 2 lie is such that ink-impressions of them cannot be made without introducing a gap at some point or another; the place selected was naturally that where the record begins, and a supplementary ink-impression was made of that part of the record and has been reproduced below the complete lines. It shows how the lines run right round the vase without any blank space in line 1, and with only a small space at the end of line 2, and gives in their complete forms the final *ti* of line 1 and the initial *i* of line 2, which are not perfect in the circular impression. To have reproduced line 3 in one piece would have entailed a somewhat cumbersome folding plate, hence it has been treated in three parts overlapping each other; thus 3 B repeats the last six syllables of 3 A, and 3 C repeats the last five syllables of 3 B and also shows at its end the *bha* with which 3 A begins. A fourth piece 3 D has been added to show how this line also practically runs quite round the vase, and contains the last seven and the first eight letters of the line.

The style of the script is that of the Kushana inscriptions portrayed by Bühler in Table I of his *Indische Palæographie*, cols. x to xii. Further specimens of the script have been published lately, namely, the Taxila plate by Bühler (E. I. iv, 54), the Taxila vase by Prof. Lüders (E. I. viii, 296) and the Mathurā Lion-capital by Dr. F. W. Thomas (E. I. ix, 135). Mr. E. Thomas in discussing this inscription spoke of "the little care that has been taken to mark the nicer shades of diversity of outline which, in many cases, constitute the only essential difference between characters of but little varying form" (*Prinsep's Essays*, vol. I, p. 162). But it seems to me after a careful and detailed comparison of the letters, that the inscription has been carefully made, the letters are generally well-formed, only a few clerical errors occur, and the distinctions between letters which are similar in shape are generally expressed clearly¹ except as regards two particular letters, *y* and *ś*. For instance, *t* and *r* have the same general shape, and are fairly well distinguished, in that the downward stroke of *t* is usually of about the same length as the horizontal stroke, while in *r* it is generally about twice as long; and in only one or two places is the difference neglected. No distinction is made between long and short vowels, and the only special form that need be mentioned is *nē* in *munē* (l. 1).

The exception just referred to occurs in the letters *y* and *ś*, and these are the only letters that cause real uncertainty. Ordinarily *y* has a pointed top and *ś* a flat top, but the distinction is very far from being observed here and is indeed more often ignored; especially since sometimes the top has an intermediate roundish form and sometimes the letters are distorted by

¹ Characters should primarily be read as what they strictly appear to be, and the resultant words accepted and scrutinized. This is essential in dealing with the endless diversities in the different kinds of Prākṛit. To read characters so as to agree with the commoner forms of the Prākṛit words intended seems to be almost certain to obscure Prākṛit modifications that may be important critically and linguistically. See p. 208, note 3.

being tilted over to the right. We may confidently read *y* in *iya Khavadamri* (l. 1), and *ś* in *Śakya* and *śarira* (l. 1), *śava* (l. 3 A) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B); but in all other instances it is hardly possible to say positively, solely from the shape of the letter, whether it is *y* or *ś*, and regard must be had to the meaning. This is well illustrated by the word *puyas* which occurs thrice in l. 2 and once in l. 3 B. The *y* has a different shape in each of these places; in the last place it has undoubtedly the form of *ś*, and in all the other places its appearance is far more that of *ś*, than of *y*. In all these instances then what looks like *ś* is really *y*. Hence it is clear we must be prepared for similar confusion in other passages where one or other of these letters is intended, and the decision must rest mainly, if not entirely, on the sense. Thus we can read without doubt *y* in *Aṭamisiyasa* (l. 1) and in *paḍiyamśam* (ll. 2 and 3 C); and *ś* in the words *kuśala* (l. 2), *mahiśa* (ll. 2 and 3 B) and also in *paḍiyamśam*. There remain some words in which *y* or *ś* is combined with a vowel mark or another consonant, and, since *y* is written sometimes with a flat or rounded top, there would be nothing surprising if its top is made wide in order to find room where the vowel marks *i* and *ō* have to be inserted, so that *yi* and *yō* would then look like *śi* and *śō*. Accordingly *y* and not *ś* appears to be the correct reading in *kadalayigra* (l. 1), *paryata* (l. 3 A), *jalayuga* (l. 3 B), and *yō adra* (l. 3 A); while *ś* is right in *śecha* (l. 2); while what looks like *asamśrana* (l. 4) is doubtful. These words will be discussed in the Notes *infra*.

The characters for *b* and *v* require some notice. *V* proper approximates to the character for *b*, but they are distinguished in that the top line is flat in *v* and is curved upwards on the left side in *b*. Thus we have *v* initial in *vagra* (thrice, ll. 1, 2) and *vihara* (ll. 1, 4) and medial in *bhavagra* (l. 3 A) and *avashatri* (l. 3 C); while *b* occurs in *bhradaba* (l. 2) and *nabagra* (l. 3 A); and in conformity therewith it is proper to read *b* rather than *v* in *paridhabēti* (l. 1). Another character is found for what is properly *va*, which occurs only as a medial and is evidently distinguished from *va* proper, for it is always small and without the stroke to the left at the bottom. It is used in *bhavatu* always, also in *bhagravada* (l. 1) and *parivāra* (l. 3 C), and apparently in *Khavadamri* (l. 1). This difference in shape may denote a difference in value, and this small form may perhaps have had the sound of *v*.

No distinction appears to be recognized between the letters *n* and *ṇ*. A slight difference may be perceived between the character in *imēna* (l. 1) and *mulēna* (l. 2) and that in *Haṣṭhuna* (l. 2) and *avashatrigana* (l. 3 C); and that constitutes the difference which Bühler has shown in his Table I, cols. x and xi; but his form of *ṇ* occurs here, not only in words where it should properly appear as in *sarvina* and *Rohana* (l. 3 B), but also in words where it is inadmissible as in *imēna* (l. 1), *mulēna* (l. 2) and *satvana* (l. 3 A). There appears therefore to be no real distinction observed between *n* and *ṇ*, and this is what Prof. Lüders has noticed in his paper on the Taxila vase (E. I. viii, 297).

A letter that presents some difficulty is that which I read as *ḍi* in *gaḍigrēna* (l. 1) and *paḍiyamśam* (twice ll. 2, 3 C). It is one and the same in all three places, for its form in the first and second places is identical, and, though it varies somewhat in the third place, yet it occurs there in precisely the same expression *agra bhaga paḍiyamśam* as in the second, and must be the same in these two places.¹ Hence it must be read the same in all. It is certainly

¹ The letter has a tail or stroke to the right at the bottom; in the first two places the stroke is a straight line and in the third an upward curve. The difference seems to be intentional. In discussing the *r* stroke *infra* (p. 206) I have pointed out the difference made in it in the two portions into which the inscription must be divided, namely, the straight *r* stroke does not denote a real *r* in the first portion but does so in the second. The first two instances of this letter occur in the first portion, and its tail being made straight there like the unreal *r* could not create a misunderstanding; but in the third instance, which occurs in the second portion, that straight stroke might have suggested a real *r* stroke, and misunderstanding has been avoided by turning the tail into a curve, which has no special significance in the second portion (though it does represent a real *r* in the first portion).

not *ri*. M. Senart has taken it as *ti* and Prof. Lüders as *tri*, thus they read the word as *patiaṁśaṣ* and *patriyaṁśaṣ* respectively;¹ but I do not think it is *ti* or *tri*, because the right shoulder of the character is carried upwards far higher than in all other instances of the letter *t*,² and it differs from the genuine *ti* found in *paridhātēti* (l. 1), *rajaṭibaja*, *natigra*, *saṁbhāti* (l. 2) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3B), and from the *tri* found in *arashatri* (l. 3C). There is no other letter that it resembles except *q* and *qh*, which are figured in Bühler's Table I and in Dr. Thomas's Table IV (E. I. ix, 146). The word is evidently the same as in *agrapatiśaṣ* on the Mānikyāla stone, in *agrapatyasatdyāṣ* (E. I., i, 390, n° XVIII) and in *agrēbhāva-pratyāṁśatāyāṣtu* (E. I., i, 240) as noticed by M. Senart and Prof. Lüders.³ Since this letter corresponds to the first *t* in those words, it cannot be *qhi* and can only be *qi*, which in this Prākṛit represents that *t* as will be explained (p. 208). This then is a modified or new form of *q*.

A character occurs, which must apparently be a final *anuvāra*, in the word *paḍiyāṁśaṁ* (ll. 2, 3 C). M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have read it as *ḥ* as noticed above, but *ḥ* occurs in *bhagraḥ* and *puyaḥ* (ll. 2, 3B) and *dachhinaḥ* (l. 3A) and is wholly different from this letter, so that it cannot be *ḥ*. Moreover, it is quite different from the *ḥ* in *agrapatiśaṣ* on the Mānikyāla stone.⁴ All the letters in the Kharoṣṭhī script have been figured by Bühler in his Table I and by Dr. Thomas in his Table IV (E. I. ix, 146) except *ṁ*. This character is like none of these, nor can it be *ṁ* which never occurs as a final in Prākṛit. The only other sound for which no separate character has been met with is *m* standing by itself as a final. *Anuvāra* is generally denoted by a leftward curve added to the bottom of a consonant, as in *saṁ* (l. 1), *saṁbhāti* (l. 2), *am̐tara* (l. 3 A) and thrice in l. 4; but, if it should be difficult or inconvenient to add the curve to certain characters, such as *ku*, *bu* or *ho*, final *m* could only be expressed by some independent sign, so that presumably there must have been some character to denote it in such cases; and it appears to be this character. The construction of the sentence supports this inference. It is not necessary to suppose that the dative is intended after *bhavatu* here, for the construction with *bhavatu* is clearly changed afterwards to the nominative, as in *agra bhaya bhavatu* (l. 3 C), and here the construction is evidently similar. *Paḍiyāṁśaṁ* is obviously the nominative to *bhavatu* which follows it in both places; and, as its termination is not masculine nor feminine, it must be a neuter nominative ending in *m* (see p. 209). This character can hardly denote a final *m*, because *m* does not occur as a final in Prākṛit, as far as I know, except in poetry where a short syllable is required or before a vowel,⁵ and neither of these conditions exists here; yet it would come practically to the same result if this character be read as final *m*.

A letter occurs which appears to be a new form of *ph*. It is discussed in the note on the word *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B), *infra*, p. 217.

As regards compound letters, we have *ṛṭ* in *Arṭa*° (l. 1), *ry* in *paryatu* (l. 3 A), *śr* or *ry* in *asaṁśrana* (l. 4), *śh* in *Hōvēshkasya* (l. 2) and *shṭ* in *Haṣṭana* (l. 2). *Rv* occurs plainly in *sarva* (l. 3 A) and the first *sarvina* (l. 3 B), and is apparently intended by the similar character without the loop in the second *sarvina* (l. 3 B). *Tv* appears to be meant by the *t* with the upright line added in *satvata* (l. 3 A); and a new letter which I take to be *m̐bi* in *ṭumbimri* (l. 1) is discussed in the Notes (p. 213).

¹ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII (1896), p. 10; J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

² This seems to me a most important feature and constitutes a strong reason why the letter cannot be read as *t*; besides which the arguments mentioned in note 3 on p. 208 militate against its being read as *t*, and this character, if taken as *t*, would add a fourth form to the three noticed there. Dr. Thomas however would read it as *t*.

³ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, pp. 8-10; J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 661.

⁴ See plate in Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 8.

⁵ See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 343, 349.

The letter *y* as the second member of a compound letter is well illustrated here, being formed by a rightward hook added to the tail of the first member as in *arupyata* (l. 3 B). Since the tail is often curved to the left, the addition of the hook gives the appearance of a double curve as in *Kamagulya* (l. 1) and *ya* in *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), or even a triple curve as in *Śakya* (l. 1). This conjoint *y*-mark is added to another letter which resembles *d* or *n*, but the compound can only denote *sy* in the genitive termination *śya* because of its position. It is best formed in *masya* (l. 1), *Hovśhksya* (l. 2), *Vagra Marēgrasya* (l. 2) and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), somewhat variant in *Haṣṭana Marēgrasya* (l. 2), and badly shaped in *Marēgrasya* (l. 1).

The mark for *r* as the second member of a compound letter is a stroke to the right attached to the lowest point of the first member. It occurs often and raises some interesting questions. Dr. Thomas found on the Mathurā Lion-capital that conjunct *r* is so represented and also in two other ways, namely, by a similar stroke to the left and by a dot (E.I. ix, 137). The dot is not so used in this inscription. The stroke to the left occurs often, but has no significance; thus (to cite only a few instances) it is added to an initial *a* sometimes as in *Arṣamisiyasa* (l. 1), *agra* sometimes (ll. 2, 3) and *arupyata* (l. 3 B), to the first *ja* but not the two others in *maharaja rajatiraja* (l. 2) and to *bha* in *bharatu* sometimes but not always (ll. 2, 3). These illustrations also shew that it cannot denote the doubling of a letter, nor a distinction between the vowels *a* and *ā*, nor the vowel *u* or *ī*. It seems to be a mere flourish in finishing the tails of letters written from right to left.

This stroke to the right occurs chiefly with the letter *ga*, which represents the suffix *ka* and is thus a very common termination and a very useful criterion for dividing the words. It occurs with *t* in *avashatri* (l. 3 C), thrice with *d* in *pudra* (l. 1), *midra* (l. 2) and *adra* (l. 3 A),¹ and once with *bh* in *bhradaba* (l. 2). In all these words, except perhaps the first, this *r* stroke represents a real *r*, and it is only in conjunction with *g* that uncertainty arises.

The letter *g* occurs both with and without this *r* stroke. The downward line of *g* ends straight in *jālayaga* (l. 3 B) and *bhaga* (twice in l. 3 C), and has the slight leftward flourish in *arōga* (l. 3 A), *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B), *avashatrigana* and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), and *saṃghigana* (l. 4). In all other places the rightward stroke appears, and in discussing it we must divide the inscription into two parts, the first part down to *bhavagra* (l. 3 A) and the second comprising the remainder. In the first part it has two shapes; first, a horizontal stroke more or less straight, as in *gaḍḍigvāna*, *kadalayigra*, *Marigra* and *bhagravadā*² (l. 1), *Marēgrasya* (ll. 1, 2), *bhagraē*, *natigra*, *saṃbhestigra* and *bhagra* (l. 2), *nabagra* and *bhavagra* (l. 3 A); and secondly, an upward curve which appears always in *Vagra* (ll. 1, 2) and *agra* (l. 2 twice). In the first part then the curved form represents a genuine *r* in *agra* and apparently also in *Vagra*, and the straight form is used in all the other cases and always incorrectly, for even in *Marēgra* and *Marigra* the *gra* probably does not contain a real *r*. In the second part, however, the *r* stroke is never added to *g* except where there is a real *r*, as in *agra* (l. 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4), and then it is denoted by the straight horizontal stroke which is the correct form.

It appears therefore that it was discovered while the record was being inscribed on the vase, that the straight *r* stroke was being improperly inserted, and that the fault was corrected after the word *bhavagra*; hence the difference between the first and second parts. The horizontal form, which is the correct sign, is used with *g* in the second part, and with all other consonants throughout the inscription, wherever a real conjunct *r* occurs; but in the first part a distinction was made in the case of *g*, the horizontal stroke being improperly employed to represent an unreal *r*, and the curved form being used to denote a real *r*. This peculiarity was discovered and rectified after the word *bhavagra* as mentioned. That word occurs in the middle of what seems to be a poetical quotation (see p. 218). Was it some discussion about the quotation that

¹ See p. 208, note 3.

² Compare *bhagravatā* (A. II, line 12, in E. I. ix, 141) where Dr. Thomas styles the *r* stroke otiose (p. 142).

raised the question of orthography? Thus it might have been noticed that the addition of the unreal *r* vitiated the metro, as it certainly does in that word. Whatever be the explanation, it is certain that there is a difference in the use of the *r*-stroke with *g* in the two portions.

The persistent and incorrect addition of the horizontal *r* stroke to *g* throughout the first part cannot however be accidental, but must have some significance; and suggests that it denoted a modification of *g*. Such a modification could hardly be anything else than to give *g* the sound of *ḡ*. After I came to this conclusion, I found that Dr. Thomas had put forward a similar suggestion with regard to the peculiar *kr* which is employed on the Mathurā Lion-capital (E. I. ix, 137). There is however an important difference between this inscription and those on that capital, namely, that there an original *g* is hardened to *k*, as in *bhagravatō* (*bhagavatō*) and *nagraraasa* (= *nāgarakasa*), while here an original *k*, when not initial and not compounded, is (as will be explained, see below) softened to *g*. It seems probable therefore that *gr* in the first part here had the sound of *ḡ*, and that *kr* on that capital had a sound like *ḡ*. It will be convenient to transliterate this diacritical *r* as an italic.

Similar to the *r* stroke is a straight stroke to the right, attached to the lowest point of the character for *mi*. It obviously denotes something different from plain *mi*, which occurs in *Arṇamisiyasa* (l. 1), *mīdra* (l. 2) and *Miṭṭagasya* (l. 3 C). All the instances in which it appears are singular locative cases, and as the locative singular in the Prakṛits ends in *mhi* or *mmi*, we may justly take this character *mri* as meaning *mhi*. It can hardly denote *mmi*, because this means a doubled *m*, and letters are never written double in this script. It will however be convenient to transliterate this stroke also as an italic *r*.

It seems therefore from this examination that the straight *r* stroke was used as a diacritical sign to denote a modification of the main consonant in certain cases, certainly with *g* and *m* here and with *k* on the Lion-capital, in the way of giving that consonant a rougher, thicker or doubled sound.

The language is a form of Prakṛit and in discussing its character the phonetic changes may be noticed first, and the inflectional forms afterwards. Vowels remain the same as in Sanskrit except that *au* is reduced to *ō*, and *ṛi* is replaced by *a* or *i*. There is no clear instance of the elision of consonants (except a final *t* once), not even of the semi-vowels *y* and *v* which are so liable to suffer in Prakṛit, except *y* of the genitive termination sometimes. Speaking generally the only changes that occur among consonants are, first, a uniform softening of all single tenses or hard consonants of the five classes to their corresponding medio or soft consonants; and secondly, the assimilation of the more difficult compound consonants. The changes may be conveniently set out in the form of rules.

Rule 1.—Sanskrit tenses or hard consonants, when not initial and not compounded, are changed to their corresponding medio or soft consonants. This holds good for *k*, *t* and *p* throughout,¹ except *t* in verbal terminations. Thus *d* represents an original *t*—*bhagravada* = *bhagavata* (l. 1), *mada-pidara* = *mīti-pitara* and *bhradaba* = *bhrātāba* (l. 2). *B* represents an original *p*—*paridhābēti* = *paridhāpēti* (l. 1) and *nabagra* = *napagra* (l. 3 A). And *g* represents an original *k*, and thus the common suffix *ka* appears here as *ga*² or (with the diacritical *r* stroke discussed above) as *gra*—so *natigra* = *natika* and *sambhatigra* = *sambhatika* (l. 2), *nabagra* = *nripaka* (l. 3 A), *jalayuga* = *jalāyuka* (l. 3 B), and *saṅghiga* = *saṅghika* (l. 4). Whether this corrective applies to the name *Marēgra* and its variant *Marigra* is doubtful; yet it does probably because the stroke in them is that of the unreal *r*. One exception occurs, *rajatiraja* (l. 2), in which the original *t* has been preserved, probably because it is a special royal title.

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 102.

² *Ibid.* § 202.

This rule applied also to t^1 , thus *paṭiyamśam=vaṭiyamśam* (ll. 2, 3 C) for which see rule 6. Only one case of medial *ch* occurs, namely, *śōcha* (l. 2), and there the rule did not hold good if *śōcha*=Skt. *śaucha* (but see rule 4). The rule probably applied to aspirated tennues², but no instance occurs.

As mentioned above, an original *t* in verbal terminations remains unchanged; thus we find *paridhabēti* (l. 1) and *bhavatu* (ll. 2, 3).

Rule 2.—Rule 1 applied also where an original medial *t* was compounded with *r*—thus *puḍra*=*putra* (l. 1), and *midra*=*mitra* (l. 2). The akshara in these words is clearly *dr* and not *t* or *tr*, for it has exactly the form of *d* (as in *dachhinaē*, l. 3 A) with the *r* stroke, and there is no instance here where an undoubted *t* approximates to *d* in shape as it appears to do at times on the Lion-capital.³ But *t* combined with any other consonant was not softened, e.g., *am̐tara*=*antara* (l. 3 A), and see note on *arup̐yata* (p. 217). The *t* in *Ar̐tamisiyasa* (l. 1) remains unchanged, but this is a Greek word.

Rule 3.—Consequently in reading this inscription it must be noted that, where a media or soft consonant occurs as a non-initial, it may represent an original media or (since consonants are never written double here) a doubled media, or the corresponding tenuis; thus *d* can represent original *d* or *dd* or *t*, and similarly *g* and *b*. So *d*=original *d* in *sada* (l. 3 B), and=original *t* in *mada* (l. 2), and *b*=*bb* in *bhradaba* which=*bhrātabba*.

Rule 4.—Where a tenuis or hard consonant appears here singly (or combined with *r* or *v*) and as a non-initial (except *t* in verbal terminations), it represents a doubled letter, for otherwise it would have been modified according to rule 1. Thus as regards *t*, *natigra*=*nattigra*=*nattika* (by rule 1), and *sambhatigra*=*sambhattigra*=*sambhattika* (l. 2); *satva*=*sattva* (l. 3 A); and *arup̐yata*=*arup̐yattā* (l. 3 B). *Śōcha* would follow this rule if we read *śōchcha*=a possible Skt. form *śauchya*, but see rule 1. So also in the case of aspirated tennues; thus, *dachhinaē*=*dachchhinaē* (l. 3 A), and *śaphatiga*=*śapphattiga* (l. 3 B).

Rule 5.—Conjunct *y* appears only where respect required the full form of the word, as in the personal names whether in the nominative or in the genitive case, *Kamagulya* (l. 1), *Mar̐grasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hōvēśhkasya* (l. 2), and *Milyagasya* (l. 3 C); and in the special term *arup̐yata* in a quotation (l. 3 B). Elsewhere it is assimilated, as in *Ar̐tamisiyas(s)a* (l. 1), and *bhradaba* (l. 2) which=*bhrātabba* (by rule 3)=Skt. *bhrātrivya* (*vy* turning to *bb* as in *kabba* and

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 198.

² *Ibid.* §§ 192, 200.

³ E.I. ix, plate IV at p. 146. Having regard to the forms used there, Dr. Thomas thinks that this letter *dr* is *t*, but there appear to me to be grave objections thereto. First, as handwritings varied, each writing must primarily be scrutinized by itself as urged in p. 203, note 1; here the writing is minute, neat and well-formed, so that the presumption is that the differences between characters were made deliberately and have their special significance. Secondly, *t* proper appears in the words *paryata*, *am̐tara*, and *arup̐yata* (ll. 3 A and B), as well as in *paridhabēti* (l. 1), *rajatibaja* (l. 2) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B); and if this character *dr* is really *t* also, then *t* is made in two ways markedly different, and moreover without any reason, as we see especially in the compound words *nattigra*=*midra*=*sambhattigra*, where there was no reason to write the *dr* in *midra* different from the *t* in the two other words, if they are all alike *t*. Thirdly, if this *dr* is *t*, all distinction between *t*, *tr* and *dr* would be obliterated, a conclusion that seems to me highly improbable, considering how important and significant these three letters *t*, *d* and *r* are in the different kinds of Prakrit. Fourthly, Sanskrit *t* medial and uncompounded is certainly changed to *d* in this Prakrit as shown under Rule 1, and the same change would be natural when *t* is compounded with *r* which is only a liquid, so that we should by analogy expect the *t* in Sanskrit *putra* and *mitra* to appear here as *d*. My readings of the three characters as *t* (as in the words cited above), *tr* (as in *arashatri*, l. 3 C) and *dr* (as in *puḍra*, *midra* and *adra*) give each character a consistent value throughout, a value which accords fully with definite phonetic changes; whereas, if we read all these characters as *t*, we should have three different forms for *t* (with none apparently for *tr* or *dr*) and this Prakrit would become chaotic in its modifications. The confusion would be still further increased, if the letter which I read as *d* (see p. 204) be treated as a fourth form of *t*.

bhabba); or is resolved into *iy* as in *paḍiyamśam* from Skt. *pratyaṃśa*; but it remains when combined with *r* as in *paryata* (l. 3 A), see rule 6, and also note on *asamśana* (p. 218).

Rule 6.—Conjunct *r* as the second member of an initial consonant is dropped; thus *paḍiyamśam*=*paṭiyamśam* (by rule 1)=Skt. *pratyaṃśa*, where the disappearing *r* has cerebralised the following *t* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *sara*=*śrāva* (l. 3 A), except in *bhradaba* (l. 2) where it has persisted perhaps in consonance with the old Persian *bhratar*, "brother". In a medial akshara *r* is retained, whether as the first member as in *sareṭ* and *paryata* (l. 3 A) and *sarrina* (l. 3 B); or as the second member, as in *agra* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4), and see Rule 2.

The changes in the consonants then, it will be seen, are not random (if one may use the word) as so often seems to happen in Prakṛit, but follow a consistent plan, so that, if any word be re-adjusted according to these rules, it appears at once as actual Sanskrit or but one step removed therefrom.

In considering the inflectional forms, it will be convenient to cite the words as they would appear in their more correct Prakṛit form when re-adjusted according to the foregoing rules, that is, to cite them from the reading in italics (p. 210 f.).

The Prakṛit of this inscription has more affinities with Ardha-Māgadhī than with Śaurasēni, if we compare the grammatical terminations that occur with those given by Pischel.¹ The dative singular ends in *āṭ*, both for the masculine as in *bhāyāṭ* (l. 2), and for the feminine as in *pūyāṭ* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *dachchhiṇṇāṭ* (l. 3 A); and these are Ardha-Māgadhī forms. The locative singular ends apparently in *mhi* for the masculine and neuter, if we read *mri*=*mhi* in *Kharatamhi* and *vihāramhi* (l. 1); and it is only in Ardha-Māgadhī (as I understand) that the locative sing. ends in *mhi*, from which easily comes the form *mhi*, that is found in Pāli but not in any other Prakṛit, I believe. The genitive plural ends in *ana*, as in *saṃbhattikāna* (l. 2), *avashattirikāna* (l. 3 C), etc.; and this termination is found in Ardha-Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but not apparently in Śaurasēni.

There are other peculiarities which mark this Prakṛit. The nomin. singular masculine of nouns ending in *a* appears as *a* and not *ō*, as *putra*, *kaṭṭhayaṭṭa* (l. 1), *bhāya* (l. 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4); except in the poetical quotation in l. 3 A, B, where the *ō* form appears in *yō* and *aṇḍajō*. The neuter nomin. ends in *aṃ* as in *paḍiyamśam* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *vihāram* (l. 4) both which words appear to be considered neuter instead of masculine; but *śōcha* (l. 2), which should be neuter, does not support this rule and suggests that the nomin. also ended in *a*; and the accus. ends in *a*, as in *śarīra* (l. 1). The genitive masculine has its ordinary ending *sa* as in *Aṭṭamisiyasa* (l. 1), but when used honorifically has its full form *syā*, as in *Marōḡasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hōvōshkasya* (l. 2) and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C). From other noun-bases may be noticed the genitive *bhagavata Śākyamunē* (l. 1), which=Skt. *bhagavataḥ Śākyamunēḥ* without the visarga which disappears in Prakṛit;² and a form *va* of the genitive singular of noun-bases ending in *ā*, that is, Skt. *ri*, as in *mātā-pitara* (l. 2), which is discussed in the Notes (p. 215). Among pronouns we find *ēsha* used as a neuter nomin. (l. 4)³; and from *ibam*, not only the instrumental singular *imēna*⁴ (ll. 1, 2), but also probably a new base *iya*.⁵ Among the very few verbs that occur may be noticed *bhāyāṭ* the apocopated form of Skt. *bhāyāt* (l. 2).⁶

The inscription records that in the year 51 and in Huvishka's reign, Kamagulya (or perhaps Kamakulya, by rule 1), son of Vagra Marōḡa (or perhaps Marōka, by rule 1), interred a relic of

¹ Prakṛit Grammar, §§ 363-76.

² I do not find *munē* mentioned as a genitive by Pischel; it is given in Dr. E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 70, citing Oldenberg, KZ. xxv, 816.

³ Noticed in Pischel's Prakṛit Grammar, § 426.

⁴ This is found in other inscriptions.

⁵ See note on *iya Kharadamri* (p. 212).

⁶ Pischel's Prakṛit Grammar, §§ 459, 464.

Buddha at the Vagra-Mariga monastery, and enunciates a series of pious aspirations in favour of the Emperor Huvishka, his own father and relatives, a neighbouring Raja and other persons and all creatures generally. The last line states that the monastery was bestowed on the Mahā-saṅghika sect among the Buddhists.

The dedicator Kamagulya does not say he has founded the monastery, nor does he imply that he dedicates the relic at the time of the foundation, but he simply declares that he places the relic in this vase inside a small vault within the monastery.¹ The natural inference therefore is that his father Vagra Marēga founded the monastery before and named it after himself, and that Kamagulya afterwards interred the relic within it. The last line does not conflict with this inference, because it seems, both from its purport and also from the larger letters in which it is written, to be a separate declaration, recorded no doubt as a safeguard for the Mahāsaṅghika sect on this sacred vase which would be sure of reverent preservation; and because it may be read in the past tense just as well as in the present, there being no verb.

The father Vagra Marēga is styled a *mahiṣa* or local Raja. He bears the name or title Marēga and so does his grandson (Kamagulya's nephew) Haṣṭuna, but Kamagulya does not use this name for himself, and only says that he has fixed his residence at Khavata, the very place where the monastery was. One is tempted to infer that Marēga is an appellation derived from some town or district, that Vagra had his home there or was ruling there, and that Haṣṭuna was also living there, perhaps as Vagra's heir-apparent (for Haṣṭuna's father is not mentioned and may have been dead). Kamagulya speaks of his grandchildren (son's sons) but not of his son; hence it would seem that his son was dead.

None of the names mentioned, except Rōhana who was also a *mahiṣa* or neighbouring Raja, appears definitely to be Indian. Vagra might be read as Vakra (by rule 1), and this name and Kamagulya (or Kamakulya) may have Indian affinities, but Haṣṭuna seems more like an Iranian name.² Moreover Marēga (or Marēka) is not Indian, but suggests Marē, the old name of Merv, or other places of similar name which exist southward of Khawāt. It seems probable that the dedicator and his family were Persian. The only other name mentioned, Miṭyaga (or perhaps Miṭyaka, by rule 1), appears almost certainly to be Greek.³

I will now set out the transliteration of the inscription and interlineate with it in italics the more ordinary Prākṛit forms of the words, as they would appear if re-adjusted in the light of the foregoing rules and of the discussion on the diacritical *r* stroke. As I read the inscription, all the different characters are treated as distinct and each has the same value consistently throughout; and the supposition that there are errors in it is reduced to the smallest limits; in fact, only three words appear to have mistakes, namely *rajaṭibaja* (l. 2), *ariya* (l. 3 A) and *asamśrana* (l. 4)—with perhaps *avashatri* also (l. 3 C).⁴

TEXT.

1	Sam	20	20	10	1	masya	Arṭamisiyasa	stēhi	10	4	1	Imēna	gaḍḍigrēna
	<i>Sam[ratsarē]</i>				51	<i>māsasa</i>	<i>Arṭamisiyasa</i>	<i>stēhi</i>		15		<i>Imēna</i>	<i>gaḍḍikēna</i>
	Kamagulya					puḍra	Vagra-Marēgrasya					iya-Khavadamri	kadalayigra
	<i>Kamagulya</i>					<i>putra</i>	<i>Vagra-Marēgasya</i>					<i>iya-Khavatamhi</i>	<i>kaṭālayika</i>

¹ This is clear, whether we read *paridhātī* or *patihhātī* in l. 1. See notes, p. 214.

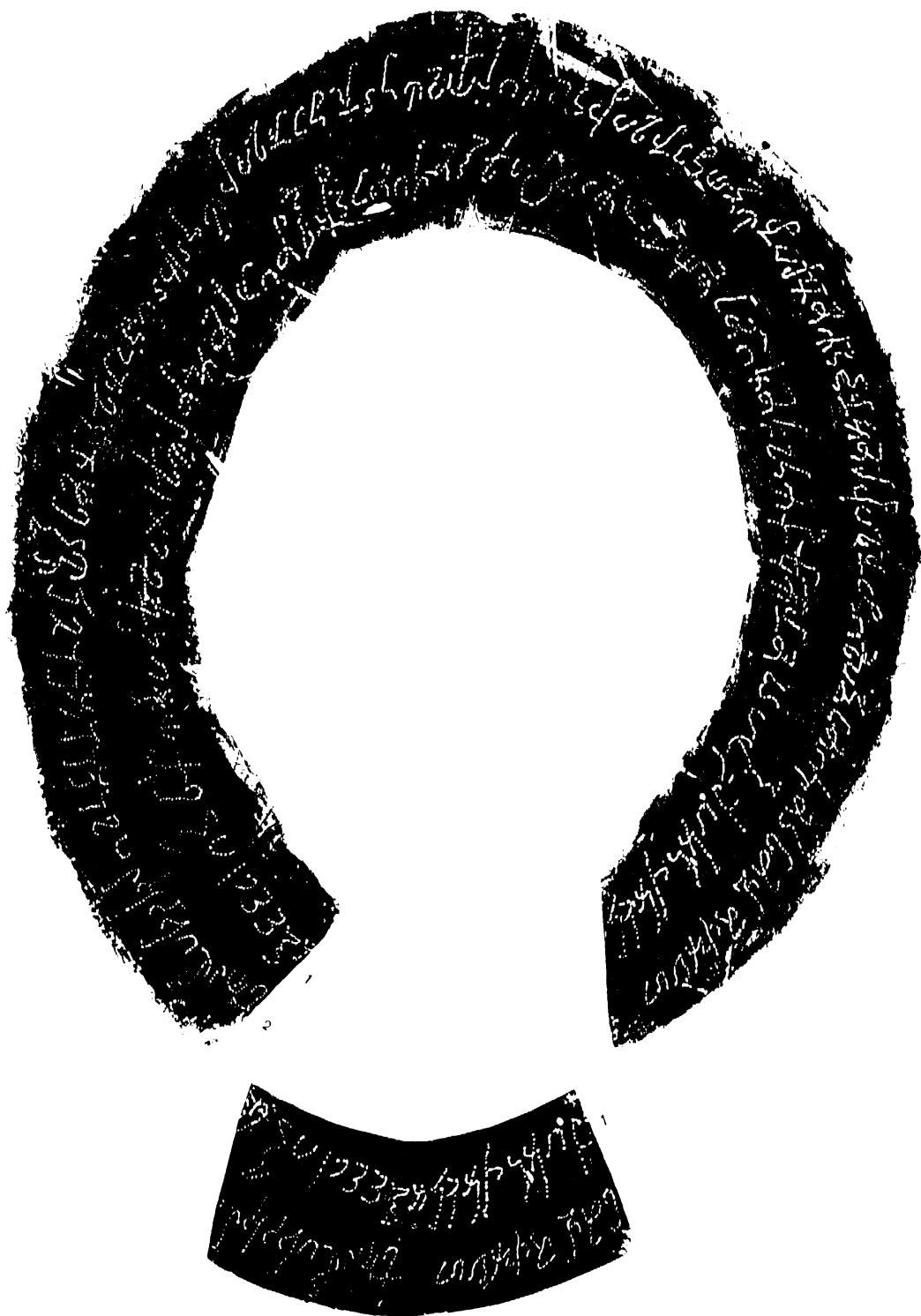
² It seems hardly possible to derive Haṣṭuna from *hṛishṭa*. Dr. Thomas suggests O. P. *ba-ya* 'god' as the derivation of Baga (or Vagra); and compares Haṣṭuna with *Histanes* and *Bisthanes*, and Marēga with the termination *bara* in *Sanabares*, etc. (J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 214). The *r* in *Vagra* is real.

³ See Notes, p. 218.

⁴ Dr. Thomas would add to this list the words *bhradaba*, *tōcha*, *nabagra*, *paryata*, *saphatiga* and *arupyata*.

Inscription on the Wardak vase.

Lines 1 and 2.



Inscription on the Wardak vase.

Lines 3 and 4.



	Vagra-Marigra-viharamri	ṭumbimri	bhagravada	Śākya-munō	śarira		
	<i>Vagra-Mariya-vihāramhi</i>	<i>ṭumbimhi</i>	<i>bhagavatu</i>	<i>Śākya-munē</i>	<i>śarira</i>		
	paridhabēti						
	<i>paridhīpēti</i>						
2	Imēna	kuśala-mulēna	maharaja-rajatibaja ¹ -Hōvēshkasya	agra-bhagraō	bhavatu		
	<i>Imēna</i>	<i>kuśala-mūlēna</i>	<i>mahārāja-rājātirāja-Hōvēshkasya</i>	<i>agra-bhāgāō</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>		
	Mada-pilara	mō puyaō	bhavatu	Bhradaba	mō Hasṭuna-Marēgrasya	puyaō	
	<i>Mādā-pitara</i>	<i>mē pūyāō</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>	<i>Bhrātabba</i>	<i>mē Hushṭuna-Marēgasya</i>	<i>pūyāō</i>	
	bhavatu	Śōcha	mō bhuya	Natigra-midra-sambhatigrana	puyāō	bhavatu	
	<i>bhavatu</i>	<i>Śōcha</i>	<i>mē bhūyāō</i>	<i>Nattika-mitra-sambhattikāna</i>	<i>pūyāō</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>	
	Mahiśa	cha	Vagra-Marēgrasya	agra-bhagra-paṭiyamśam			
	<i>Mahiśa</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>Vagra-Marēgasya</i>	<i>agra-bhāga-paṭiyamśam</i>			
3	* bhavatu	Sarva-satvana	arōga-dachhinaō	bhavatu	Aviya ² -nabagra	paryata-śava-	
	<i>bhavatu</i>	<i>Sarva-sattvāna</i>	<i>arōga-dachchhiṇāō</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>	<i>Ariya-napaka</i>	<i>paryatta-śava-</i>	
	bhavagra	yō adra-ṭuntara-niṇḍa-jō*	jalnyuga	śaphatiga	arupyata	sarvina	
	<i>bhāvaka</i>	<i>yō ādāra-antara-aṇḍa-jō</i>	<i>jalāyuka</i>	<i>śapphattika</i>	<i>arūpyattā</i>	<i>sarvina</i>	
	puyaō	bhavatu	Mahiśa	cha	Rōhana	† sada-sarvinat†	avashatrigana
	<i>pūyāō</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>	<i>Mahiśa</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>Rōhana</i>	<i>sada-sārciṇa</i>	<i>avashattirikāna</i>
	sa-parivara	cha	agra-bhaga-paṭiya(m)śam	bhavatu	Mityagasya	cha	agra-bhaga
	<i>sa-parivāra</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>agra-bhāga-paṭiyamśam</i>	<i>bhavatu</i>	<i>Mityagasya</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>agra-bhāga</i>
	bhavatu †						
	<i>bhavatu</i>						
4	Esha viharām	asamśrana	Mahasamghigana	parigraha			
	<i>Esha vihāram</i>	<i>asamśraya</i> or <i>achīryāna</i> ³	<i>Mahasamghikāna</i>	<i>parigraha</i>			

TRANSLATION.

In the year 51, on the day 15 [of the first half ?] of the month Artemisios. By means of this vase Vagra Marēga's son Kamagulya, who has fixed his residence in this place Khavata, inters a relic of the Lord Śākya-muni inside a vault within the Vagra Mariga monastery.

By means of this meritorious foundation—may it (the relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, Hōvēshka! May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son Hasṭuna Marēga! May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of my grandsons, friends and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Vagra Marēga! May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all these, namely, the saintly king,⁴ him who has obtained the condition of having mastered the doctrine, the creature which is born from moisture, from a womb (?) or from an egg, the creature whose life is in water, the graminivorous animal and the incorporeal soul! And

¹ The *ōz* is a mistake for *ra*.

* to * including the next letter *ja* is line 3 A.

† to † excluding the first letter *am* and including the letter *a* of *avashatrigana* is line 3 B.

‡ to ‡ excluding the first letter *sa* is line 3 C.

² The *vi* is probably a mistake for *ri*, see p. 216.

³ This word is very difficult; see note on it *infra*.

⁴ Or perhaps "the saint, the king" (see p. 216).

may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Rôhana, all his household and his dependants together with his retinue! And may there be a supreme lot for Mityaga!

This monastery is (or was) a gift to the Mahāsaṅghikas, who are teachers (or who had no habitation?).

NOTES.

Line 1.

Māsa may be a clerical error for *māsa* or *māsasya*, unless it should be a genitive formed from the old Persian word *māh*, "month," Prakṛitized. A clerical error at the very beginning certainly seems improbable. Prof. Lüders has suggested that *māsasya* passed into **māhasya* and then into *mātsya*,¹ but such a modification hardly agrees with the general character of this Prakṛit, which is close to Sanskrit as explained above. His view however lends support to my suggestion that the Persian word may have been Prakṛitized as *mā*, the final *h* being dropped as *visarga* is dropped in Prakṛit, and the genitive *māsa* formed from it. The month may have been designated by a regular term *māh Arāmisiya*, and this term may have been adopted here in its entirety, and then both words put into the genitive; the termination *sa*, and not *sa*, being added to *mā*, in order to distinguish the word from the common noun *māsa* and show that it is a genitive. The general practice in this inscription is to inflect only the last of two or more words placed in apposition, but in this case both words are certainly in the genitive, unless we suppose *māsa* is a clerical error for *māsa*, which is improbable. The general rule then may have been varied in this formal and precise statement of the date.

Arāmisiya = the Greek month *Artemisios* Prakṛitized, the Greek *t* being transliterated by the cerebral *t*. At the present time the English *t* is always so transliterated.

Stēhi, and not *stihī*, appears to be the actual reading. I cannot offer any explanation of this puzzling word, and can only throw out a suggestion that, as the Greek month was sometimes divided into two parts called *mēn histamenos* and *mēn phthinos*, *stēhi* might, through the old Persian root *sta*, "to stand," possibly and perhaps in abbreviation represent *histamenos*. If this be possible, the date would be the 15th day of the first half of the month.

Gadigveta.—The difficult letter *ḍi* in this word has been discussed above (p. 204). *Gadigra* may = *gaḍika* (by rule 1), or *gaḍḍika* (by rules 1 and 3), or *gaṭika* (by rule 1). It undoubtedly refers to this vase. *Gaḍika*, or better *gaḍḍika*, is probably a dialectical form of Sanskrit *gaḍḍika*, which means "a kind of jar, especially a golden vase"—a term that would have well suited this vase in its pristine brilliance, for when discovered portions of it were so bright as to resemble gold (see p. 203).

Padra must, it seems to me, agree with *Kamagulya* and govern *Vagra-Marēgrasya*, though this construction varies from the ordinary arrangement by which it should follow the word it governs. The ordinary construction, by which *padra* would govern *Kamagulya*, seems to me to lead to serious difficulties. The rendering I have adopted, though not common, is not irregular, and makes the whole sentence plain.²

*Iya-Kharadamhi*³ is obviously the locative case of the place to which the following word *kaṭalayigra* refers, and the place therefore is denoted by the expression *Iya-Khavada* or *Iya-Kharata* (by rule 1). There can be no doubt that we have here the ancient form

¹ J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 666.

² Dr. Thomas would prefer to make *Vagra-Marēga* the donor, though there are serious difficulties in doing so.

³ This might be read as *Iyakkha adamhi*, for the fourth letter has some resemblance to *a*, and the *ka* would be doubled by rule 4; but *Iyakkha* conveys no meaning, and *adamhi* as a locative from the pronominal base *adas* (see Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 429, 432) would be out of place.

of the present name of the place, Khawat, where this vase was found. If this expression be taken as one word, it would be *Iyakkharata* (by rule 4), and this is suggestive of the Greek *Iakkhos*, "Bacchus or Dionysos," whose legend was localised in this region as is well known. This view was tempting but appears untenable, because it is highly improbable (as a distinguished Greek scholar has informed me) that the oriental Greeks of this region would have had the name *Iakkhos* in public vogue, as it only had a real base in Attica and was a literary figment outside. Moreover, no Greek derivation can apparently be suggested except perhaps *Iakkho* + *hodos*, which is unsuitable. Again *Iyakkharata* is hardly an Indian word. The only alternative is to divide it into *iya Kharata*, and this division gives forthwith the modern name Khawat, while *iya* appears to be a pronoun meaning "this," or "here." The pronoun *idam* developed, or had as an equivalent, a base *ia* in Prakrit (apart from the feminine nomin. *iyam*), for the masculine or neuter locative *iammi* is found¹ and the base *ia* itself did exist.² This *ia* might well be written *iya* here, for this inscription has literary qualities, and the neighbouring old Persian word *iyam*, which is its exact equivalent and is both masculine and feminine, might naturally influence the spelling. *Iya Kharatamhi* would then mean "in this very Khavata," where the monastery was situated. Or *iya* might equally well be taken as = Skt. *iha*, "here."³ Either way the meaning is the same. Khavata, or Khāvata or Khavāta as it might be read, does not seem to have any meaning, if considered to be of Indian derivation though *dvata* was a termination used in the names of places, as *Vardadvata*.⁴

Kadalayigra = *kṛtālayika* (by rule 1), which is formed from *kṛtālaya*, as *hṛdayika* from *hṛdaya*, *kāyika* from *kāya*, etc. The whole is a more precise adjective than *kṛtālaya*, both meaning "having fixed one's residence." It suggests that Kamagulya did not belong to this place originally, but had come to reside here.

Tumbinhi.—The first akshara is clearly *tu* or *thu*, and *thupa*, *thuba* or *thura* suggests itself, but is inadmissible because the second akshara is not plain *p*, *b* or *c*. No other word beginning with *thu* seems possible. The letter must be read then as *tu*. The second akshara is a new character. At first sight it seems to be based on the character for *st*; see the previous word *sthi* and the forms of *sti* and *stu* in Bühler's Table I (n^o. 3), v, vi and vii) and Dr. Thomas' Table IV (E. I. ix, p. 146); but it cannot be *sti* or *stu*, because (1) it has a stroke to the left at the bottom more than *st* has and also the vowel mark *i*; (2) that stroke cannot denote *u*, for *u* is not so made here and *u* would be in addition to *i*; and (3) *st* could not follow the preceding vowel *u*, and *sh* alone would be permissible after *u* in this dialect which clearly distinguishes between the three sibilants. The character however is not *sh*, for *sh* is found in the name *Hashūna* afterwards. Moreover all such renderings are meaningless, and the character cannot denote *st* at all. In shape it is a *b* (or *c*) with a cross-line through its middle and the vowel-mark *i*, hence presumably it represents *bi* (or *ci*) in combination with some other consonant denoted by the cross-line. If it be so, then, since the language is a Prakrit, the cross-line can only mean some secondary consonant such as *au*, *y*, *r* or *v*. It is not *y* nor *r*, for their forms have been discussed above (p. 206); and *v* is hardly possible in

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 429.

² See Prakṛita-Paṇḍala (E.I. Biblioth. Indica); references in the Index.

³ See J. R. A. S. 1903, p. 1089.

⁴ M. III. i, 142, 5675. It does not make the matter easier if we read *Iakharata*, which is not impossible since there is very little distinction between *ya* and *sa* in this inscription (see p. 203). This rendering might be resolved as *Iśa* + *khavata* or *Iśa* + *akkharata* (by rule 4); but these words yield no satisfactory solution (though *akkharata* could = *aksharata*) and do not account for the present name Khawat. Moreover any such solution would weaken the special significance of *kadalayigra*. Professor Rapson has pointed out to me that *īa* occurs with the meaning "here" in the third line on the reverse of figure N. xvi 2 in Plate CI of Dr. Stein's "Ancient Khotan." If we read *īa* here, the expression becomes *īa Kharatamhi* with precisely the same meaning as *iya Kharatamhi*; but the latter reading is preferable because the letter resembles *y* rather than *ī*.

combination with *b*, and hardly probable in combination with *v*, for *vv* would be a doubled *v* and letters are not written double here. Only *m* therefore seems possible, and the character is presumably *mbi* (or *mvi*). In support of this it may be observed, that *m* could hardly be expressed by the usual curve for *m* (see p. 205) added to *tu*, and could therefore be only indicated by some addition to the letter *b* (or *v*) to form the compound *mb* (or *mv*). The word therefore is *tumbimbi* (or *tumvimbhi*), the locative case of *tumbi* (or *tumvi*). No Indian word seems possible, and the only inference that arises is that *tumbi* (or *tumvi*) is a foreign word adopted and Prākṛitized. Since the cerebral *t* is used to denote the Greek *t*, as in *Arfamiśiya*, *tumbi* suggests the Greek word *tumbion*, the diminutive of *tumbos*, "a sepulchral chamber or vault." *Tumbion* would become *tumbiya* in Prākṛit and might be shortened to *tumbi* in ordinary parlance. Greek influence was strong in this region, and *tumbion* would be an appropriate word to denote the substantially constructed cavity or cupola in the tumulus in which the vase was found (see p. 201). This rendering is surprising, yet none other seems to me possible from the scrutiny.

Bhagavada Śākya-munī has been discussed above (p. 209).

Paridhābēti = *paridhāpēti* (by rule 1) = Skt. *paridhāpayati*, causal of *pari-dhā*, and means "encloses." The usual term to express the installation of a relic-shrine is *paṭiṭṭhāvēti*, and this suggests itself as the word intended here. *ṭh* and *dh* are similar and the third akshara might be read either way, but *paṭiṭṭhābēti* (as *paṭiṭṭhābēti* might appear here by rule 4) does not appear to be intended for three reasons based upon the writing, the grammar and the sense. First, the second akshara is certainly not *t* but *r*, for it agrees exactly with the two *r*'s which immediately precede in the word *śārira*; secondly, if it were intended, it would presumably appear as *paṭiṭṭhābēti* or perhaps *paṭiṭṭhābēti* (by rules 1 and 4) and *di* or *ḍi* could hardly lead to an erroneous *ri*; and thirdly, this word must be taken with *imēna gaḍḍirēna*, in which the relic was enclosed, and *paridhābēti* suits the context better than *paṭiṭṭhābēti*.

Line 2.

Kuśala-mūlāna.—This expression occurs on the Mānikyāla stone,¹ and is also a technical Buddhist term. As a technical term—'The three Kuśalamūlas, "roots of goodness or ground-work of merit" are *alobha*, *adosa*, *amoha*, freedom from covetousness, from anger, and from ignorance':² but this interpretation is unsuitable here, and the expression here presumably means something different, as Prof. Lüders also apparently holds when dealing with the Mānikyāla stone.³ It may mean "well-conceived foundation," "virtuous endowment," if *kuśala* be taken as an adjective; and "root of well-being," "source of meritorious action," if *kuśala* be taken as a noun.⁴ Here from its general adaptability it may imply all these meanings with reference to the relic.

Agra bhāga.—*Agra* means "foremost, pre-eminent," and *bhāga* "portion, lot, destiny." The word might be read *bhagga* (by rule 3), which would = Skt. *bhāgya*, "fortune, lot, destiny." The meaning is the same either way. M. Senart has pointed out that *agrabhāga* here corresponds to *agrābhāra* in the inscription of Tōramāṇa Shāha of Kura (E. I., i, 240), which has *agrābhāva-pratyāśatīyastu*.⁵ *Agrābhāva* denotes a state or condition, and *agrabhāga* here must presumably imply the same, "a pre-eminent lot," and not "a first share." I do not understand

¹ See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 645.

² See Childers' Pali Dictionary, s. v. *kuśala*; and Aṅgut. Nik. vol. I, p. 203. Dr. Thomas takes it to mean 'a work of merit,' 'a pious work.'

³ Prof. Lüders explains it as equivalent to the phrase which is found at Mathurā, *anena* (or *imēna*) *gaḍḍhāraṃ paridhāvēti* (J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 669). Is not that a parallel rather than an equivalent phrase?

⁴ See Childers' Pali Dictionary.

⁵ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10. See note to *paṭiyāśatī* infra.

to what *bhāga* as a "share" could refer,¹ whereas a condition is intelligible and natural. He first translated *agrabhāga* as "prosperity," but afterwards agreed with Bühler to seek in it a direct allusion to the acquisition of *bodhi*.² I would rather suggest that, since the expression appears to denote a condition, it refers to Buddhahood. With the word *pratyamāṣa* added (see note to *paṭiyamāṣam*, *infra*), "a share of Buddhahood" seems to be as appropriate as "a share of *bodhi*." The expression can hardly refer to any worldly blessing, because in that case is it not rather witless to utter such a wish on behalf of Huvishka, who enjoyed already the highest position on earth?

Bhavatu is used here with the dative, as *agra bhāgāṭ* and *pūyāṭ*. Since the dative implies 'purpose, intention, aim,' *bhavatu* with the dative means "may it be for the purpose of," "may it be with an aim towards," that is, "may it tend towards," "may it operate towards."

Mada-pidara = *mātā-pitara* (by rule 1). This must be the genitive of *mātā-pitri* treated as a singular noun;³ and it is so treated in the Taxila plate, where the accus. *mata-pitarām* occurs (E. I. iv, 55). The genitive must be employed here after *pūyāṭ* as in all the other similar sentences. This appears to be a new form of Prakṛit genitive, and the nearest approach to it is *piaraha* which is a genitive of *pita*.⁴ Its real formation appears to be this—*pitara* = *pitaraḥ* (the visarga disappearing in Prakṛit) which would be correctly formed as a genitive from *pitar* (which is the essential base of *pitri*),⁵ just like *giraḥ* from *gir* and *charaḥ* from *char* in Sanskrit.⁶ The declension of *pitri* in Sanskrit shows similar forms from the base *pitar*, as *pitaram*, *pitarau*, *pitaraḥ* and *pitari*.

Pūyāṭ.—*Pājā* means more than "honour" and implies some degree of veneration or reverence; hence *pūyāṭ bhavatu* means "may it tend to the veneration."

Bhradaba as the word clearly is and not *bhradara*. *Hashtuna Marēgrasya* is in apposition to this word and not to *mē*, for the declarant is Kamagulya and *mē* refers to him; and the meaning is that Hashtuna Marēga is the *bhradaba* in relation to *mē*, that is, Kamagulya. *Mē* is inserted parenthetically, like *cha* in *mahiśa Vagra Marēgrasya* (l. 2) and in *mahiśa Rohana* (l. 3 B). *Bhradaba* cannot well be treated as a mistake for *bhradara* on the analogy of the preceding *mātā-pitara* and so taken as the genitive of *bhradrī*, because (1) it is contrary to the general practice to inflect two words in apposition as would happen if we read *bhradara Hashtuna-Marēgrasya*; and (2) it is unnecessary to suspect any mistake. Indeed one should hesitate to suppose there is an error in spelling, unless the mistake is patent (as in *rajabaja*, l. 2) or the word actually written appears impossible (as in *ariya*, l. 3 A, and *asamśana*, l. 4); and one should presume that what has been written is what was intended, if it has an intelligible

¹ Unless we adopt a valuable suggestion by Dr. Thomas. Taking *agrabhāga* in its literal meaning "chief share," he thinks that it denotes a chief share in the merit resulting from this donation. To my mind the addition of the word *pratyamāṣa* makes a difficulty in this rendering.

² Journ. Asiat., sér. 8, vol. XV, p. 123; and sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10.

³ Dr. Thomas is inclined to think it may be a genitive plural in *-rām*.

⁴ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 391.

⁵ This explanation is supported by the exactly analogous use of the genitives *bhagavata(h)* *Śākyamunā(h)*; see p. 209.

⁶ The word *bhradara* appears in the Taxila plate, and Bühler takes *bhradara sarva* there as = *bhradrīn sarvān*, but finds the construction irregular, as it occurs in the middle of several genitives. It is really the genitive, exactly analogous to *mātā-pitara* here, and as such accords fully with the other genitives there. That passage would then run thus — *sa-putra-darasa (ayn-bala-rardhie) bhradara sarva-(cha)-natiga-(bām)dharaśa cha*, the first *cha* being inserted parenthetically (like *cha* in this inscription, see note on *bhradaba*) with reference to *sarva-natiga*, and the second *cha* being in its correct place grammatically but referring specially to *(sarva)-(bām)dharaśa*. These *cha's* are used more with regard to the sense than strict grammar. *Bhatara* also occurs on the Mānikyāla stone inscription and is treated as a genitive by Prof. Lüders (J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 686). *Natiga* there must = *natiga* here; see note on it.

and appropriate meaning.¹ Nor can the word be read as *bhṛada* *ba*, treating *ba* as = Skt. *vā* or *ṛva*, because (1) Skt. *v* when single is not changed to *b* here, and (2) neither word would suit the context but only *cha*. *bhṛadaba* is therefore one word and = *bhṛātabba* (by rules 1 and 3), which = Skt. *bhṛātrivya*, "nephew;" and the whole phrase = Skt. *mad-bhṛātrivya-ḥaṣṭuna-Marēgasya*.

Śochu has been discussed above (p. 208).²

Bhuya = Skt. *bhūyāt*, the final *t* being dropped in Prakrit.³ This word is well chosen here to convey a less positive meaning than *bhucatu*. Where the declarant expresses his desire on behalf of other persons he uses the imperative tense, but here in uttering his desire on his own behalf he modestly uses the precative.

Natigra = *nattika* (by rules 1 and 4) = Skt. *naptṛi* + *ka*.

Sambhatigra = *sambhattika* (by rules 1 and 4) = Skt. *sambhaktṛi* + *ka*, "sharer, favourer" here no doubt "partisan, associate."

Mahiṣa = *mahiṣa*, Skt. *mahī* + *ṣa*. It occurs again in l. 3 B,⁴ and, as the persons named are inferior to the Emperor Huvishka, it evidently means a local Rāja. There were apparently two Rājas in this part of the country, Vagra Marēga and Rōhaṇa.

Paḍiyamśam.—This word occurs again in l. 3 C. It has been fully discussed above (pp. 204 f., 209, 215), where the similar expressions found elsewhere have been mentioned, *agrēbhāva pratyamśatīyāstū*,⁵ *agra-pratyāśatīyā bhṛatu*,⁶ and *bhatara Svarabuddhiṣa agra-patiāśu*.⁷ It = *paṭiyamśam*, (by rule 1) = Skt. *pratyamśa* "division, share," as M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have pointed out. I would translate *agra-bhāga-paḍiyamśam* as a "share in a pre-eminent lot." It is to be noticed that this phrase is used only with reference to the two local Rājas, Vagra Marēga here and Rōhaṇa in l. 3 B, whereas full *agra-bhāga* is applied to Huvishka and Mityaga.

Line 3.

Aroga may = Skt. *a-rōga*, or stand for *ārōgya* (by rule 3) and = Skt. *ārōgya*. The meaning is the same, and the latter is probably preferable because *ārōgya dukṣiṇīyē* is said to occur on an inscription at Mathurā.⁸

Ariya-nabagra.—*Ariya* is no doubt a mistake for *ariya*,⁹ for the *v* is as large as the usual size of *r* and only the small stroke at the top of *r* is wanting. These words then = *ariya-*

¹ Dr. Thomas however thinks that there must be a mistake, and that the word intended is *bhṛadara*, genit. sing. of *bhṛada*, that is *bhṛātā*, 'brother'; *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*.

² Dr. Thomas suspects that it is really an error for *sō cha* and = *tat cha*. *Tat* appears as *tam* in Prakrit (Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §425).

³ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 459, 464.

⁴ This word might also be read as *mahiya*, because *h* and *y* are often made alike here (see p. 203), and Dr. Thomas would read it so and take it as = *mahyam* or *mama*, referring to the donor; but if so, the two passages seem tautological as regards the donor.

⁵ Bühler read this as *śatīyās tu*, and translated it "(their) share being a preferential one" (E. I., i, 241); but Prof. Lüders takes it as *śatīya astu*, and I agree with him. I would translate it thus, "may it tend to the condition of (their obtaining) a share of a pre-eminent existence."

⁶ Which Bühler translated as, "may (the merit of this gift) be by preference for their parents" (E. I., i, 390) but I would suggest that *agra* is short for and = the full phrase *agrēbhāva* or *agrabhāga*, for *agra* is a noun and means the "foremost or topmost point"; and that the translation should be, "may it tend to their parents' having the condition of (obtaining) a share in a pre-eminent position."

⁷ Which Prof. Lüders translates "for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi"; but I would suggest it means, "(let it tend) to my brother Svarabuddhi's (having a) share in a pre-eminent position."

⁸ Referred to in I. A., vol. 33 (1904), p. 155.

⁹ I have to thank Dr. Thomas for this suggestion. He thinks further that *nabagra* may be a mistake for *naragra* and = *nāraka*, "beings in hell;" *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *rajatibaja*.

napaka (by rule 1)=Skt. *ārya-nṛīpa+ka*, "the saintly king." They might be taken separately as "the saint, the king," if it is probable that the dedicator would have invoked a blessing not only on the saintly king, but also on kings generally. If so, the *ariya* must be distinguished from the *śrāvaka* who is mentioned next.

* *Paryata-śara-bharagra*=*paryatta-śīva-bhīvaka* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *paryṭpta-śrīva-bhāra+ka*.¹ *Śīva* which means "hearing" appears to signify "learning, instruction" here and the whole phrase to be a circumlocution for *śrāvaka*.

Yō adra aṁtara aṁḍa-jō.—The first letter might be read as *śō*, but that could only represent Skt. *śvas*, "tomorrow," and is meaningless here. The *jō* at the end clearly answers to *yō* at the beginning, so that the whole is one long phrase; and, as no sandhi blends the intervening words as in the following words *jalāyuga*, *śaphatiga* and *arupyata*, the intervening words are obviously distinct and must each be read with *jō*; otherwise they would have had the same termination *ō* instead of ending in *a*. The whole phrase therefore becomes *yō adra-jō aṁtara-jō aṁḍa-jō*, and as *aṁḍa-jō* clearly means an "egg-born creature" and the following word *jalāyuga* means "a creature that has its life in water," *adra-jō* and *aṁtara-jō* must denote other great groups of living creatures. *Adra* (as the word appears to be, though the second letter is not clear even in the original)=*īdṛa* (by rule 3)=Skt. *ādra*, "moist"; and this adjective is evidently used substantively here,² so that *adra-jō* means "a creature born from moisture," and=Pāli *samsēda-jō*. *Aṁtara*=Skt. *antara*, "the interior," and *antara-jō* may mean "born from the interior," and=*garbha-ja*, that is, "mammalian."

Jalayuga=*jalāyuka* (by rule 1)=Skt. *jala + āyu + ka*, "a creature which has its life in water." The word might be read as *jalāyuka* or *jala-śuka*, which mean "a leech," but such a narrow and unsatisfactory allusion is out of the question.

Śaphatiga.—The word looks like *śaśēṭiga* or *śaśvēṭiga*, or we might read *y* instead of *ś* in either or both places, since these two letters are not well distinguished (see p. 203); but no such reading gives any sense, because the latter part whether read as *ēṭiga* or *ettika* (as it should be by rules 1 and 4) is an impossible ending, however we attempt to restore the word in Sanskrit. The first letter certainly seems to be *ś*. The second letter however differs markedly from the first and diverges from *ś* or *y*, in that its left limb is prolonged unusually downward as in *p* and *ph*. I am led therefore to think that it is not *ś* or *y* but is a badly formed *p* or *ph*, and that the stroke which resembles the vowel mark *ē* is really the top part of *p* or *ph* shifted slightly to the right.³ Of these two letters *ph* is preferable, because the right limb has an upward curve which *p* does not possess and which is not the mark of *r* in *pr*. As *ph* it is a new form, yet *ph* has two different shapes in Bühler's Table I, so that its character was not rigidly settled. Taking the second letter then as *ph*, we obtain a reading which is appropriate. *Śaphatiga*=*śaphattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *śaṣpāṭṭri + ka* "an animal feeding on grass." This is no doubt a pretentious word,⁴ but it accords with the contiguous words and occurs as will be seen in a poetical quotation.

Arupyata=*arūpyātā* (by rule 4), "incorporeal soul."⁵ This may represent Skt. *arūpin + ātmā*, but not *arūpya + ātmā*, because *arūpya* does not have the meaning "incorporeal." Pāli

¹ Dr. Thomas would read *paryata* as = *paryānta*.

² *Adra* might = a possible noun *ādrya*, "moisture"; but the general character of this Prākṛit seems against it. Dr. Thomas would read *adra aṁtara* as *atra aṁtara* and as = *atrāntare*; but as regards the character *dr*, see p. 208, note 3.

³ Dr. Thomas however would read the word as *śa(in)śēṭiga*, that is *sāmsēḍika*, equivalent to Pāli *samsēda-ja*, from Skt. *saṁ* and *śēḍa*; but there is no instance here where an original *ś* is turned to Prākṛit *ś*, or an original *d* to Prākṛit *t* (see rules 1 and 3, pp. 207, 208).

⁴ *Śaṣpā-bhuj* is in the dictionary.

⁵ Dr. Thomas would take this word as = *arūpyānta*.

has *arūpi* and *aruppa* (=Skt. *arūpya*, formed directly from *a-rūpa*), both meaning "incorporeal." *Arupyata* might represent the latter word, if read as *ārūpyattā*, but *arūpyattā* seems preferable, because the first syllable is probably short since we have here presumably a śloka quoted.

All these words from *ariya* to *arupyata*¹ have a particularly literary style and rhythm, and here alone occurs the nomin. termination *ō*. These features suggest that we have a poetical quotation here, in which all the words were in the nomin. singular as shown by the *ō* form and the word *arūpyattā*. If then these words be adjusted according to the rules set out above, and the nomin. form *ō* be restored, and *jō* be added to the two words from which it has been omitted, the passage falls into the śloka metre :—

.. .. ariya-napakō paryatta-śūva-bhāvako
Yō āddra-jō antara-jō anda-jō [cha] jalāyuko
Śapphattikō arūpyattā.²

Sarvina=Skt. *sārvīṇīm*, genitive plural of *sārvī*,³ a feminine collective noun formed from *sarva*, precisely like *sāmagrī* from *samagra*, and with the same meaning. It is used in the plural, because it applies to each of the preceding terms.

Sada=Skt. *sadas*, "residence, dwelling"; *sada-sārvī* means "household." It is used in the plural, probably honorifically, with reference to all the houses that composed the residence of the Rāja Rōhana.

Avashatriga=*avashatṛika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. femin. form *avasakṛī* + *kā*. But perhaps the *ri* is a mistake for or a reminiscence of the vowel *ri* of the masc. form, and the word intended would be *avasakṛī* + *kā*. *Avasakṛī* is not actually found in Sanskrit, but would be a legitimate formation from the root *ava-saṅj* (which does occur) and would mean "an adherent." The preposition *ava* sometimes changes a following *s* to *sh* as in *avashāmbh* and *avashvan*, and, though it does not so modify the root *saṅj* in Sanskrit, yet it might do so in Prākṛit, especially when there is a closely allied root *saṅj*, "to embrace," which would I imagine be modified after *ava*.⁴ Both roots would be alike in Prākṛit.

Paḍiyamśaṇ is discussed above (p. 216). The medial *h* is not so clear here as in that earlier place.

Mityaga (or perhaps *Mityaka* by rule 1) seems to be Greek both from its appearance and also from the use of the cerebral *ḷ*, see *Arṭamisiya* (p. 212); but the only Greek words I can suggest after enquiry are *mētoikos*, which means "a foreign settler" but is hardly a name, and *mētiochos*, in which the *kh* could hardly be represented by *k*. It is noteworthy that the dedicator expresses the same wish for full *agra-bhāga* for *Mityaga* as for *Huvishka*.

Line 4.

Esha viharam.—*Vihāra* appears to be treated as a neuter noun, because *viḥārah* is clearly the nomin. case. *Esha* is used as a neuter in Prākṛit.⁵

Aśaṁśraṇa is a difficult word. The second akshara is like *śaṁ* at the beginning of the inscription, and the third appears to be *ś* or *y* compounded with *rō*; and if the former is *śaṁ*,

¹ Dr. Thomas would put a different meaning on the text, thus—"I propose (tentatively) to understand all greaters to be referred to, 'from āryas to the beings in hell, and all the *arājyas*, etc. in between (*astrādāra*) including the invisible (*arūpa*).'"

² Can any Pāli scholar identify those verses?

³ *Sārvīṇīm* occurs in a Skt. quotation in Piechel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 16.

⁴ See Pāṇini viii, 3, 68-9.

⁵ Piechel's Prākṛit Grammar, § 426.

⁶ It differs from the usual forms of *ś* and *y*, in that the left limb is extended unusually downward.

the only tenable reading for the letter is *śra*, and the whole word would be *asamśrana*; but this seems impossible, if taken as one word, and if it is divided into *asam śrana*, we only obtain two difficult words, and initial *śr* is inadmissible since it drops its *r* as shewn in *śīva* (see p. 217). There seems to be a clerical error in the word. Two emendations may be offered. First, it may be a mistake for *a-samśraya*, "having no asylum or habitation;" the gift of a vihāra to Mahāsaṅghikas who had no sanctuary would have been a natural act of piety. Or secondly, as Dr. Thomas suggests, the *sam* may be a mistake for the somewhat similar letter *ch*, and then the next letter may be read as *rya*,¹ so that the word would be *āchāryāna*, genitive plural of *āchārya*, "teacher." On the whole this seems preferable,² and I have adopted it in the translation.

No. 21.—SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA; THE YEAR 241.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

In my article on the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna³ it was stated that the late lamented Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., had in his hands an unpublished copper-plate grant of Dahrasēna's son and successor Vyāghrasēna.⁴ At my request Rai Bahadur Venkayya obtained the original plates on loan through the Government of Bombay, who were good enough to permit them to be sent to me for inspection.

As stated by Mr. Jackson, the copper-plates come from Surat. They are two in number, each measuring between $9\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍi plates, there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. The Jihvāmāliya occurs once (l. 1) and the Upadhmanīya five times (ll. 4, 5, 6 (twice), and 14). In three instances (*mā*, l. 9, and *lā*, ll. 13 and 18) the secondary form of *ā* is expressed by a hook at the bottom of the preceding consonant. The date at the end of the inscription contains the abbreviation *sam* (for *saṁvat*) and the numerical symbols 1, 5, 10, 40, and 200.

The language is Sanskrit prose; but two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end. The rules of grāmāra and of *saṁdhi* are carefully observed; only ll. 10-14 contain a few blunders, and l. 8 two clerical mistakes. *Anuvāra* is replaced by *ñ* in *vañśa* (l. 5) and *vañśya* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa by the Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (l. 7 f.) of the Traikūṭaka family (l. 1), who issued his order from "the victorious Aniruddhapurā" (l. 1). This city, which appears to have been the capital of the Traikūṭaka kings, is mentioned also in the slightly different form "the victorious Aniruddhapurī" as the place of residence of the donee in the Bagumrā plates of [Kalachuri-]Saṁvat 406.⁵ Vyāghrasēna

¹ This *ry* is different from the *ry* in *pariyata* (l. 8 A) in that the left limb extends downwards here much further than in *pariyata*. Whether this difference is accidental or implies a distinction is doubtful.

² Though, on this interpretation, one would have expected *Mahāsaṅghika āchāryāna*.

³ Above, Vol. X. p. 52 f.

⁴ Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XXIII. p. 6 f.

⁵ Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 270.

claims to have ruled the **Aparānta** country¹ (l. 2). This statement furnishes an interesting confirmation of two verses of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (iv. 58 f.), where the mountain **Trikūṭa**, from which the designation of the Traikūṭaka family must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta.² According to the *Vaiṣṇavī* (ed. Oppert, p. 37, verse 35), which is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 53, the chief place of Aparānta seems to have been **Śūrpāraka**, the modern **Sōpārā**, with which I feel tempted to identify Aniruddhapura, the capital of the Traikūṭakas. The object of Vyāghrasēna's grant was the hamlet **Purōhitapallikā** in the **Iksharaki** district (*ahāra*, l. 8), which I am unable to identify. From the name given to the hamlet we may perhaps infer that the donee, Nāgaśarma (l. 10), was the king's family priest (*purōhita*).

The date of the grant was the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of **Kārttika** in the year 241 of an unspecified era (l. 18). As we know from coins that Vyāghrasēna was the son of Dahrasēna,³ whose Pārḍi plates are dated in [Kalachuri-]Samvat 207, the date of the new inscription must be also referred to the **Kalachuri era** of A.D. 249, and the specified month places the record in A.D. 490 or 491.

The following short pedigree comprises all that we know from coins and inscriptions regarding the Traikūṭaka kings of Aparānta, residing at Aniruddhapura:—

Mahārāja Indradatta.
|
Mahārāja Dahrasēna
(A.D. 456 or 457).
|
Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna
(A.D. 490 or 491).

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयानिरुद्धपुराक्षैकूटकान[?] मातापितृपादानुज्जातो भगवत्पादकर्मकरङ्कर-
गतक्रमागत-
- 2 स्कीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितवृत्तिनतचरणकमलस्त्रभुजपरिपालनप्रता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावामसर्व्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्रयशाश्वरदरजनिकरुचिरवपु-
- 4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषमदृशोदारश्चरितस्सुचरितनिदर्शनार्थमिव निर्मितप्रति-
- 5 हृतसामन्तारातिरन्वयरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्त्रवङ्गालङ्कारभूतप्रभूतप्रवीरसाधना-⁵
- 6 धिष्ठितदुर्गनगरसागरस्मागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृतिजनमनोहरप्रान्न-

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 173, and Prof. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. xxxii.

² *Op. cit.* p. clix and note 3.

³ From the original copper-plates.

⁴ See above, Vol. X. p. 52 and note 6.

⁵ Read °बंश°.

i. b.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

ii. a.

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18

- 7 संश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगृहीतसृष्टणीयश्रीश्रीमहा-
 8 राजव्याघ्रसेनः¹ सर्वानवेक्षरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपत्निकाप्रतिवासिनो²
 9 क्षमाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्भार्तापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभि-
 ह्वये

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 भारद्वाजसमीचब्राह्मणनागशर्मणे³ इयं पत्निका चोरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज⁴ अचाटभट-
 11 प्रावेश्या सर्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणोग्राह्यस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या⁵ आचन्द्रार्कगर्णव-
 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनोत्तिष्ठ⁶ [1*] तदस्मदङ्श्यराजभिरन्यैश्च⁷ विभवानभावानुब-
 ञ्जानायुर्वि-
 13 योगानुगतङ्गुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानश्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-
 14 मिति प्रमाणोक्त्य शशिकरशुचि रुचिरश्चिराय यशश्चोषुभिरियं⁸ पत्निकादा-
 योनुमन्तव्यपा-
 15 लयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तभगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्वदत्तान्हिजा-
 तिभ्यो यत्राद्रक्ष युधि-
 16 ष्ठिर [1*] महीमहिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानार्क्योनुपालनं [॥ १ ॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गं मोदति
 17 भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [॥ २ ॥*]
 प्रतिपृच्छ्य लिखितं मया महासान्धिविग्र-
 18 द्विकर्केण हालाहलदूतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! From the victorious **Aniruddhapura**, the glorious *Maharaja Vyaghrasēna*,—(who belongs to the family) of the **Traikūṭakas**; who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of **Bhagavat** (*Vishnu*); who is the lord of **Aparānta** and other rich countries, annexed or inherited (*by him*); to whose lotus-feet innumerable kings are bowing; who has obtained bright fame, pervading all directions, by distributing the vast treasures acquired with his own arm by ruling (*his kingdom*) and by conquest; whose body is as brilliant as the autumnal moon; whose conduct is as noble as that of excellent men of former times; who has been created, as it were, as an example of good conduct; who has repelled neighbouring enemies; who is more distinguished than other kings; who has become the ornament of his family; who has occupied forts, cities, and oceans by armies of many great heroes; whose nature is as deep as the ocean and as firm as the chief of mountains (*Himālaya*); who ravishes the hearts of men by nature; whose wealth is shared

¹ Read सर्वानवे^०.

² Read वासिन^०.

³ Read शर्मणे.

⁴ Read वर्जम्.

⁵ Read परिहीणो^० and भीमराजद्रा^०.

⁶ Read कालौनाति^०.

⁷ Read इयं.

⁸ Read भिरियं.

by scholars, refugees, elders, relatives, and devotees; (and) who has acquired desirable glory by practising self-restraint in a manner worthy of (his) descent,— commands all residents of **Purôhitapallikā** included in the **Īksharākī** district (*dhāra*):—

(L. 9.) “Be it known to you, that, in order to increase the merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, we have granted to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* this hamlet (*pallikī*), not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, unless (in order to arrest) robbers or persons guilty of high-treason, exempt from all taxes and from forced labour, to be enjoyed, under the rules of an *agrahāra*, by (the donor's) descendants, (and) to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist.

(L. 12.) “Therefore kings belonging to Our lineage and others, considering that sovereignty is liable to cessation, that life is followed by separation, and that (only) virtues are lasting a long time, admitting the principle that gifts to virtuous men are noble achievements, and desirous of accumulating for a long time brilliant fame, as bright as the rays of the moon, must approve and protect this grant of a hamlet.

(L. 15.) “For the holy Vyasa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken:—

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 17.) Having enquired (regarding the necessary details of the grant?), (this edict) was written by me, the great minister for peace and war (*mahāsāndhivigrahika*) **Karka**, **Halahala** being the messenger (*dūtakī*), in the year 241, on the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika.

NO. 22.— FIVE BANA INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUDIMALLAM.¹

By V. VENKAYTA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Gudimallam is a village in the Kālāhasti Zamindāri of the modern Chittoor District, about 8 miles from Rāṅgipūṭa Junction, and 13 miles south-west of Kālāhasti town. On a hurried visit to the village which I paid in August 1903, I found important inscriptions; and subsequently a member of the Madras epigraphical establishment was deputed to examine the place more leisurely. In all, 26 inscriptions were copied in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at the village.² They belong to the Pallava king Nandippōttarāiyar (No. 229 of 1903); the Gaṅga-Pallava kings Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (No. 226 of 1903) and Nṛpatuṅga (No. 228 of 1903); the Bāṇa prince Vijayaditya (Nos. 223 and 224 of 1903); the Chōla kings Parāntaka I. (No. 225 of 1903), Rajakēśarivarman (No. 222 of 1903), Vikrama-Chōla (Nos. 212 and 213 of 1903) and Rājārāja III. (Nos. 204-11, 214, 216-21 and 227 of 1903). The village is called Tiruvip̄perumbēdu in Śilai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam in Perumbānappāḍi, a district of Jayāṅgaḍa-Chōla-maṇḍalam. In the earlier records (Nos. 226, 223, 225, 229 of 1903) the forms Tiruvippirambēdu and Tiruvip̄pirambēdu (Nos. 228 and 224 of 1903) and Tiruvip̄perumbēdu (No. 222 of 1903) occur. In three of them, the village is mentioned without the district to which it belonged (Nos. 223, 226 and 229 of 1903). In four others Śilai-nāḍu and Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam are added. If we accept the form which occurs in the earliest inscription, *viz.* *Tiruvippirambēdu*, the name may be analysed into *Tiruvippirāṇ* and *pēdu*. *Vippirāṇ* is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *vīpra*, ‘a brāhmaṇa.’ Consequently, the name would signify ‘the sacred village of the brāhmaṇa.’ The temple receives the names— Paraśurāmīśvarattu-Mahādēva (A. below), Paraśurāmīśvaragarattu-Perumāṇaḍigu (D. below), Paraśirāmīśvaragarattu-Pirāṇār (E.

¹ My thanks are due to Dr. Fleet who very kindly read two proofs of this article at my request and made a number of valuable suggestions, almost all of which I have adopted.

² Nos. 204 to 229 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

below), Paraśurāmiśvarattu-Perumāṇḍigal (No. 222 of 1903) and Paraśirāmiśvaramuḍaiyār (No. 221 of 1903). Thus the temple is invariably called Paraśurāmiśvara from the time of the earliest inscriptions down to the present day. None of the epigraphs, however, furnishes any clue as to the circumstances which led to the choice of this name.

The subjoined inscriptions A. to E.¹ are the earliest records of the temple and are selected for publication as they throw some light on the history of a feudatory family, that of the **Bānas**, the members of which appear to have played an important part in Southern India in ancient times: a general note on the history of this family is given on pp. 229 to 240, below. Most of the stones on which these inscriptions are engraved were found lying in the court-yard of the temple. The fact that three of them register gifts to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple may be taken to show that the stones belonged originally to it: perhaps they became detached from the temple when it was built (or rebuilt) during the reign of the Chōla king Vikrama-Chōla.²

The palaeography of these records does not call for any special remarks. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that two dots placed one above the other are used as a sign of punctuation in line 10 of A.³ The initial vowel *i* is written in line 31 of B. and line 25 of D. exactly as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśakuḍi plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the more common form of the letter occurs in line 52 of the former record. Less important peculiarities are noticed in the footnotes to the text of each of the records. As regards the language, which is Tamil, the only point that deserves to be noted is the use of the phrase *chandrādityagatam* (ll. 32 to 35 of B; and l. 10 of E.) instead of the more common *chandrādityavat*.⁴

A. records a gift of land for a lamp to burn in the Paraśurāmiśvara temple by a certain Muḷliṅkiḷār who was one of the members of the committee administering the village of Tiruvippirambēḍu. The land granted was purchased by the donor from another member of the same committee. In B. a third member of the same committee granted land for removing silt from the tank called Vellēri at Tiruvippirambēḍu. Out of the produce of this land were to be met the charges for digging pits in the tank and depositing the silt on the tank-bund. In C. the stone is mutilated on the right side, so that the writing has suffered on three sides of it. The missing letters on the first side can be restored with some certainty, while on the third side restoration is not possible. The object of the grant is consequently not clear; but it probably registers the gift of a lamp. In D. the Bāna queen Mādēvi-aḍigal granted 30 *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold from the interest of which was to be met the expenditure on account of twilight offerings and lamps to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple at Tiruvippirambēḍu. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēḍu accepted the endowment and undertook to provide twilight offerings and lamps. E. registers a gift of gold by a native of Viramaṅgalam for a perpetual lamp. The amount consisted of twenty *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold, and the interest on it was calculated at the rate of four *maṇḍaḍi* per year for each *kaḷaṇḍu*. Out of the interest amounting to 4 *kaḷaṇḍu*, 180 *nāḷi* of ghee was to be purchased at the rate of 45 *nāḷi* for each *kaḷaṇḍu*. At one *uri* of ghee per day, 180 *nāḷi* would be enough for the whole year. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēḍu took charge of the endowment and agreed to provide the ghee required every day.

¹ These five inscriptions have also been published by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 104-114. It will be seen that there are some differences both in the readings and in the translations. Further, ll. 46 to 58 of B. are altogether omitted by him and ll. 18 to 43 of C. are left out as they are fragmentary.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, p. 24, No. 212 of 1903.

³ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II. p. 111, note 1.

⁴ The expression *chandrādityagatam* occurs in an inscription of the Chōla king Parakāśarvarman at Kuḷumigamaḷai (No. 350 of 1904).

The relationship which the members of the committee or commissioners (*gaṇattār*) bore to the village assembly is not clear. In other words, their respective jurisdiction is not known. The commissioners are said to be ruling the village. Two other villages besides Tiruvipirambēdu are at present known to have possessed this constitution, *viz.* Uttiraṇmērūr, the modern Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district¹ and Airṇaṇṇṇi, the modern Ammaṇṇi near Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District.² These seem to have been pretty large villages. Perhaps the commissioners were expected to represent the interests of the king.

A.—Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya Māvali-Vāṇarāya: dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar.³

TEXT.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Svasti [\|\|*] Śri-Nanti(ṇdi)- | 13 r Vēppamboḷa- |
| 2 ppō[t*]taraiyark- | 14 ppāl ivv-ūr=ālu- |
| 3 ku yāṇḍu iru- | 15 ṇ=gaṇattāruḷ Ku- |
| 4 battu-mūṇṇā ⁴ | 16 ḷaippa[ḷ]ur-Kka- |
| 5 vadu Vikkiramā- | 17 ṇiyar [A]gṇiśa[r]mma- |
| 6 ditte(tta)-Māvali- | 18 ṇ vilaiśrāva[ṇ]ai- |
| 7 Vāṇarāyar Vaḍu- | 19 yāl viṇṇa koṇ- |
| 8 gavaḷi-mērku | 20 ḍu ivv-ūr Paraśu- |
| 9 prīthivirājyaṇ= | 21 ra(rā)miśvarattu Mahādē ⁵ - |
| 10 jeya ⁶ Tiruvi[p*]pira- | 22 varkku tiruviḷak- |
| 11 mbēḍ=ālnṇ=gapa- | 23 ku-ney-ppuṇam=[ā]- |
| 12 ttāruḷ Muḷḷiṇ-kiḷ[ā]- | 24 ga kuḍuttar [!]* |
| 25 ivv-ūr sabhaiyōmmum i-ṇṇilattē ivv-ūr=ch[che]kk-ṇḷ[ṇ]ṇa ellām | |
| 26 naṭṭu=ttiruvilakkukkāy vāya eṇṇai kolvaḍaga=ppaṇittōm ⁷ [!]* | |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the twenty-third year (of the reign) of the glorious Nandippōttaraiyar,—while Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya was ruling over the Vaḍugavaḷi-mērku (province), Muḷḷiṇ-kiḷār, (one) of the members of the committee (*gaṇa*) administering (the village of) Tiruvi[p]-pirambēdu, purchased by a deed of sale⁸ (the field called) Vēppamboḷappāl (from) Kaniyar Agniśarman of Kuḷaippalūr, (one) of the members of the committee administering this village, and gave (it) to (the god) Mahādēva (Śiva) of (the temple of) Paraśurāmiśvara at this village, as an endowment for (supplying) ghee to the sacred lamps.⁹ The assembly of this village

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 3.

² *Ibid.* p. 113. [Vēlachecheri in the North Arcot district was another such village; see Nos. 302, 308, 312 and 315 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.—H. K. S.]

³ No. 229 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, ll. 1 to 24 are engraved on one of the broad sides of the stone and ll. 25-26 on one of the narrow sides.

⁴ The secondary ā of pā is a separate symbol.

⁵ The *visarga* is used here as a sign of punctuation; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II. p. 111, note 1.

⁶ The *aksharas hādē* are much smaller than the rest of the inscription.

⁷ The *puḷi* which is conspicuous by its absence in the whole inscription is marked on the last letter *m*.

⁸ The term *vilai-kōṭṭaṇai* occurs twice in a similar context in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 105, text-line 5.

⁹ With *tiruvilakku-ney-ppuṇam* compare *ambala-ppuṇam* (above, Vol. III. p. 285, text-line 7), *nandavāṇa-ppuṇam* (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 5, text-line 5), *pudukku-ppuṇam* (*ibid.* p. 7, text-line 8) and *uṇṇāḷigai-ppuṇam* (*ibid.* p. 19, text-line 6).

ordered that all the oil-mills (*śekku*) of this village shall be set up on this land¹ and the oil required exclusively for the sacred lamps shall be procured (*from them*).

B.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya: dated in the 49th year of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman.

TEXT.²

On one of the broad faces of the stone.

1 [Sva]sti [||*] Śrī-kō-Vi-	9 jyañ-jeyya Ti-	17 u||ai Nandiku-
2 ś[ai]ya-Dantivikki-	10 ruvippiramb[ē]-	18 ṇḍil-[ā]ṇa śoṅ[u]
3 [ra]maparumaṅku y[ē]-	11 ē-ā|uñ-gaṇat-	19 ivv-ūr Vo[|]-
4 ṇḍu nārpatto-	12 tāru| Kāliyama-	20 |ēriyḱku ē-
5 ṇbadāvadu Vi-	13 ṅgilañ-gilār	21 riḱheṇuv-āga
6 jaiyāditta-Ma-	14 Ayyappō[r]-	22 vaittēṇ [||*] i-
7 hāvali-Vā[ṇa]-	15 riyeṇ eṅga-	23 diḱ=bhōga[ā]=
8 rāyar prithivirā-	16 | Tūmbapēri	24 goṇḍu i-v-

On one side of the same.

25 [ve]||[|]ē-	32 rmmañ-cha-	39 luttī-
26 riye[|]ē	33 ndrādi-	40 ṇāṇ 1000 ⁴
27 kuḷi kut-	34 tyagata-	41 aśvamō-
28 ti aṭtu-	35 ṇ-jel-	42 dhañ-jey-
29 vadāga	36 vadāy-	43 da palaṇ
30 vaittē-	37 ttu [||*] i-	44 peṇvā
31 ṇ [||*] i ³ -ddha-	38 ddharmañ-je-	45 r [||*]

On another side of the same.⁵

46 id=aḷi-	51 tu=ppaṇḍu-	56 ṇ muḱi-
47 ttāṇ	52 vār [||*] i-ddha-	57 mēli-
48 Vāraṇāśi ⁶	53 rmmam rakshi-	58 ṇa [||*]
49 aḷittā-	54 ttāṇ	
50 ṇ pāvat-	55 aḱi c ⁷ -	

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the forty-ninth year of the glorious king Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman,—while Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vānarāya was ruling over the earth,—I, Ayyappōrri, the headman (*kiḷār*) of Kāliyamaṅgalam, (one) of the members of the committee administering (the village of) Tiruvippirambēḱu, gave the field called Nandikuṇḍil in (the tank) Tūmbapēri of our

¹ It is also possible that the reading is *śēkk-uḷḷaṇa* (instead of *śēkk-uḷḷaṇa*), in which case the translation would be “all (the crops) for which the fields of this village are (fit) shall be raised on this field, and the oil required for the sacred lamps shall be purchased (out of the produce).”

² No. 226 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

³ This initial vowel *i* is written as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākuḱi plates. The more usual form occurs in ll. 37, 46 and 52 below.

⁴ This symbol for one thousand occurs in one of the Nānāghāt inscriptions. This line has been read by Mr. Gopinatha Rao as °*nārai*, which is probably a printer's mistake for °*nārai*. The reading °*nārai* is unlikely as the symbol for *ai*, in other cases where it occurs in the inscription (ll. 8, 22 and 30), is not separated from the consonant to which it belongs. Besides the accusative °*nārai* would be wrong and would have to be corrected into °*nān* or °*nār*.

⁵ This side of the stone is damaged, but no letters have suffered on that account.

⁶ The length of *ṇā* is added to the right of *ṇ* and goes up; compare *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. I. p. 114 and Vol. II. p. 200, note 1.

⁷ The vowel *e* is almost a semicircle with a loop at the left end.

(village) to (the tank called) **Veļļēri** of this village, as the tank-field (*ērichcheruvu*). I gave (it) so that (they) may dig pits in this **Veļļēri** (tank) and deposit (the silt on the bund)—(paying the charges) from the produce (*bhōga*) of this (field).

This charity has to last (as long) as the moon and the sun endure. One who maintains this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed one thousand horse-sacrifices. One who destroys it shall incur the sin of ruining **Varaṇāsi**. The feet of one who protects this charity shall be on my head.

C.—Inscription of the time of **Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya** : dated in the 24th year of **Nṛipatuṅga**.¹

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Sva[st]i [\|\|*] [Śrī*]- | 9 ra-pratihārikṛta |
| 2 Nṛi[pa][tuṅ*]- | 10 śrī-Mahābali- |
| 3 gaṛ[ku y][āu*]- | 11 kul-ōtbhava(ōdbhava)- |
| 4 ḍu iruba[ttu-nā*]- | 12 śrī-Vāṇavi- |
| 5 l[ā]vadu [sa][kaṇ*]- | 13 ² jyādhara-Mah[ā]- |
| 6 jagat-tr[ṇ][y-ābhi*]- | 14 bali-Vāṇa- |
| 7 vandita-[ṣu][r-āsur-ā*]- | 15 rāyar Vaduga- |
| 8 dhīsa-Paramē[śva*]- | |

On the second side of the stone.

- 16 vaḷiyiṇ mērku pr[i](pri)thivirājyañ=jeyya-Ttīruvēṅgaḍa-k,
17 kōṭṭattu-[Ch]chilai-nāṭṭu-Ttīruvīrppirambēṭṭu sabhai-

On the third side of the stone.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 18 . . rkka ³ | 30 . . ga i-pparu- |
| 19 . . . m vi[ṇ] | 31 . liśada=muṭṭamē- |
| 20 . . d[ṇ]va[ṇā]r | 32 x[pa]ḍu yēttuv[ō]- |
| 21 . . nariyulā | 33 [m]āṇōm sabh[ai]- |
| 22 . . [la] tēya | 34 yōm [\|\|*] ippa[ru]- |
| 23 . . poṇ | 35 . ādit[t]aṇu- |
| 24 . . ti oru-vi | 36 ñ=jandiraṇu- |
| 25 . . . ira[ṇ]- | 37 mm=ṇ[ā]la[va]- |
| 26 . . . [yu]m[m]o | 38 m uḍuvōmā- |
| 27 . . [ṇ]ayyu[m] | 39 ṇōm i-ppa- |
| 28 . . mōrum o- | 40 ru[ā]u muṭṭiṇar[u]- |
| 29 . . yuṁ . yu | |

On the fourth side of the stone.⁴

- 41 . . . ivan uttaman dha[r]mmamāva-
42 . . . mbēṭṭu sabhoyēm⁵ [||*] i-ddha-
43 . . . ttāṇ pādam eṇ talai mēla [||*]

¹ No. 228 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, ll. 1 to 15 and 18 to 40 are engraved on the two broad sides of the stone and the rest of the inscriptions on the two narrow sides.

² The secondary ā is added to the y at the bottom.

³ One or more lines of the inscription are completely broken at the top of this side of the stone.

⁴ A few *akṣaras* are lost at the beginning of each line on this side of the stone.

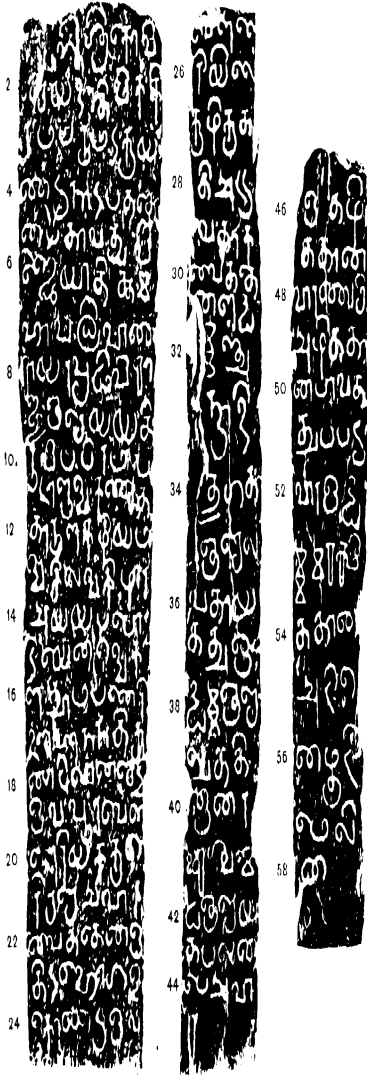
⁵ Read *sabhāyōm*.

Five Bana Inscriptions from Gudimallam.

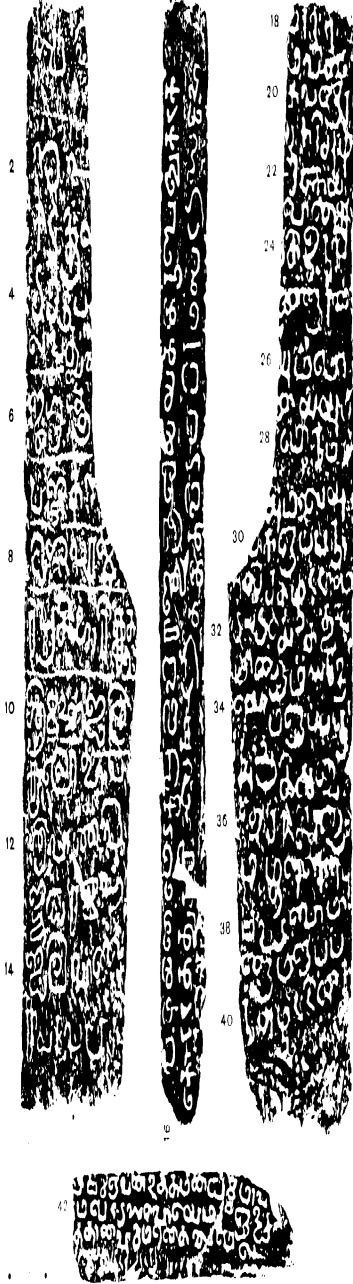
A. Inscription of Nandippottaraiyar.



B. Inscription of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman.



C. Inscription of Nripatunga.



SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH.

FROM IMPRESSIONS PREPARED BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.

W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO LITH.

V. VENKATYA.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the glorious Nripatuṅga, — while the illustrious Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya, born in the prosperous race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the west of Vaḍugavaḷi, (the members of) the assembly of Tīruvīppirambēḍu in Śilai-nāḍu (a subdivision) of Tīruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam

[The rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to be translated.]

D.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya : dated Śaka 820.¹

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 [Sya]sti śri [i*] Saka- | 11 [r Vi*]jayāditta-Mahā- |
| 2 [la*]-jagat-tray-ā- | 12 [ba*][li]-Vāṇarāyar pri[thi]- |
| 3 [bhiva*]ndita-sur-āsu- | 13 [virā*]jyañ-jeyya Śa- |
| 4 [r-ādhi*]śa-Paramēśva- | 14 [kar*] [y]āṇḍu eṇ- |
| 5 [ra-pra*]tīhārikpita-Ma- | 15 [ṇū]rr-irubadāvadu |
| 6 [hā*][ba]li-kul-āttha- | 16 [Ti*]ruvippirambēṭ- |
| 7 [va*](ōdbhava)-[śri]-Vāṇavi- | 17 [tu*] Paraśurāmīśva[ra]ga- |
| 8 [dyā*][dha]rar Mahādēvi- | 18 [rat*]tu-pperumāṇaḍi- |
| 9 [aḍiga*]=āyina Māraka- | 19 [ga*]lukkan sandhyā ² -kālatu |
| 10 . . [m]maḍigaḷ maganā- | |

On the second side of the stone.

- 20 [tirn]va[mn]dukkum nandāvilakku oṇṇukkum-āga-kkuḍutta śombon
 21 muppadiṇ kaḷaṅṇu [i*] i-ppon Mādēvi-aḍigaḷ pakkal ivv-ūr sa-
 22 bh[ai]yōṇ-gōḍu i-pponukku=ppoli-āttāga tiruvamudukku niśadam i-

On the third side of the stone.

[One or more lines are mutilated here.]

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 23 [da]ñ-jeluttu- | 29 [tōm*] [sa]bhāiyōm [i*] |
| 24 [vō*]māyōm sa[bh]ai- | 30 [id=a*]ṇṇ=ōṇṇōm ⁶ Ga- |
| 25 [yā*]m [i*] ⁵ i-ddha | 31 [n*]gai-īḍai=Kkuma- |
| 26 | 32 [ri-i*]ḍai=chchōyḍā . |
| 27 [ko*]ṇḍu [śe]n[ttu]- | 33 [śe*]yda pāpattu=[p]- |
| 28 [vadā*]ga oṭṭi-kkuḍut- | 34 [paḍu*]vārāṇār [i*] |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas, eight hundred and twenty, when [Vi]jayāditya-Mahā[ba]li-Vāṇarāya, son of Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ alias Māraka . . maḍigaḷ,

¹ No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

² The secondary ā is added to the right of y.

³ If my reading be correct, the old form of i is used here as in the Grantha portion of the Kāśākuḍi grant; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. plate facing p. 351, text-line 103.

⁴ This line is doubtful. Perhaps the reading is

25 . . i-ddharmmam patmā-

26 hāṭṭavarāy-kkaik-

⁵ The ā of rō is a separate symbol instead of being added to the r as in modern Tamil; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

(queen)¹ of the glorious **Vāṇavi[dyā]dhara**, born from the race of **Mahābali** who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, **Paramēśvara** (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the earth,—thirty *kaḷaṇḷu* of pure gold were given for a perpetual lamp and offerings at twilight to the god (*perunāṇḍigal*) of (the temple called) **Paraśurāmiśvaragaram** at **Tiruvippirambēdu**. We, (the members of) the assembly of this village received this gold from (the queen) **Mādevi-Aḍigal** every day for offerings as interest for this gold.

[A portion of the inscription is here lost.]

We, (the members of) the assembly shall pay We, (the members of) the assembly agreed and gave [that we] shall pay Those who deny this shall be guilty of the sins committed by all sinners between the Ganges and Kumari.

E.—Inscription of the time of **Vijayāditya-Vāṇarāya**: dated Śaka 827.²

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Śa[kar] yāṇ-
- 2 ḍu 8[2]7 [āva]ḍu Vi-
- 3 jayāditta-Vā[ṇa]rāya-
- 4 [r] pri[th]uvirājaṇ=[j]oyya-
- 5 Ttiruvenḡaḍa-kkōṭ[ṭa]ttu=Chchilai-
- 6 nāṭtu-Ttiruvirpirambēṭtu
- 7 [sabhaiyō]m [a]ḍig[āri] Viramaṅga-
- 8 laṇ=[gi]ḷa[ṇ]=Rāḷi-pakkal [e]ṅgalur(lūr)=P-
- 9 paraśi[rāmi]śvaragaratt[u]=ppir[ā]ṇārkkku=
- 10 ch[cha]ndirādittagata[m] na[nḍ]āvilak-
- 11 [kn e]rip[padaṅ]ku ko[ṇ]ḍa poṇ
- 12 [i-p*]poṇ mudal [i]rubadiṇ kaḷa-
- 13 [n*]jijāḷl-āṇḍuvarai [nā]lu maṇj[ā]-
- 14 [ḍi]=ppaliśaiyāṅ-poṇ [n]āṅ-kaḷaṇḷi³.
- 15 ṇāṅ-kaḷaṇḷukku nāṅpatt[ai]y-nnāḷi-
- 16 ppaḍi nāṅṅpadi=ṇāḷi n[e]yyāḷ
- 17 niśadi nriy ney ko[ṇ]ḍu nandā-
- 18 viḷakku muṭṭāmai⁴ erip[pō]māṇōm [i*]
- 19 muṭṭiṅ-Kaṅgaiy-iḍai=Kkuma[ri]y=iḍai=chche-
- 20 ydār śeyda pa(pā)vam pa[ḍu]vōmāṇō-
- 21 m sa[bhaiyō]m ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas 8[2]7, while **Vijayāditya-Vāṇarāya** was ruling the earth,—we, (the members of) the assembly of **Tiruvirpirambēdu** in **Śilai-nāḍu**, (a subdivision) of **Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam**, received gold from the magistrate (*aḍigari*) **Tāḷi**, the headman of **Viramaṅgalam**, for burning (one) perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, to the god (*pirāṇār*) of (the temple called) **Paraśurāmiśvaragaram** in our village. The interest on this gold—the capital of twenty *kaḷaṇḷu*—is four *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold annually, at the rate

¹ Another translation of the passage is: "Son of Māraka . . māḍigal, who was the great queen *mahādēvi-Aḍigal*) of the glorious Vāṇavidyādhara."

² No. 224 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

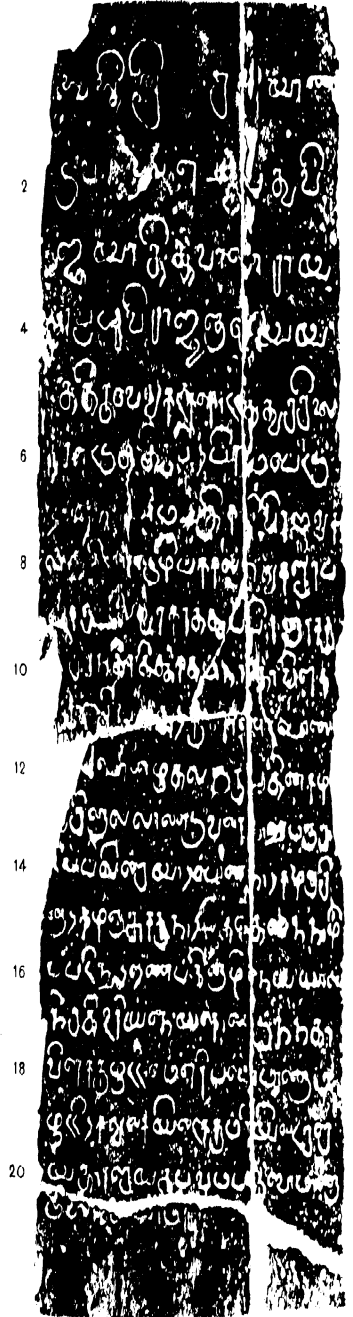
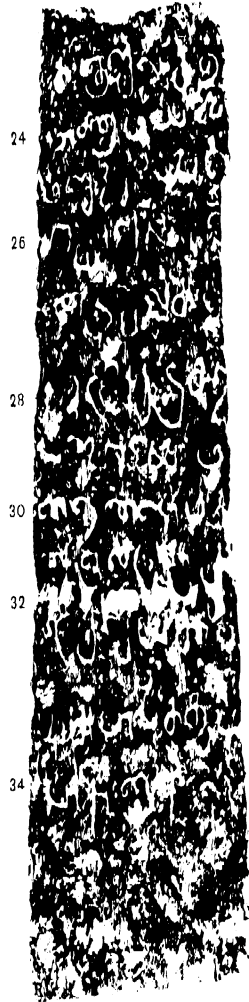
³ The *akshara* *ai* (*ji*) is corrected from *su*.

⁴ Above the *akshara* *tā* is a secondary *i* which seems to have been erased by the engraver himself.

D. Inscription dated Saka 820.



E. Inscription dated Saka 827.



of four *mañjaḍi* (for each *kaḷaṇḍu*). One hundred and eighty *nāḷi* (may be purchased annually) for (this amount) at the rate of forty-five *nāḷi* of ghee for (each) *kaḷaṇḍu*. We shall without obstruction burn a perpetual lamp with one *uri* of ghee daily. If there be any obstruction, we (the members of) the assembly shall incur the sin committed by sinners between the Ganges and Kumari.

Note on the history of the Bāṇa princes.

Of the foregoing records, the inscription A. is dated during the reign of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar¹ whose feudatory was the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya. B. belongs to the time of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Dantivikramavarman, who had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya for his feudatory, and C. to that of Nripatuṅga, who probably belonged to the same family, though the characteristic portions of the names of the kings of that line are here missing. The grant recorded in the latter was made while Vāṇavidyādharma-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya was governing the Vaḍugavaḷi-meṇku (province). D. and E. are dated in the Śaka era² and belong to the time of the Bāṇa chief Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya. The tract of country in which Kālahaṣṭi and Guḍimallam are situated belonged to the Pallavas,³ and it is therefore no matter for surprise that an inscription of that dynasty and two of the Gaṅga-Pallavas have been found there.

The identity of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Guḍimallam inscription A. with Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāsakuḍi plates remains doubtful, though not unlikely. As regards Dantivikramavarman, another inscription of his reign dated two years later than his Guḍimallam record has been found at Tiruchehāṇṇūr near Tirupati;⁴ and we may, for the present, identify him with the first Gaṅga-Pallava king Dantivarman of the Bāhūr plates, and Nripatuṅga with his grandson Nripatuṅga-Vikramavarman. Earlier inscriptions of the former, ranging from the 10th to the 21st year, have been so far found in the vicinity of Conjeeveram⁵ and may be taken to show that his territory was limited. Why the two later inscriptions are found in a different part of the country is a point on which no information is at present forthcoming. His son Nandivikramavarman, too, seems to have been ruling a limited country, to judge from his inscriptions found

¹ Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies Nandippōttaraiyar with Kō-Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and accordingly concludes that B. is older than A. It will be seen that the photo-lithographs of these two records issued with this paper do not bear out this conclusion. Apart from his wholesale identification of all kings in whose names the word *nandi* is found as well as of those with *danti* as part of their names, both of which I consider untenable, even Mr. Gopinatha Rao cannot deny that there were at least two kings with the name Nandivarman, viz. Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Kō-Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman or -Nandivarman. Surely it cannot be contended that Nandivarman Pallavamalla has left no stone inscriptions. And as he is called Nandipōttarāja in the Kāsakuḍi plates, Nandippōttaraiyar of A. may for the present be identified with him. This initial mistake of Mr. Gopinatha Rao has led him to other errors in the chronology of the Bāṇas.

² The fact that the Śaka era is used in them is probably due to the fact that the Gaṅga-Pallavas had completely collapsed and the overlordship of the Chōḷas had not yet been recognised in that part of the country. The Bāṇas who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas had probably not yet made up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the Chōḷas. Similarly, in a Tiruvallam inscription, we find the Śaka date 810 given and no overlord of the Bāṇa chief is mentioned (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 95). Other Tamil epigraphs which are dated in the Śaka era are Nos. 338 and 356 of 1902 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. pp. 136 and 137) and No. 426 of 1903 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903-04*, paragraph 20). One of the inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra I. is dated in the Śaka year coupled with the cyclic year (No. 233 of 1904). A record of Parāntaka I. found at Grāmam in the South Arcot District is dated in the Kaliyuga era and gives the number of days that had actually elapsed on a certain day during the reign of the Chōḷa king (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 261). Another of Parakāśarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa found at Tiruvīdaimarudūr in the Tanjore District is also dated in the Kaliyuga era (*Madras Epigraphical Report for 1907-08*, paragraph 53).

³ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906-07*, Part II, paragraph 38.

⁴ No. 262 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁵ See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 238, note 7.

so far. Nandivarman's son Nripataṅga was evidently the most powerful king of the family, as his inscriptions are found both in the ancient Pallava territory and in the Ohoḷa country.¹ In fact, it may be presumed that the Gaṅga-Pallavas occupied a comparatively insignificant position during the reign of the first two kings. This partly accounts for the fact that the descendants of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram continued until a very late period side by side with the Gaṅga-Pallavas.²

Apart from the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas, the five subjoined records throw considerable light on the history of a feudatory family which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India. These are the Bāṇas, who traced their descent to the demon Mahābali. They claim to be lords of Nandagiri, i.e. Nandidroog in the Chik-Ballāpur taluka, Kōlār District, Mysore State, and their traditional capital, the place of origin claimed by them, was Parivipura, regarding which place see p. 231 below. The inscriptions of this family have been found in the northern portion of the North Arcot District and in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State.³ They seem to have been the guardians of the Pallava and Gaṅga-Pallava territories in the north and often figure in cattle-raids and similar frontier wars.

The earliest mention of the Bāṇas is in the Tālgund pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman. Here it is said that Mayūrasarman, the first Kadamba king, who may be assigned roughly to the 5th century A.D., levied tribute from 'the great Bāṇa'⁴ who was perhaps a Pallava feudatory. We are not told definitely where 'the great Bāṇa's' dominion lay.⁵

The country ruled over by the Bāṇas is called *Āndhrāt pathaḥ pāścimatō kṣitih*, 'the land to the west of the Āndhra road (or of the country called Āndhrapatha),' in Sanskrit in the Udayāndiram grant of Vikramāditya II;⁶ *Vaḍugavaḷi-mērku* in A. above; *Vaḍugavaḷiyiṇ mērku* in C. above; the *Vaḍugavaḷi* twelve-thousand in a Tiruvallam inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman;⁷ *Vaḍugavaḷi* 12,000 and *Maṇṇo* 200 in a record from the vicinity of Puṅganūr in the North Arcot District;⁸ and "the twelve-thousand villages in the *Āndhra-Maṇḍala*" in the Muḍiyānūr plates, professing to be dated in A.D. 338.⁹ The last mentioned record is spurious, but there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence on the geographical point.

Perumbāṇappāḍi, which occurs in later Tamil inscriptions, was apparently another name for the Bāṇa territory. This province seems to have extended from Puṅganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east. The river Pālār probably formed the southern boundary of the province in ancient times.¹⁰ None of the foregoing terms make it clear if the Bāṇa dominions formed part of the Āndhra country, or were situated to the west of it, or should be looked for to the west of a road running from the Tamil to the Vaṅga, Āndhra or Telugu, country. The question is further complicated by the absence of any definite boundaries of the Āndhra country that could be

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 293.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 239 f.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, paragraph 45.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 35. The *Bṛihad-Bāṇa* of verse 15 corresponds to the term *Perum-Bāṇa* of the territorial term *Perumbāṇappāḍi* which appears to denote the Bāṇa dominions.

⁵ From the way in which he is here mentioned it looks as if his dominions were not very far from Śrīparvatam, i.e. Śrīsaīlam in the Kurnool District.

⁶ Above, Vol. III. p. 76, text-line 21.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 45.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 175. Dr. Fleet has told me that the real reading is not *Āndhramāṇḍalē dvādaśa* but *Āndhramāṇḍalādvādaśasaḥasra-grāma-sampāḍita*, etc., "lord of the seven and a half lakh country supplemented by the Āndhramāṇḍala twelve-thousand villages."

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 45.

easily recognised and identified. On the analogy of the terms *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and *Uttarāpatha*, *Āndhrupatha*, which actually occurs in the Mayidavolu plates with Dharmāśakāḍa or Amarāvati as its capital (or one of its towns),¹ may be taken to be a synonym of *Vaḍugavaḷi* occurring in Tamil inscriptions. In this case, it is not clear why the Bāṇas are said in some of the records to be ruling the western portion of it, and not the whole of it as the others make us believe. Besides, Perumbāṇappāḍi, which seems to have been another name of the Bāṇa territory, and which has been tentatively located in the northern portion of the modern North Arcot District, could not have formed part of the Āndhra country. On the other hand, we have reason to suppose that it was included in Tondai-nādu or maṇḍalam, also called Drāviḍa.² The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. locates Āndhra in the modern Godāvāri and Kistna districts.³ Varāhamihira's location of Āndhra in the 6th century A.D. also takes us to the same locality.⁴ The tract of country in which the inscriptions of the family have been found, i.e. the northern portion of the North Arcot District and a part of the Kōlār District of the Mysore State, would correspond to the Perumbāṇappāḍi of Tamil inscriptions, but cannot be in the west of the Āndhra country, nor form any part of it, as implied in the term *Vaḍugavaḷi-mērku*, *Vaḍugavaḷiṇi mērku* and *Āndhrat pathaḥ paścimataḥ*. Consequently we have to suppose, at least provisionally, either that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country (perhaps from Drāviḍa) or that the country which lay between Āndhra and Drāviḍa was called *Vaḍugavaḷi*, as the road to the Āndhra country lay through it, and it was the country to the west of this road or the western portion of it that was ruled by the Bāṇas. There is still a third possibility. It may be supposed that the name *Vaḍugavaḷi-mērku* or its equivalent was the name correctly applied to the Bāṇa dominions in very early times. Then they were probably ruling, as Pallava feudatories, a portion of the modern Ceded districts which would be situated to the west of the Āndhra country. That this is not altogether a wild conjecture is shown by the fact that the Pallava dominions originally extended into the Ceded districts and that the Bāṇas were also ruling some frontier province in that part of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūśārman. With the rise of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century, the Pallavas appear to have been driven out of the Telugu country and it may be supposed that the Bāṇas were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot District. This province they continued to call *Vaḍugavaḷi* or *Vaḍugavaḷi-mērku*, though it was no longer to the west of the Āndhra country.⁵

Their traditional capital seems to have been *Paṇivipuri* (corrupted into *Prapuri*), *Paṇivai*, *Paṇigipura* or *Paṇvipura*. This place has not yet been identified. The form *Paṇigipura* may be taken to show that it may be identified with *Paṇig* in the Hindupur taluka of the Anantapur District.⁶ This capital is mentioned for the first time in the Sholinghur rock-inscription of *Parāntaka* I.⁷ It may, therefore, be assumed that *Paṇivipura* became the chief town of the Bāṇas

¹ Above, Vol. VI. p. 88.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II. p. 238, note 2.

³ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 217 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 173.

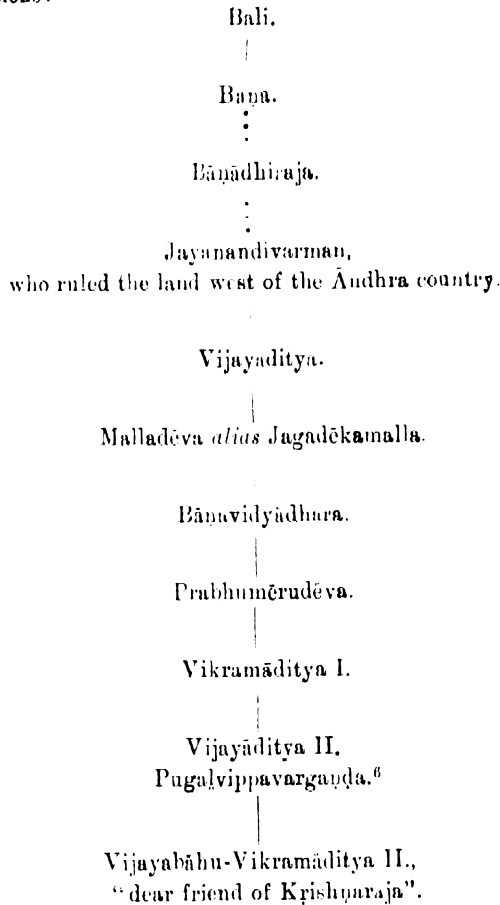
⁵ The Western Gaṅgas called themselves lords of Kuvaḷālapura though their capital was Talakāḍ. The Telugu-Chōḍas claimed to be lords of Uṇaiyūr, though their dominions lay in the Telugu country. Similarly, local families claiming descent in the Pallava race called themselves lords of Kāñchēpura and devotees of the goddess Kāmakoṭyāmbikā (i.e. the Kāmākeśi temple at Conjeevaram). In the same way, the Bāṇas might have applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times. See also pp. 238 and 239 below.

⁶ Mr. Sowell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 122.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 221. Here the forms *Paṇivai* and *Prapuri* occur. *Paṇivipuri* occurs in the Udayāndi-ram plates of Prithivipati II. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 388) and *Paṇigipura* in an inscription of the Bāṇa chief Aggaparāja (*Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butlerworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p. 1201) and *Paṇvaipura* in No. 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 (*Annual Report* for 1906-7, Part II. paragraph 46). The form *Paṇvi* is furnished by No. 194 of the same collection for 1899 (*Annual Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85).

after they were reduced to the position of Chōla feudatories. Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District seems to have borne the other name **Vānapuram**, and it is not unlikely that it was one of the important towns, if not the 'capital', of the Bāṇa territory.¹ Long after the Bāṇas ceased to be rulers, members of the family claimed to be lords of Paṇivipura and Nandagiri.² The Bāṇa crest was a bull, and their banner bore the emblem of a black-buck, while their drum was called *Paiśācha*.³ Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bāṇas, is said to have been made door-keeper by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva) worshipped in all the three worlds.⁴

The **Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya II**,⁵ furnishes the following genealogy of the Bāṇas for eight generations:



¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 89.

² See e.g. *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85.

³ These are mentioned for the first time in the Udayēndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa king Prithivipati II. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 388, verse 24.)

⁴ The expression *sakala-jagat-tray-ābhivandita-sur-āsur-ādhisā-Paramēśvara-pratihāri-kṛta-Mahābali-kūṭōdōhara* is translated by Mr. Rice, on the strength of some Kanarese tradition, "born of the family of Mahābali, who had made Paramēśvara, lord of gods and demons worshipped in all the three worlds, (his) door-keeper;" *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X, p. ii, note 5.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 74 f.

⁶ The title Pugalvippavarganḍa was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Chōla prince Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I. (above, Vol. VII, p. 134). This Pugalvippavarganḍa is called Ilādarāja (i.e. chief of Virāṭa or Berar) (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 65). His son Vira-Chōla was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājarāja I. and made a gift to the Jaina shrine at Pañchapāṇḍavamanalai in the North Arcot District (above Vol. IV, p. 139).

As the last of them, Vikramāditya II., is said to have been the "dear friend of Kṛṣṇarāja," who is no doubt identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (A.D. 884 to 911-12),¹ we may assign him roughly to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This would carry Jayanandivarman, the earliest known member of the family, to about the end of the 7th century A.D. But the Udayēndiram plates tell us that Jayanandivarman came to the throne after "many" Bāṇa princes had passed away. The antiquity of the family is carried farther by the Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthavarmān,² which, as I have already noted, reports that Mayūśarman, the first Kadamba king, levied tribute from "the great Bāṇa." Thus the history of the family is carried back to the 5th century A.D.

According to the Tamil poem *Maṇimēgalai*, the queen of the Chōla king Neḍumūḍikkilī³ was Śirtti, daughter of a descendant of Māvali. This is apparently a reference to the Bāṇa family. Śirtti was also called Rājamādēvi and she had a son named Udayankumara. The time when the Bāṇa father-in-law of the Chōla king flourished, cannot be made out satisfactorily at present. But it may be presumed that the former is earlier than Jayanandivarman, the first Bāṇa king mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates.

No authentic records of the earlier kings of the family have come down to us. Of Koṅgaṇivarman, the progenitor of the Gaṅgas of Kōlār, it is said that he was anointed to conquer the Bāṇa-maṇḍala.⁴ It may be presumed that this statement gives pointed expression to the hostility which generally existed between the Gaṅgas and Bāṇas in their later history, particularly during the period of supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mākhēd who were the suzerain lords of the Western Gaṅgas.

A stone inscription of the Gaṅga king śrī-Mādhava-Muttarasa at Tallapalli⁵ which Mr. Rice assigns approximately to A.D. 725,⁶ refers to his expedition against Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa and to a battle at Kōyātūr, i.e. the modern Laddigam in the Puṅgaṇūr Zamindari. At Kendattī-Madivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nīṭmārga-Koṅgaṇivarman (Kl. 79) which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 800. The Gaṅga king's feudatory Nōḷambādhirāja of the Pallava family is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāṇa

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III. p. 92.

² Above, Vol. VIII. pp. 24 ff.

³ He also bore the other names Kilī-Vaḷavaṇ, Māvaṇkilī, Vaḍivērkilī and Vēyērkilī and is said to have wedded a Nāga princess named Piliyaḷai. It is believed that he fought a battle on the bank of the river Kūri against the Chōras and Pāṇḍyas. The Chōla king also overcame the former by besieging Kaṇuvūr. It was apparently during his reign that Kāvīrippūmpattinam, the Chōla capital, was destroyed by a tidal wave. The king is said to have died at a place called Kuḷamurraṇ and he was known in later times as "Kilīvaḷavaṇ, who died at Kuḷamurraṇ." In the Tamil anthology known as *Puraṇāṇūru*, there are 18 pieces in his honour composed by ten poets. In the notes appended to each of these poems is mentioned this name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem. Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added. In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them. The anthology in which these 18 poems are included is believed to have been compiled by a poet named Perundēvaṇār, who probably flourished in the 8th or 9th century A.D. (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraph 16). The date A.D. 105-120 for Kilī-Vaḷavaṇ assigned by the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai is based on the Singhalese chronicles, whose chronology is far from satisfactory. Without being dogmatic on the point, I would leave the chronology of early Tamil literature an open question until indisputable evidence is available on the point. For a tentative date of the Chōla king Karikāla, who was the grandfather of Kilī-Vaḷavaṇ according to Mr. Kanakasabhai, see the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7, Part II, p. 224, note 1; and p. 225, note 10.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II. p. 887, verse 13.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Rp. 13.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. vi. The date given for the same record on p. 137 of the Translation is "about 890 A.D."

king (Bāṇarasa). At Baṅgavāḍi in the same district is a Bāṇa epigraph which refers to the capture by the Permanaḍigal (i.e. the Western Gaṅga king), of Maḥarājara-nāḍ which belonged to the Bāṇa chief (Mb. 228).¹ That the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas were also occasionally on friendly terms is shown by the marriage of the Gaṅga princess Kundavvaiyār, daughter of Prithivipati I., with the Bāṇa king Bāṇavidyādhara.²

The kings mentioned in the stone inscriptions bear several names, and, consequently, it is often very difficult to identify them with those in the foregoing genealogical table. Though we have reason to suppose that the Bāṇas were feudatories of the Pallavas, the references to them in Pallava inscriptions are very few. In A. above, Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya, governing the Vaṇḍavali-mērku, figures as a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar, who may be identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the last powerful king of the Pallavas. If this be the case, the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya under reference, cannot be identified with Vikramāditya I. of the foregoing table. One of the earlier kings must have borne the surname Vikramāditya; perhaps Bāṇavidyādhara, or his predecessor.

After the downfall of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, their empire seems to have been split up, and we find the Bāṇas playing a very important part in all the frontier wars. The Gaṅga-Pallava king Narasimha-Vikramavarman, whose initial date has been placed by Dr. Fleet between A.D. 760-70, had a feudatory named Skanda-Bāṇādhiraḥ.³ At Baṅgavāḍi in the Muḷbāgal tāluka of the Kōlār District is an inscription recording the death of a servant of this king on the occasion of a cattle-raid.⁴ Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman of the Rāyakōṭa pṛātes, who may have been a successor of Narasimha-Vikramavarman, also had a Bāṇa feudatory.⁵ Danti-Vikramavarman (B. above) had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya for his feudatory. This Vijayāditya must be earlier than Vijayāditya II., in the foregoing table. Dantivikramavarman's son and successor Nandivikramavarman had Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya for his feudatory in the 17th year of his reign⁶ and an unnamed Māvali-Vāṇarāya in the 62nd year of his reign.⁷ The former has perhaps to be identified with Vikramāditya I., as we have some reason to suppose that Nandivikrama married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I. (814-15 to 877-78).⁸ This Vikramāditya is probably identical with Bāṇavidyādhara who married a daughter of the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I., another contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I.⁹ The Bāṇa contemporary of Nandivikrama's son Nripatuṅga was Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya according to C. above. As Professor Hultzsch has tentatively identified the Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar, mentioned in the Āmbūr inscriptions as a feudatory of Nripatuṅga, with the Gaṅga Prithivipati I.,¹⁰ it may be supposed, at least for the present, that this Vāṇavidyādhara is identical with the son-in-law of the Gaṅga king Prithivipati I.

The accompanying table shows at a glance the synchronisms of the Bāṇas, the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas:—

Bāṇas.

Pallava.

1. Vikramāditya Māvali-Vāṇarāya, feudatory of Nandippōttaraiyar (23rd year).

¹ Kl. 235, Bp. 48 and Bp. 86 of the Kōlār volume mention a Mahāvali Bāṇarasa ruling the Gaṅga 6,000 province. The first two are assigned by Mr. Rice to about A.D. 890 and the third to about A.D. 770. These inscriptions may imply a temporary occupation of the Gaṅga country by the Bāṇas; see *Ep. Carn. Vol. X. Introduction*, p. vi.

² *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III, p. 99.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 160. The first member of the name Skanda-Bāṇādhiraḥ might denote his overlord.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 23; see also *Ep. Carn. Vol. X. Kōlār*, Mb. 228.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 52.

⁶ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III, p. 94.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 91.

⁸ Above, Vol. IV, p. 181.

⁹ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III, p. 99.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

Bāpas.		Gaṅga-Pallavas.	
2. Skanda-Bāpādhirāja	feudatory	of	Vijaya-Narasimhavarman.
3. Māvali-Vāṇarāja	do.	do.	Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman.
4. Kārōniri-Bāparāja	do.	do.	Vijaya-Īśvaravarman. ¹
5. Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāja	do.	do.	Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (49th year).
6. Vikramāditya (I.) Māvali-Vāṇarāja	do.	do.	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (17th year).
7. Māvali-Vāṇarāja	do.	do.	Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (62nd year).
8. Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāja	do.	do.	Nripatunga (24th year).
9. Mahāvali-Vāṇarāja, Śaka-Saṃvāt 810. ²			
10. Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāja, son of 8, Śaka-Saṃvāt 820, 827, 831. ³			
11. Vikramāditya (II), contemporary and "dear friend" of Krishṇarāja, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa-king Kṛishṇa II. (A.D. 888 and 911-12).			

The inscriptions discovered in the Puṅganūr Zamindāri of the North Arcot District mention Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa-Vikramāditya-Bāṇakandarpa-Jayamēru, Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Bāṇavidyādhara and Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Vijayāditya-Virachūlāmaṇi-Prabhumēru. One of the records of the first of these kings refers to a battle fought at Soremaṭi, where the Bāpa opposed, on behalf of the Permanaḍi (i.e. the Western Gaṅga king?), the Nolamba (king?) and Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi.⁴ A *viragal* at Madanapalle in the Cuddapah District refers to a battle at the same place, which probably took place during the reign of the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa-Tripētra.⁵ A stone at Baṅgavāḍi in the Kolār District refers to an encounter between the same parties.⁶ If the Rāchamalla in these *viragals* was a Gaṅga, he may be identified with the Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma-Permanaḍi Rājamalla, whose final date is about A.D. 870-71.⁷ If this identification be correct, the date of the Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa of the Puṅganūr inscriptions may be taken roughly as the middle of the 9th century A.D.

According to the Gūlgānpode epigraphs,⁸ Vikramāditya, who has been identified by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch with Vikramāditya I. (No. 6 in the foregoing genealogical table) was also called Jayamēru.⁹ It may, therefore, be concluded that the above mentioned Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa-Vikramāditya-Bāṇakandarpa-Jayamēru is identical with Vikramāditya (No. 6 in the preceding table of synchronous kings). Perhaps the Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Bāṇavidyādhara mentioned in another Puṅganūr inscription is also identical with Vikramāditya I. In the two Gūlgānpode inscriptions, reference is made to a commander named Prabhumēru, who might have been a general called after the father of Vikramāditya I. It is, however, not unlikely that Vijayāditya-Virachūlāmaṇi-Prabhumēru mentioned above is identical with Vijayāditya II., in which case the Prabhumēru of the Gūlgānpode records might be the son of Vikramāditya I. This identification receives some support from the fact that, in one of the Gūlgānpode tablets, it is said that, by order of Prabhumēru, a hero fought against the Kāḍuvatti force, while in the Puṅganūr record of Vijayāditya reference is made to a raid on Kōyatūr, i.e. Laddigan in the Puṅganūr Zamindāri, by Kāḍuvatti-Muttarasa.¹⁰

As Vikramāditya II. was a friend of Krishṇarāja, who has been identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. (A.D. 888 and 911-12), it may be concluded that the Vijayāditya,

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 25.

² *South-Ind. Insors.*, Vol. III. p. 95.

³ No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899.

⁴ No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁵ No. 295 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 28.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. p. 153.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 39 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kolār, Sp. 5, 6.

⁹ *South-Ind. Insors.* Vol. III. p. 99.

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906-7, Part II., paragraph 45.*

son of **Bāṇavidyādhara**, mentioned in D. and E. above, must be identical with **Vijayāditya II**. This identification, if confirmed by future researches, would show that **Vikramāditya I** also bore the surname **Bāṇavidyādhara**—a fact already surmised by Dr. Fleet from the Gulgaṇpode records.

The fact that the two **Gudimallam** inscriptions of **Vijayāditya** are dated in the Śaka era and that they mention no overlord is significant: the dates are Śaka-Saṃvat 820 and 827 corresponding to A.D. 897-98 and 904-5. We have another date for the same king in an inscription at **Maṇigaṭṭa-Gollarahallī**:¹ here the **Bāṇa** prince **Bojeyitta-Bāṇarasa** is said to be ruling in Śaka-Saṃvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 909-10. If this be the case, the **Bāṇa** king **Vikramāditya II** must have assumed the leadership of the **Bāṇas** towards the close of the reign of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Kṛṣṇa II**. The reasons which must have led to **Vikramāditya's** courting the friendship of the **Rāshtrakūṭas** may now be examined.

We have already seen that the **Gaṅgas** and **Bāṇas** were often fighting with one another. At **Kondattī-Maḍivāla** in the **Kōlār** District is a stone inscription of **Nitimārṅga Koṅṅuṇivarma** which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 890.² The **Gaṅga** king's feudatory, **Noḷambādhirāja** of the **Pallava** family, is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the **Bāṇa** king (**Bāṇarasa**). Another unnamed **Bāṇa** king is said in a *vīraḡa* at **Baṅgavāḍi** in the same district to have opposed a confederacy of the **Noḷamba** king, **Rāchamalla**, **Mayindaḍi** and **Daḍiga**.³ At **Dharmapuri** in the **Salem** District is a pillar (now removed to the **Madras Museum**) which records a gift by the **Pallava** king **Mahēndrādhirāja-Noḷamba**. The latter claimed to have "destroyed the **Mahabali** (i.e. **Bāṇa**) family." The inscription is dated in A.D. 892-93. **Mahēndrādhirāja-Noḷamba** was the son of **Noḷambādhirāja** by **Jayabbe**, the daughter of the **Gaṅga** king **Rājamalla**.⁴ As the latter was the grandfather of the **Noḷamba** king **Mahēndrādhirāja**, whose date is A.D. 892, we may identify the **Gaṅga** king **Rājamalla** with the **Satyavākya-Koṅṅuṇivarma-Permanāḍi Rājamalla** for whom Dr. Fleet gives the date A.D. 840 to 870-71.⁵ The **Nitimārṅga-Koṅṅuṇivarma** of the **Maḍivāla** inscription, whose contemporary and feudatory was the **Noḷamba** king **Noḷambādhirāja**, has to be identified with **Rājamalla's** father **Raṇavikrama**, for whom Dr. Fleet gives the approximate dates A.D. 810 to 840. It is just possible that **Noḷambādhirāja** was contemporaneous with both **Rājamalla** and his father **Raṇavikrama** and fought against the **Bāṇas**. We have already seen that the northern portion of the **North Arcot District** was included in the **Bāṇa** dominions. At **Vaḷḷimalai**, which would be almost in the centre of the **Bāṇa** territory, we have an inscription of the **Gaṅga** king **Rājamalla**. Of him it is said that, having seen the **Vaḷḷimalai** hill, he took possession of it and caused a **Jaina basti** to be made on it.⁶ Though it is not stated from whom the **Gaṅga** king took possession of the hill, we may suppose that it was wrested from the **Bāṇas**. An image of a pupil of the **Bāṇa** prince's spiritual preceptor is cut in relief on the hill not far from the **Gaṅga** inscription. This unfortunately is the only vestige of **Bāṇa** rule which is now traceable on the hill. But **Mēlpāḍi**, which is only a mile from the hill, is said to have belonged to **Perumbāṇap-pāḍi** in the **Chōla** inscriptions found in two **Śiva** temples at the village.⁷ It may, therefore, be supposed that the **Gaṅgas** and **Noḷambas** had joined together⁸ to fight against the **Bāṇas**.⁹ The capture of **Vaḷḷimalai** by the **Gaṅga** king **Rājamalla** was effected apparently in the campaign

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. **Kōlār**, Mb. 229.

² *Ibid.*, Kl. 79. In the introduction to the **Kōlār** volume, p. vii, Mr. Rice assigns the **Bāṇa** prince mentioned in the inscription to about A.D. 850.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 23.

⁴ Above, Vol. X. p. 56.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI. p. 66.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 141.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III. p. 22.

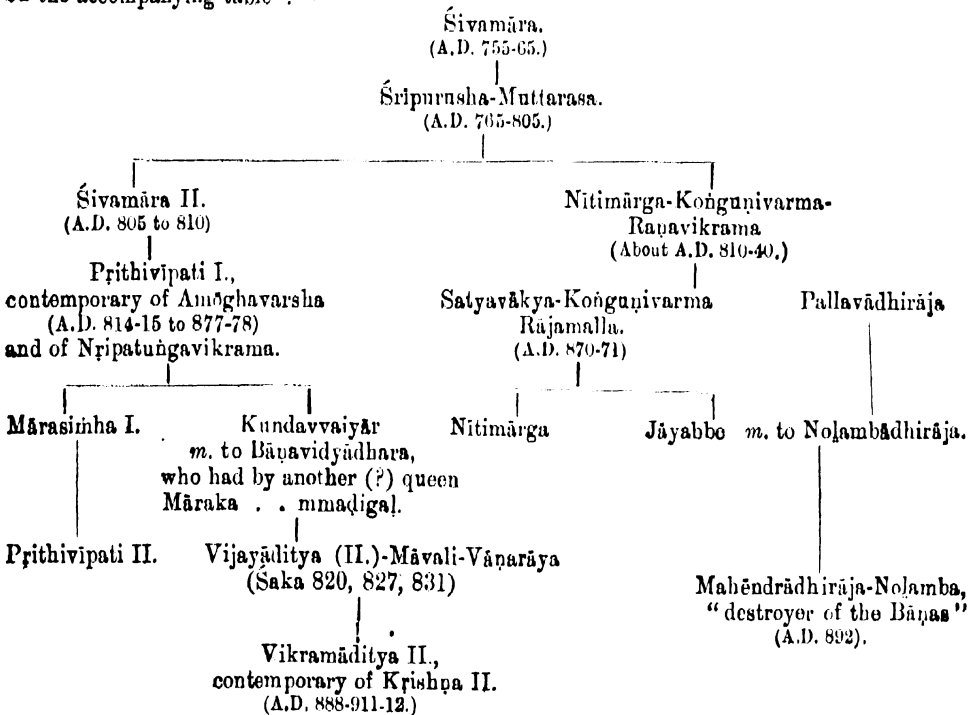
⁸ In the 10th century the relationship between the **Gaṅgas** and **Noḷambas** seems to have been completely altered and the **Gaṅga** prince **Mārasimha II** boasted of having destroyed the **Noḷambas**; above, Vol. V. p. 179.

⁹ The enmity between the **Bāṇas** and **Noḷambas** is also indirectly shown by the fact that the **Gaṅga** 6,000 district was sometimes governed by the **Bāṇas** and at other times by the **Noḷambas**; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X., **Kōlār**, Introduction, pp. vi and vii.

against the Bāṇas.¹ The claim of the Nolaṃba king Mahēndrādhirāja, grandson of the Gaṅga king Rājamalla, to have destroyed the Mahābali family was evidently not an empty boast. Consequently, the Bāṇas must have been driven to a corner about the time of which we are now speaking.

Again, in the Tamil country, the Gaṅga-Pallavas who had been overlords of the Bāṇas were evidently tottering at the time. Prior to A.D. 897-98, the date of the earlier Gudimallam inscription (D.), the decisive battle of Tiruppurambiyam must have been fought between the Gaṅga-Pallava Aparājita and the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa. The Chōlas must also have taken the place of the Gaṅga-Pallavas in the tract of country of which we are at present speaking. It was evidently a time when the Gaṅga-Pallavas had disappeared from the scene and their place had not been actually taken by the Chōlas. Perhaps this was why the two last of the subjoined inscriptions do not mention any overlord, but are dated in the Śaka era. This state of things probably continued for some time. For, in Śaka-Saṃvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 908-9,² the same Bāṇa prince Vijayāditya II. was ruling, but there is no mention of any overlord in the inscription. Perhaps his son Vikramāditya II. of the Udayēndiram plates represents himself as an independent king for this reason. The political condition of Southern India at the time rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya II. to make friends with some powerful king. As the Bāṇa prince Vijayāditya seems to have ruled until at least A.D. 909, his successor Vikramāditya II. must have assumed the leadership of the Bāṇas subsequent to that date. In this case, he must have become the friend of Kṛishṇa II. towards the close of the latter's reign.

Though the Nolaṃba king Mahēndrādhirāja claims to have "destroyed" the Bāṇas, they continued much longer. They appear to have lost their power and influence with the decline of the Gaṅga-Pallavas. The synchronisms of the Gaṅga, Bāṇa and Nolaṃba dynasties are shown on the accompanying table³ :—



¹ Reference is made in a Bāṇa inscription to an invasion of Kāñchi by the Gaṅga king Rājamalla. The Bāṇa prince was apparently ruling the Gaṅga 6,000 district at the time; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Bp. 86.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Introduction, p. vi.

³ For the Gaṅgas, compare the table given by Dr. Fleet, Vol. VI. above, p. 59.

The subsequent history of this feudatory family is not altogether devoid of interest. How long Vikramāditya II. continued to rule, we have at present no means of ascertaining. Either he or his successor must have been conquered by the Chōla king Parāntaka I. in or before A.D. 921-22. The latter claims to have uprooted by force two lords of the Bāṇa kings.¹ We are not, however, told whether he uprooted two Bāṇa kings in succession or simultaneously. Anyhow, he made over the Bāṇa kingdom to his Gaṅga feudatory Prithivipati II. Hastimalla in or before A.D. 915-16² and called him Śembiyaṇ Māvalivāṇarāyaṇ, i.e. "the Mahāvalivāṇarāja (who was a feudatory) of the Chōla king."³ At Yedarūr in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State is a stone inscription dated in Śaka-Samvat 883 corresponding to A.D. 961 which mentions a Bāṇa chief named Sambayya as a feudatory of Iriva-Noḷamba.⁴ Again at Sannamūru in the Podili division of the Nellore District is another stone inscription of the Bāṇa family. I have read the date tentatively as Śaka-Samvat 890 (corresponding to A.D. 968) and the name of the Bāṇa chief as Aggaparāju.⁵ The latter does not mention any overlord and this may be taken to show that he was semi-independent. The date falls into the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II.⁶ and is a few years prior to the interregnum in the Vēṅgi country.⁷ What part, if any, this Bāṇa king played in the interregnum we have at present no means of ascertaining. We shall not be far wrong if we suppose that the Chūṇaballirāju, who figures in a stone inscription at Kopidena (near Narsaraopet in the Guntur District)⁸ was a descendant of Aggaparāju. The inscription of Chūṇaballirāju is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1073, corresponding to A.D. 1150-51, which falls into the reign of the Chālukya king Rājārāja II.⁹

In the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, the history of the Bāṇas does not come to an end with their conquest by Parāntaka and the transfer of their dominions to their rivals, the Gaṅgas. It has been surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled in the Telugu country and that at a later stage in their history they moved into the northern part of the modern North Arcot District but retained the original designation of their territory. After Perumbāpappādi was transferred to the Gaṅgas, or perhaps at an earlier period in their history,¹⁰ the Bāṇas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Pālār which seems to have been originally the southern boundary of their territory, and settled on the banks of the river Southern Pennar, calling the new province Vāṇakōppādi or Vāṇagappādi.¹¹ In A.D. 948-9, the Rashtrakūṭa king

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

² The Sholinghur rock inscription which refers to this event (above, Vol. IV. p. 225, verse 5) is dated in the 9th year of Parāntaka I. corresponding to A.D. 915-6.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 389.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. viii.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p. 1201 ff.

⁶ He reigned from A.D. 945 to 970.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI. p. 349.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-00, paragraph 85. The description of Chūṇaballirāju is as follows: — *Sakala-sur-āsur-ādhiśvara-Paramēśvara-pratihārikṛita* (‘*rikṛita*’)-*Vaśiṣṭa-gōtra-kṛishṇa* (‘*kṛishṇa*’)-*dhraja* - *Paśāchika-paṭu-paśāha-gōṣhaṇa-vṛishabha* (‘*vṛishabha*’)-*lā-mehchana* (‘*lā-mehchana*’)-*Nandagirināt ka* - *P a r v i - puravar-ādhiśvara-kārmukha* (‘*kārmukha*’)-*Rāma-monage-mukolva-ahita-Dhananjaya-patihitābharana-sahaja-biyakāra-taraṇāgata-vajraprakāra-samarāikamārtta* [‘*nda*’]-*yubhayaṛāya-kaṭakamu ne*]-*rva-cheltānegal a g aja-dānamalla-kīrttiganalla* - *Vīraparbbā[na]-śrīmanmahāmaṇḍalēśvara-Chūṇaballirāju*.

⁹ A later reference to the Bāṇas occurs in the Sanskrit work *Pratāparudrayaśōbhāṣhaṇa* of Vidyānātha. But this does not throw any light on the history of the family.

¹⁰ The name Vāṇakōvaraiyar occurs already in two inscriptions of the 17th year of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (above, Vol. VII. p. 139 and No. 302 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1902). Perhaps a small colony of the Bāṇas moved out of Perumbāpappādi soon after the decline of the Pallavas of Conjeevaram.

¹¹ In the time of Rājendra-Chōla I, Vāṇagappādi or Vāṇagarai-Vāṇagappādi was called Madurāntaka-vaṇanādu and Rājendra-vaṇanādu during the reign of Kulōttunga I; *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46.

Krishna III. had a Gaṅga feudatory named Prithivigaṅgaraiyar, whose wife was the daughter of Vāṇakōvaraiyar.¹ This may be taken to show that the province of Vāṇagappādi had come into existence prior to A.D. 948-9. Krishna III. appears to have made over the province to a Valdumba feudatory of his, as it figures among the territories administered by the latter.² We have, however, no reason to suppose that the Bāpas were completely driven out of Vāṇagappādi at the time. The Vāṇarāja Aḷagamaiyan who is mentioned in a Tirumālpuram inscription of Pārthivēndravarmān was apparently a member of the family who had settled in the vicinity of Conjeeveram.³ We have a certain Maṇavaṇ Narasiṃhavarman *alias* Rājārāja-Vāṇakōvaraiyar, with the usual Bāpa titles, as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I. in an inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot District.⁴ The same Bāpa chief built the tank at Nerkuṇṇam *alias* Vayiramōga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.⁵ In an inscription of a Chōḷa king named Karikāla, whose time is at present unknown, reference is made to a certain Vāṇukōvaraiyar Viraparumar (*i.e.* Viravarman).⁶

In later times⁷ there was a chief named Poṇṇarappiṇa Vāṇakōvaraiyar, a feudatory or officer of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Peruṅṅadēva.⁸ He is apparently identical with Magadēśaṇ Vāṇakulōttamaṇ and Viramāgadāṇ Rājārājadēvaṇ Poṇṇarappiṇāṇ.⁹ Magadaipporumal,¹⁰ mentioned in certain inscriptions from Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot District and Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkōttai State. A number of Tamil verses in his praise have been found engraved on stone in the South Arcot District and in the Pudukkōttai State.¹¹ His title Magadēśaṇ or Magadaipporumal is interesting. From Hoysala inscriptions we know that the Hoysala king Narasiṃha II. uprooted the Makara or Magara kingdom.¹² The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja III. informs us that Narasiṃha II. "uprooted the Mahara kingdom, seized him (*i.e.* the Mahara chief), his women and treasures and halted at Pāchehūr." In editing the inscription Dr. Hultzsch had remarked that the Magara kingdom has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or Salem District.¹³

At Tiṭṭagudi on the border between the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēśaṇ Poṇṇarappiṇa Vāṇakōvaraiyar recording the gift of a

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 195. This Prithivigaṅgaraiyar, who also bore the surname Hastinalla, was different from and later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. In a Tirukkōvālūr inscription of the Chōḷa king Parakōśarivarmān, the queen of Vāṇakōvaraiyar figures as the donor (*ibid.* p. 141).

² Madras Epigraphical Report for 1904-5, Part II, paragraph 28.

³ *Ibid.* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46.

⁴ No. 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. This is how he is described in the inscription: *Sakala-sur-āsura-samadhikāta(-gata ?)-vijaya-tri-manōhāri-rallabha-mahārāja-Maha(hā)balī-kula-tilakāya-māna-[Pa]ṇṇaiṭarirudaiyananda-Nandagri(giri)nātha-Parivāipura-paramēścara-reṭeki-chinnāla m ā g h r i t a* (*Cekinn-ālamkṛita)-erishabhalāṇjanah* (*lāuchhanah*).

⁵ No. 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁶ No. 109 of the same collection.

⁷ In the time of Kulōttuṅga I. his throne at Muḍigondaśōḷapuram was called Vāṇāthirājan (Nos. 93, 94, 95 and 96 of 1910). One of his officers was Vāṇarājan or Vāṇarāya (No. 138 of 1896 and No. 312 of 1901). Vikrama-Chōḷa had also an officer named Mahābali-Vāṇarāya (No. 545 of 1904 from Tiruvārūr) and another called Virudarājabhayaṅkara-Vāṇakōvaraiyan (No. 112 of 1895).

⁸ No. 159 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁹ It is doubtful if this chief is identical with Rājārājadēvaṇ Poṇṇarappiṇāṇ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyan of Aṅkalūr who was a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III. (Nos. 532, 538 and 557 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902).

¹⁰ Nos. 507, 543 and 544 of 1902 and Nos. 381, 382, 383 and 385 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

¹¹ The chief's claim to have covered with gold (*poṇṇarappiṇa*) is obscure. He might have gilt the Tiruvannāmalai temple. It may also be that he rebuilt the Śiva temple at Chidambaram.

¹² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II, p. 507.

¹³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 161. Toḷudagalyūr, where Śōḷakōṇ, an adherent of the rebel Peruṅṅga, was staying is probably identical with Toḷudūr on the Madras-Trichinopoly road, 8 miles from Vālikappapuram and 28 miles west-south-west of Vēḍdhāchalām.

village in **Magadai-maṇḍalam**.¹ Three other records from the same village² show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it. It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysala inscriptions is identical with the Magadai-maṇḍalam ruled over by the Vāṇakōvaraiyar Poṇṇarappiṇṇu mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.³ If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bāṇas further south as far as the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel **Peruñjīga** had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysala generals commissioned to liberate the Chōla king Rājārāja III. from captivity.⁴

We have traced the movement of the Bāṇas as far south as the Pudukkōṭṭai State. In still later times they figure as feudatories and officers of the **Pāṇdyas** in the 13th century A.D.⁵ Mr. Sewell mentions two chiefs, one named **Sundara Tōl Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar** and the other **Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar** as rulers of Madura in the period A.D. 1451—1499.⁶ We have a few inscriptions of the 16th century which show that the Bāṇas continued to wield some power and influence. These have been found at Kāḷaiyārkōyil, Tiruppullāṇi and Dēvipattāṇam in the Madura district. The earliest of the chiefs mentioned in them is **Mahābali-Vāṇādhara-Nāyaka**.⁷ Then came **Sundarattōl-Uḍaiyār Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar**⁸ or **Sundarattoḷuḍaiya Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar**.⁹ He was apparently also known as Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar without any additional designation.¹⁰ In two of them he bears the epithet *irandakālam eḍutta* 'who revived the past,' (i.e. re-established the Pāṇḍya kingdom). This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāṇḍya princes Śrīvallabha and Kulāśekhara to set up a show of Pāṇḍya sovereignty.¹¹

Thus the history of the Bāṇas furnishes another instance of the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another. This aspect of Indian history has already been explained in my article on the Pallavas published in the *Director-General's Annual* for 1906-7.

¹ No. 10 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. The donee in the Madras Museum plates of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman was a native of Sabdali in the province of Magadha. In editing the plates, I assumed (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 74, footnote 91) that this was the well-known province of that name in Northern India. It is, however, not impossible that the former is identical with Magadai-maṇḍalam.

² Nos. 12, 14 and 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

³ It is worthy of note that there is a village named Poṇṇarappi in the Kāḷakurchi tāluka of the South Arcot District which may be supposed to have been included in the dominions of the Bāṇa chief Magadāṣaṇ. It is just possible that the name Poṇṇarappi has to be traced to the Bāṇa chief of whom we are now speaking.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII. p. 168.

⁵ In the Sir Walter Elliot collection is an impression of Tribhuvannachakravartin Kōṅōrimaikoṇḍūn, whose feudatory was Alagūṇḍar *alias* Mahābali-Vāṇarāyar. The king's surname was apparently Aṇṇivēndarāma which may be that of a Pāṇḍya king; *Arch. Surv. of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 185. In the reign of Māgarvarman may be that of a Pāṇḍya king; (A.D. 1216-35) the throne of the Pāṇḍya king at Madura was called Vāṇādharaṇ, while Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1251-61). Prince Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-Vāṇādarāyan was one of the officers of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1251-61). Prince Kulāśekhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāyar figures in a record of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva from Śiṅṅamaṇṇur in the Madura District.

⁶ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 223.

⁷ No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

⁸ No. 585 of the same collection for 1902 and No. 109 of 1903.

⁹ No. 121 of the same collection for 1903.

¹⁰ No. 587 of the same collection for 1902.

¹¹ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II. paragraph 32, and the same report for 1909-10, Part II. paragraph 38.

No. 23.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

RAJARAJA I.

223.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.¹

- 1 [Sva]sti śr[i] [||*] Tirumaga[l pō]la
 4 śrī-Kōv=Irājarāja-Rājakēsariparma[rk]k-iy[ā]n[du] 2|6
 āvadu . . .
 5 i[y]-ā[t]tai [Kar]ka[ḍa]ga-nā[ya*]rṇu apara-pakshattu
 padi[ṇā] . . . m Bu[ḍa]ṇ-kiḷamai²
 6 perṇa P[uv]ar[pūsat]ti-[n]āngu.

"In the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarāja-Rājakēsarivarman,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the [four]teenth³ [*tithi*] of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkaṭaka** of this year."

The date in this case is, like most others of this early period, worded in a manner a little different from the stereotyped form of later years in South India; so much so that while Mr. Krishna Sastri has stated it as referring to the 14th, or possibly 16th, solar day in Karkaṭaka, I find that it tallies with the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āshāḍha but with the 19th solar day of Karkaṭaka, and, since the word for "14th", *padi[ṇā] . . . m*, occurs in the original between *apara-pakshattu* and *Bu[ḍa]ṇ-kiḷamai*, I presume that it is possible that the number "14" refers rather to the *tithi* than to the solar day.⁴

In the 26th year of Rājarāja I Rājakēsarivarman, the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Āshāḍha was current at mean sunrise on Thursday, July 13th A.D. 1010, which was the 19th solar day of Karka. Now the 14th *tithi* of Āshāḍha is devoted to one of the Śivarātri festivals, and accordingly this *tithi* is liable to be joined with the Wednesday rather than with the Thursday, the midnight between the two having been included in it (Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* 1897, pp. 177, 181). This 14th *kṛṣṇa tithi* began 13h. 15m. before mean sunrise on the Thursday and included the midnight in question; while the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu began, according to the equal-space system, 18h. 6m. before that mean sunrise, and considerably earlier than that by the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta, being current both at midnight on Wednesday and at mean sunrise on Thursday. I think therefore that the day corresponding to the given day was **Wednesday, July 12th A.D. 1010**. If this is correct the accession of this sovereign must have taken place between June 25th and July 12th A.D. 985.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

224.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puṅal-mādu viḷaṅga
 7 [śrī-Rājakē-
 8 śariva]nmar-āna ⁶Dhīribhvannechakkaravati[i]ga[i] śrī-

¹ No. 624 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.² The letter *m* is engraved at the beginning of line 6.³ The *tithi* may also be the sixteenth.

⁴ Mr. Krishna Sastri's reason for thinking of the solar day and not of the *tithi* is that the numbers of lunar *tithis* are in South India commonly given in Sanskrit and not in Tamil. But neither the 14th nor the 16th solar day of Karka was Wednesday in this year, but Saturday and Monday respectively, and the use of the Tamil numeral is probably a consequence of the high age of the record.

- 9 [Kulōttu[n]ga-Sōladēvarkku iyān-
 10 du [nāṣṭatton]badāyadu Mēsha-nāyaggu pūrvva-
 11 [pak]sha[tu Utti]ramum Budan-kilāmayum [p]e-
 12 [ra] tra[y]ōdaśi-nāggu.¹

"In the **forty-ninth year** (of the reign) of the glorious **Rājakēsarivarman**, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva**,—on the day (which was) the thirteenth *tithi* and which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to (the day of) **[Uttara-Phalguni]** of the first fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**."

The given date corresponds to **Wednesday, March 26th A.D. 1118**, on which day the 13th śukla *tithi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra was current at mean sunrise, as also the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni. This day was the 3rd solar day of Mēsha.

Thus the 49th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I began on, or later than, 27th March A.D. 1118 and the reign must have begun on, or later than that date in A.D. 1070; so that for this king's accession we now have the period March 27th to October 8th A.D. 1070.

225. —In the Umāmahōśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.²

- 1 Syasti śri [H*] [Puga] śūnda]
 13 Kō[v-I]rājakēśaka(ri)[va]rmmar-āṇa Tr[i]-
 bhava[nach]chakkarava[r]ttiga] śri-Kulōttuṅga-Sōladēva[ku] yāṇḍu
 47āyadu Dhan[u]-nāyaggu pūrvva-pakshattu piradamaikum Tiṅga]-
 14 kilāmayum perṇa Mūlatti-nāl.

"In the **47th year** (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva**,—on the day of **Mūla** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanu**."

To paraphrase the opening passage of Professor Kiehlhorn's remarks on his Chōla date No. 40 (Vol. VI, p. 279),—"a date in the month of Dhanu of the 47th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1116." Now, as detailed, the given date is incorrect for the 47th regnal year. But it is perfectly correct for the 48th year, *viz.*, towards the end of A.D. 1117. Now Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that the figures 47 are perfectly clear in the original and cannot be read 48. We must therefore assume that the composer of the record made a mistake.

The given date, except for that mistake, corresponds with **Monday, November 26th A.D. 1117**, which was the 2nd solar day of Dhanu, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha was current. By the equal-space system the *nakshatra* current at that mean sunrise was Mūla, but by the system of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the current *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Aśāḍha. I conclude that the date is genuine, but that the composer erroneously stated the 47th instead of the 48th regnal year.

226.—In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirai.³

- 1 4Tr[i]bhavanachakrava[t'tiga] [śri-Kulōttuṅ]ga-Sōladēvarkku yāṇḍu
 47 āva[ḍu] Ishaba-[u]yaggu apara-pakshattu daśami[y]am Budan-
 k[i]lāmayum
 2 perṇa Śadaiya[t'ti-nāl].

¹ Read *mārga*.

² No. 653 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 629 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁴ Read *Tribhuv*.

"In the 47th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is unreliable. In the 47th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I the 10th *krishṇa tithi* of Vṛishabha was current on Tuesday, May 9th A.D. 1116 (not on Wednesday), and on that Tuesday at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Uttara Bhādrapadā; so that it was not possible for any moment of the Wednesday to be connected either with the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj or with the 10th *krishṇa tithi*. Śatabhishaj had expired before mean sunrise on the previous Monday. Working for the 48th year of this king I find that in that year the 10th *krishṇa tithi* fell on Saturday, the 5th day of Vṛishabha, the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise being Pūrva-Bhādrapadā. The corresponding day in European reckoning was April 28th A.D. 1117.

It is incorrect for a possible 47th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II, or of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

227.—In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirai.¹

- 1 T[ri]bhuvanach[akravattiga] śrī-Vi[kki]ra[ma-Śō]ladēva[rku] yāṇḍu 5āvadu
Miduna-[n]āya[rru] apa[ra-pa]kshat[ta] tra-
- 2 [yōde]siyum Viyālu-kk[i]la[maiyum] perra Urōsaṅi-nāl.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

This date is unsatisfactory. Given that the accession day of this sovereign was, as settled by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 5), the 29th of June A.D. 1118, the date should correspond to a day in A.D. 1122 or 1123. In A.D. 1122 the 10th day of Mithuna was Sunday, June 4th, and on that day the 13th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Jyēsthā and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇi were current at mean sunrise. The week-day stated in the inscription is, however, Thursday. Consequently I hesitate to accept it. Moreover, that June 4th would be in the king's 4th not 5th year.

For A.D. 1123 both week-day and *nakshatra* would differ from those stated in the original; the week-day of June 23rd, which was the day on which the 13th *śukla tithi* in Mithuna was current at mean sunrise, being Saturday, and the then current *nakshatra* being Mrigashiras.

Nor does the result agree with the given details for the 5th year of the king, on the supposition that his reign began, as originally set forward by Kielhorn, on 18th July A.D. 1108. Hence I can find no exact agreement in any case.

228.—In the Māgālēśvara temple at Tirumāḷam.²

- 1 ||6. S[va]sti [śr]i [||*]Pū-mādu puṇara
- 3 Kō-³Pparakēsa[r]iṇanmar=āna Tri[buva]nachechakravattiga śrī-Vikrama-
Śōladēva[rku] yāṇḍu⁴ 1[3]āvadn⁵ Ani-masattu Tīngat-kkiḷamai perra
Tiruvōpamum tr[i]tiṅaiyum=āna nāl.

¹ No. 621 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 97 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

³ The syllable *ppa* is written as a group.

⁴ The syllable *ṇḍu* is perhaps written as a group.
⁵ *āvadu* is denoted also by an incomplete flourish added immediately after the figure 13.

"In the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day which was the third *tithi* and (*the day*) of (the *nakshatra*) Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Āṣi."

This date is correct in all respects for the 13th year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōla as fixed by Professor Kielhorn, who established the day of the king's accession as June 29th A.D. 1118. It corresponds to Monday, June 15th A.D. 1131, the fourteenth year of the reign beginning June 29th of that year and June 15th being still in the thirteenth year. The date proves that the reign could not have begun before June 16th A.D. 1118.

On that Monday, June 15th A.D. 1131, the 3rd *tithi* of the second fortnight of solar Āṣi (or Mithuna), was current at mean sunrise, as was also the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II.

229.—In the Māgālēśvara temple at Tirumālam.¹

- 1 || || ॐ Svasti śrī [||*] Pūmaṇṇa padumam
 4 Kōv-Ir[ā]jakēsaripaṇmar-āpa Tribhuvana-
 chakravartigaḥ śrī-Kulō[ttu]ṅga-Śōladōvarku yāṇḍa
 11 pa[di]ṭṭi-onrāvadu Danu-nayarru iraṇḍān-diyaḍiyum Śāni-kkiḷamaiyum perra
 [Pū]ṣatti-[nā].

"In the 11th—eleventh—year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second solar day of the month of Dhanu."

The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, November 27th A.D. 1143, which was the second day of the solar month Dhanu, and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya by all systems. This day fell in the eleventh year of Kulōttuṅga Chōla II, which began, as at present found by me (Vol. X, p. 138, No. 190), between 26th March and 14th July A. D. 1143, his accession having taken place on some day between those dates in A.D. 1133.

The stated date would be incorrect for the eleventh year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, in which year the 2nd Dhanu fell on a Thursday (November 26 A.D. 1080), with Bharanī as the *nakshatra* current at sunrise. And the record cannot belong to the reign of the third king of that name whose title was Parakēsarivarman.

PARAKESARIVARMAN VIRARAJENDRA-CHOLA (KULOTTUNGA III.)

230.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puyal vāyṭṭu vaḷam peruga . . .
 11 Kō-Pparakēsa-
 12 ri[panma]r-āpa Tribhuvanachakkaravattigaḥ³
 13 śrī-[Vi]r[araj]endira-[Śōladō]va[rku] yā-
 14 ṇḍu aṇḱava[du] Mōsha-nāyarru pōrvva-
 15 [pa]kshattu ⁴pra[dha]m[iyu] [Śā]ni-kkiḷamaiyum pe-
 16 rra Aśvati-nā].

¹ No. 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

² No. 733 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ There is, in the original, a letter erased between the syllables *ra* and *va*.

⁴ Read *prathamaiyūm*.

"In the fifth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

Virarājendra (Kulōttuṅga III) having come to the throne between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1178 (Vol. IV, p. 266; VIII, p. 264, No. 108) the month of Mēsha in his fifth year must fall in A.D. 1183, and the details of the date are perfectly correct for Saturday, March 26th A.D. 1183, which day was the 2nd solar day of Mēsha. On that day the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight of *adhika-Vaiśākha* was current at mean sunrise, the moon being then in the *nakshatra* Aśvinī.

231.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*]Puyal vāyttu
 4 Kō=Pparakēśariparimar-āṇa T[r]jib[hu]vaṇachēhakkara-
 vattiga[śri-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva]rkkū yaṇḍu 9vadu² Viruchēhiga-nāy[arru
 irubāt-
 5 t[ā]-nālān-diyadiyum pūrvva-pakshattu saptamiyumu Viyāla-kkilamaiyum perra
 Śadaiyattu na[.]

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Vriśchika."

The date regularly corresponds to Thursday, November 20th A.D. 1186, a day in the 9th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, which was the 24th day of Vriśchika, and at whose mean sunrise the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, the moon being, by the equal-space system, in Śatabhishaj. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Pūrva Bhādrapadā, but they do not seem to have been used. By the equal-space system Śatabhishaj ended 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise; whereas by Garga that *nakshatra* had ended 4h. 16m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3h. 17m. before that moment.

232.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.³

- 1 Svasti śri [||*]
 2 Puyal vāyttu
 21 Kō=[Ppa]rakō[sari]pa[ṇma]r-ā-
 22 ṇa Tiribuvā[ṇachēhā]kkaṇa[tti]ga[Madu-
 23 rai[yu]m Īla[mu]ṇ-Garuvū[rum P]āṇḍi-
 24 yaṇai muḍi-t[ā]laiy[u]m koṇḍ-aru-
 25 [liya] śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladē[va]r[ku [y]āṇḍu 26
 26 [vadu Ku]m[ba]-ṇ[ā]ya[rru] pūrvva-pa[kshattu] m Ti-
 27 ṇgaṭ-[ki]lāmaiym per[ru Kārtti]g[ai]-nā[li].

"In the 26th year (*of the reign*) of king [Pa]rakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura), Īlam (Ceylon), Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the [*tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of [Kumbha]."

¹ No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² vadu is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 9.

³ No. 732 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

The 26th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III began between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1203, and in that 26th year this date corresponds to **Monday, February 9th A.D. 1204**. At sunrise on that day, which was the 17th day of Kumbha, the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the moon was then in Kṛittikā.

233.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]ḥ—Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḥ [Ma]durai[y]nam [P]āṇḍi[y]aṇ
[muḍi]-tta[ḥ]aiyṇṇ-goṇḍ-aruḥ[i].
- 2 na śri-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅku y[ā]ṇḍu paḍiṇ-ārāvadu Miṇa-nā[ya]ṅṇu apara-
pa[kashat]tu pra[ta]maiṇum Budaṇ-
3 kiḷamaiṇum peṅra Atta[t*]tu nā.

"In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura) and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Hasta** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mīna**."

This date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, March 9th A.D. 1194**, which was the 15th of Mīna and was in the sixteenth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. At mean sunrise on that day the 1st *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta.

234.—In the Unnatapuriśvara temple at Molatūr.²

- 1 [Ḷ] Tiribuya[ṇa]chchakkara[va]rttiḡaḥ ś[ri]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva[r*]kku yāṇḍu
[3]yadu Ishaba-nayarru [pū]rva-pashshattu³ t[i]r[i]t[iy]aiṇum Budaṇ-k[īla]m-
[aiṇum peṅra Pu]ṇarpūśa[tu] n[ā].

"In the [3]rd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of **Punarvasu** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha**."

Since this date is so worded as to afford no clue as to which of the three known Kulōttuṅgas' reign it belongs, I have tested it for each of those sovereigns; with an unsatisfactory result in the end.

In the third year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the solar month Vṛishabha was current at mean sunrise on Tuesday, April 24th, A.D. 1072, and also at mean sunrise on Sunday, May 12th, A.D. 1073; either of which days, according to our present knowledge as to the date of that king's accession, might have fallen in his third year. In the first case the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was either Mṛigaśīras or Ārdrā according to the authority used, and in the second case was Ārdrā by all systems.

For the reign of Kulōttuṅga II we also have the choice of two years; and the day mentioned in the record, so far as the *tithi* is a guide, may have been Friday, May 17th, A.D. 1135 when the *nakshatra* was Ārdrā by the equal-space system for 7h. 1m. after mean sunrise, but Panarvasu by Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta; or it may have been Wednesday, May 6th A.D. 1136, when the corresponding *nakshatra* was similar to that in the last case, Ārdrā lasting by the equal-space system for 7h. 36m. after mean sunrise.

This latter date, therefore, would exactly tally with the given details if we could assume that the *pañchāṅgas* of that day were calculated, in the matter of the *nakshatra*, either by the

¹ No. 662 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 39 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

³ Read *paikshattu*.

system of Garga or that of the Brahma-siddhānta; but at present I think that the weight of evidence shows that the equal-space system was then in use. Though the week-day is correct therefore the *nakshatra* is not so. And for that reason I hesitate to accept the date.

For the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha corresponded to Monday, May 18th, A.D. 1181, which was the 25th solar day of Vṛishabha; on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Punarvasu by all systems. This therefore would coincide with the given date if we presumed that the week-day had been wrongly stated as Monday instead of Wednesday. The 3rd śukla *tithi* in question ended at 1h. 41m. after mean sunrise on the Monday, so that it could not be connected with the Tuesday, still less with Wednesday. I am therefore, as before, unable to accept that date as correct.

From the above transliteration it appears that the number of the regnal year "3" is somewhat doubtful. If the number is capable of being certainly ascertained, no doubt the date could be conclusively verified.¹

RAJADHIRAJA II (?).

235.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvannechakkara[va]ttiga[||] śr[ī]-Rājādhirājādēvaṅku yandu paṇniraṇḍā[va]du ³[Si]mha-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu daśa[m]iḷyūm Tīṅga[||]-k[||]-iḷamaiyūm peṇṇa Mūlattu nāḷ.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rajadhirājādēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Si]mha."

This date is intrinsically wrong. During the month of Simha a tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight can never be connected with the *nakshatra* Mūla; but a tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight can be so, and I have therefore tested the date for both these days in the reigns of Rajadhiraja I and II respectively.

Taking the latter first, the date must, for his 12th year, fall in A.D. 1174. In that year, in the month of Simha, the 10th kṛṣṇa *tithi* fell on a Friday, and the 10th śukla *tithi* also on a Friday; the *nakshatra* in the second case being Mūla by all systems. As the week-day is thus altogether wrong I reject this date, although in the second case the *nakshatra* stood as stated.

For the reign of Rajadhiraja I we have it, as established by Kielhorn, that his twelfth year began between March 15th and December 3rd, A.D. 1029. Hence the month of Simha in that regnal year may have been either in A.D. 1029 or 1030. In the first of these two cases the 10th kṛṣṇa *tithi* of Simha fell on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* being Mrigashiras. This is plainly wrong. The 10th śukla *tithi* of Simha in A.D. 1029 was current at sunrise on a Thursday, the *nakshatra* Mūla having expired 3h. 36m. before that sunrise. This also does not fit the description.

Now for the second case, viz., the Simha of the year A.D. 1030 (Śaka 952). The 10th kṛṣṇa *tithi* was current at sunrise of Monday, July 27th, A.D. 1030, which was the 1st day of Simha; but the *nakshatra* then current was Rohini. This is altogether wrong. In the same year, A.D. 1030, the 10th śukla *tithi* was current at sunrise of Tuesday, August 11th, which

¹ After examination of the original Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that it is possible, though not probable, that the regnal year was "2," and not "3." I have consequently calculated the date for the 2nd year of each of these kings, finding it irregular in each case, both week-day and *nakshatra* being different to the given ones.

² No. 728 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The letter *Si* appears to be a correction; read *Simha*.

was the 16th Śiṃha, the then current *nakṣatra* being, by the equal-space system, Mūla. This 10th śukla *tithi* had begun 13h. 54m. before mean sunrise on the Tuesday, and had been current during that time on the latter part of Monday, August 10th. During the whole of that period of 13h. 54m. on Monday, Mūla had been current. If, therefore, it is assumed that the *tithi* quoted in the record was the *tithi* current at the time the action referred to in the inscription was accomplished, and not the *tithi* current at sunrise, the date may be accepted as genuine and stated as corresponding to Monday, August 10th, A.D. 1030, the second fortnight having been wrongly stated instead of the first. In that case—and it is possibly correct—we shall have the period within which this king's accession must have taken place narrowed to the interval between March 15th and August 11th, A.D. 1018.

But I am rather doubtful about this date because the *tithi* in question was the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada, and according to Albēruni the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada was considered an unlucky day.¹

RAJARAJA III.

236.—In the Kachchhapesvara temple at Tirukkachchur.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [] [*] Tribhuvana[eh]chakkaravattiga! śrī-Rajarajadēvaṅku yāpḍu 14-vadu Dhanu-naya-
- 2 pu-ppūrvva-pakṣattu prathamaiyūm Uttirādamum peṇṇa nāl.

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarajadēva,—on the day which corresponded to the (day of the *nakṣatra*) Uttarāśādhā and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

No week-day being given here we can only be guided by the *nakṣatra*. The date corresponds to Tuesday, December 18th A.D. 1220, which was the 23rd Dhanus, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa, and, by all systems, the *nakṣatra* Uttarāśādhā, were current.

237.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.³

- 1 Svasti [i] śrī [] [*] T[ir]i[ri]buvanachchakkar[va]ṅtiga! śrī[ri]-Rājarā[ja]dēvar[k]ku 3[ga]vada! Magara-nāyar-
- 2 pu-ppūrvva-pa[kṣattu] saturdayum Mūlam[u]m peṇṇa [N]āyā[ṅ]u]-kki[ḷama]i-nāl.

"In the 3rd (year) (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarajadēva,—on the day (which was a) Sunday, (and) which corresponded to (the day of) Mūla and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.

This date is irregular in itself, besides being wrong in other respects. On a 4th *tithi* of the first fortnight in Makara the moon cannot be in the *nakṣatra* Mūla. Makara in the 3rd year of Rājarāja III occurred late in A.D. 1218 and early in 1219. The 4th śukla *tithi* corresponded to Monday, January 21st, A.D. 1219, which was the 27th day of Makara, on which day

¹ Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that it is just possible to read the solar month in the original as "Rishabha," and that the characters show that it could not belong to the reign of Rājādhirāja I. I have freshly computed the date: finding that it is irregular for the solar month Vṛishabha in the reign of either of the known Rājādhirājas. In no case can either a 10th śukla or 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* in solar Vṛishabha be connected with the *nakṣatra* Mūla. The week days also do not correspond.

² No. 264 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 270 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁴ The usual flourish for expressing *avadu* is also written in continuation of the figure '3'.

⁵ Read *chaturthi*.

at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* was *Uttara-Bhadrpadā*. The day corresponding to *Māla* in that solar month was Tuesday, January 15, A.D. 1219, which was the 21st day of *Makāra*, and on that day the 12th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise.

238.—In the Chōlīśvara temple at Turaiyūr.¹

1 Svast[i] śrī [i]* Tribhuvānachechakkara[vat]tiga! śrī-Rājarājādēvarku yāṇḍu
3vadu Mīna-nāyargu apara-pakshattu [ē]kādaśi[yu]m Śaṇi-kkilaṁaiyum peṇṇa
Śadaiyattu na[1].

"In the 3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mīna*."

This date is also irregular. In the third year of Rājarāja III the month of *Mīna* fell early in A.D. 1219. The eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight in that month corresponded to Thursday, March 14th 1219, which was the twentieth day of *Mīna*. On that day at mean sunrise the 11th *krishṇa tithi* and the *nakshatra* *Dhanishṭhā* were current. On Friday, March 15th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 12th *krishṇa* and the current *nakshatra* was *Śatabhishaj*. On Saturday, March 16th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 14th *krishṇa*, the 13th being expunged, and the current *nakshatra* was *Pūrva-Bhadrpadā*. So that it is not possible in that year to form at any time a combination, even at any time of a day, of a Saturday, the 11th *krishṇa tithi*, and the *nakshatra* *Śatabhishaj*; nor can we arrive at any solution without altering two out of three of the elements given in the date as stated. This would be dangerous.

The date is irregular for the reigns of Rājarāja I or II.

239.—In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōṇērīrājapuram.²

1 Svast[i] śrī [i]h [i]* T[ri]bu[va]nachechakkara[vatt]iga! śrī-R[ā]jarājādēvarkku yāṇḍu
irubattunālāvadiy ed[i]ṁam-āṇḍu Mēsha-nāyargu a[pa]ra-[pakshattu a]ṣṭamiyum
Vell[i]-kkilaṁaiyum peṇṇa T[ur]uṇyōḍattu nāl.

"In the year opposite the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mēsha*."

The given date corresponds to Friday, April 5th A.D. 1241, which was the 12th day of *Mēsha*. On that day at mean sunrise the 8th *krishṇa tithi* was current, and the moon was in *Śravaṇa*.

240.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Samayavaram.⁴

1 [Svas]ti śrī [i] Tirubavāṇ[che]chakkara[vatt]iga! śrī-Rāśaraśādēvarku yāṇḍu
[6]-
2 ā[va]ḍu [Mō]sha-[nā]yargu apara-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budan-gilaṁai peṇṇa
Mūla-
3 [ttu] nāl.

"In the [6]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of *Mūla*, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mēsha*."

¹ No. 701 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 661 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The syllable *rō* seems to be a correction from *śrava*.

⁴ No. 746 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

Two inscriptions, one at the Ulagaṇḍa-Perumāḷ temple at Kāñchi, and the other at the Kailasanātha temple at Śēvvalimēḍu, are dated in the year Vyaya, and expressly state the year as Ś. 1268 (A.D. 1346-47) and as being in the 9th year of this king's reign. A third record of the 7th year also exists at Śēvvalimēḍu. If these are found on examination to contain fuller details of the date it may be possible to gather from them sufficient evidence as to the date of his accession. But so far this can only be fixed as being in Ś. 1259 or 1260, *i.e.*, on some day between March 26th A.D. 1337, the first solar day of Mōsha Śaka 1259, and March 25th A.D. 1339, the last solar day of Mina Śaka 1260. Consequently the thirteenth year must lie between March A.D. 1349 and March 1351, and the month of Tulā stated in the present inscription at Tirukachchūr must correspond either to (about) October A.D. 1349 or the same month in A.D. 1350.

The details of the date are irregular for A.D. 1349, the second *tithi* of the second fortnight in Tulā in that year falling on Tuesday, September 29th, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī. I doubt even if the date can be accepted as regular for A.D. 1350. In that year the second *kṛishṇa tithi* of Karttika was current at mean sunrise of Monday, October 18th, that day being the 20th day of Tulā, and the moon at its sunrise being in Rōhiṇi. The *tithi* had been current for the last 21h. 11m. of Sunday, October 17th, and up to 3h. 5m. before sunrise on the Monday the moon had been in Kṛittikā, according to the equal-space system. By the system of Garga the moon had been in Kṛittikā up to 15h. 13m., and by the Brahmasiddhānta up to 15h. 56m. before the Monday sunrise. If therefore the week-day had been stated as Sunday, the date given would have proved regular as regards the *nakṣatra* but wrong as regards the *tithi*, which should have been stated as the 1st *kṛishṇa*. The 2nd *kṛishṇa tithi* and the *nakṣatra* Kṛittikā had been together current for some hours on the Sunday, but not on the Monday; and I can ascertain no ceremonial reason why a 2nd *kṛishṇa* in Karttika should be coupled with the day prior to that on whose sunrise it was current.

I have tested the date for several other years about this period but quite without success. It is not correct for A.D. 1351, in which year the given *tithi* corresponded to Friday, October 6th, which was the 9th Tulā and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī.

[Incidentally I may mention that I find the date quoted by Professor Hultzsch for the 17th year of this king's predecessor, Veṅṟumakōṇḍa Śambuvārāya (*South-Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 78, No. 52) to be perfectly regular. The date corresponds to May 10th A.D. 1339, and the king's accession is fixed as having taken place between May 11 A.D. 1322 and May 10 1323].

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBUVARAYA.

242.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

- 1 Svas[t]i [śri] [||*] Sakalalōkachōha[kra]²vatt[i] Iraṣaṇārā[ya]ṇaṇ Śambuvārāyarku yiyāṇḍu³ 20 āvadu⁴
 2 Magara-nāyāṅṟu pūrva-pakṣhattu ⁵tittigaiyum ⁶Buda[ṇṇ]m perra Tiruvōṇa[t]tu nāl.

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of Rajanārāyaṇaṇ Śambuvārāya the emperor of all the worlds,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Between the syllables *kra* and *va* is a letter which is indistinct.

³ Cancel the syllable *gi*.

⁴ The word *āvadu* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 20.

⁵ Read *tittigai*.

⁶ The word *Budaṇṇm* is written below the line.

It is almost certain that the *nakshatra* or the *tithi* quoted in this inscription must be wrong, for by the equal-space system and that of Garga the 3rd śukla *tithi* in the solar month Makara can never correspond to Śravana, while by the Brahma-siddhānta it could only do so for about 12 minutes at the beginning of the *tithi*. The moon could, however, be in Śravana on the 1st or 2nd śukla *tithi* of that month. In the present case I think that the quoted *tithi* is correct, since it fell on a Wednesday as stated, but that the *nakshatra* has been wrongly quoted as Śravana when it should have been Dhanishṭhā.

If I am correct in this supposition the given date corresponds to Wednesday, January 2nd A.D. 1359, on which day at mean sunrise the 3rd śukla *tithi* was current, the day being the 7th civil day of Makara. The current *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was, however, Dhanishṭhā and not Śravana. This day being in the 20th regnal year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambavarāya we have it that his accession occurred on some day between January 3rd A.D. 1339 and January 2nd 1340. As stated above, p. 251, the Kāñchī and Śevvallimēdu inscriptions show that the accession could not have taken place later than the last day of Śaka 1260, which was March 25th A.D. 1339. And consequently, if the present date is accepted, the reign of this king began between January 3rd and March 25th A.D. 1339.

But if so, the last date examined, No. 241, is not regular, for it should have corresponded with a day in September-October A.D. 1351, being in the 13th year. And for that year it is incorrect.

PERUNJINGADEVA.

243.—In the Vyāghrapadēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

- 1 Svasti śri ||[*] Sakulabuvanaḥakkaravattiga] śri-Kō=P[p]erunjinga-[d]ē-
- 2 varkku yāṇḍu 19 vad[u] Rishabha-nāya[r]u] apara-pakshattu t[r]i-
- 3 tiyayum Tīngaḷ-kūṇaiyum peṇṇa Mūlattu nāḷ.

“In the 19th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of all the worlds, the glorious king Perunjingadēva,—on the day of Mula, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The reign of this king has been previously determined by the late Prof. Kielhorn to have begun between 11th February and 30th July A.D. 1243.

The present date is quite regular for the 19th regnal year. It corresponds to Monday, May 8th A.D. 1261, which was the 14th Vṛishabha, Śaka 1184 expired. On that day at mean sunrise, and thereafter for 13h. 32m., the 3rd kṛishṇa *tithi* of Vaiśākha was current; the moon being by the equal-space system in Mūla at sunrise and for 3h. 40m. after it. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was Pūrva-Āshāḍhā.

We now therefore know that the accession of Perunjingadēva took place between May 9th and July 30th A.D. 1243.

¹ No. 417 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

No. 24—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

MARANJADAIYAN.

98.—In the Jambunāthasvāmin temple at Tiruveḷḷarai.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārañjadaiyaṅku yāṇḍu nāl[ā]-
- 2 vadaṅk=edir oṇḍāḍavadu Vriṣchika-ñairru Ti-
- 3 ṇḡṭ-ki[ḷamai] perra Aśvati [muda]l-āḡa.

“In the ninth (year) opposite to the fourth year (of the reign) of king Marañjadaiyan, —from (the day of) Aśvini which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Vriṣchika.”

The names of two sovereigns bearing the title Marañjadaiyan have been brought to light in the territories at one time subject to the Pandyan kings. The earlier was alive in A.D. 770 as is gathered from the Āṭṭaimalai inscription; the later is believed to have succeeded to the throne some time in A.D. 862-63 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 88). No sufficient details exist for verification of the date given for the former. I have examined the date of the present record on the supposition that it might refer to that Marañjadaiyan whose reign is said to have begun in A.D. 862-63.

It appears to belong to his thirteenth year, which would perhaps be the year A.D. 874-75. The date given is so far regular that on Monday, the 29th day of the solar month Vriṣchika, the *nakṣatra* Aśvini was current for 3h. 24m. at the end of the day by all the three *nakṣatra* systems. This civil day corresponded to Monday, November 23rd A.D. 874. On that day Rēvatī expired and Aśvini began at 20h. 36m. after mean sunrise. Therefore according to the ordinary practice of Southern India the Monday in question would have been coupled with Rēvatī and not with Aśvini. The lunar day current at the Monday sunrise was the 10th śukla of Mārgaśirsha. The 11th śukla *tithi* began at 18h. 34m. on that Monday, or 34m. after midnight.

Now I understand that the 10th śukla of Mārgaśirsha is considered an unlucky *tithi* (at least Albéruni says that it is so); but that the 11th is peculiarly auspicious since it is the occasion of the great *Vaikuṇṭha*, or *Mukkōṭi-ṛkāḍaṣi*, festival in Southern India, and of the *nakṣatra-ṛkāḍaṣi* in other parts.² And as this *tithi* ran for about 5½ hours before the end of the civil day, Monday, while the *nakṣatra* Aśvini was similarly current for about 3½ hours before the end of the day, it seems quite possible that this constituted an occasion justifying a departure from the usual practice and the coupling of the Monday in question with Aśvini instead of with Rēvatī.

If I am right in this surmise the date may be accepted as genuine, and if so this king's reign began some time between November 23rd, A.D. 861, and November 22nd, 862; always supposing that “in the ninth year opposite the fourth year” means “in the thirteenth year.” Coupling with this the date given in the Aivarmalai record (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 88), which makes Śaka 792 synchronous with the king's eighth year, we have for his accession the period March 22nd to November 22nd A.D. 862. This presupposes that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year.

¹ No. 81 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

² That the *Mukkōṭi-ṛkāḍaṣi* festival takes place on 11th śukla of Mārgaśirsha I gather from the late S. M. Natesa Sastri's *Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies*, p. 60. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Chronology*, p. 50,) places it on the 11th śukla of *Pauṣa*; but I believe that this is not the case.

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

97.—In the Muṇḍiśvaramuḍaiyār temple at Maṇappaḍaiviḍu.¹

- 1 ௭ Svasti śri [||*] Kō Mārappaṇmar=āṇa Tribhavanachchakravattiga[!] emmaṇḍala-muṇ=gopḷ-aruḷi[ya*] śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu 10vadu Vṛiśchikanāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu aṣṭamiyum peṛra Rēvati-nā[!].

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to the 8th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

I have tested this date for the 10th year of the three known Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyas, the first of whom began to reign between March 29 and September 4, A.D. 1216, the second between June 15, A.D. 1238, and January 18, 1239, and the third between June 2, A.D. 1531, and June 1, 1532; that is to say I have calculated the *tithi* and *nakshatra* mentioned, during the course of the solar month Vṛiśchika, in each of the years A.D. 1225, 1226, 1247, 1248, 1540, 1541. In no case was Rēvati current at any time during the civil day which might have been connected with the 8th śukla *tithi* of a lunar month. I must therefore hold this date to be unsatisfactory.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

98.—In the Neḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunoḍuṅgaḷam.²

- 1 Svasti śri [|||*] Kō-Chchadaipapaṇmar=āṇa T[i]r[i]buvanaachchakkara[vat]tiga[śri]-Sundara-P[ā]ṇḍiyadevarkku yāṇḍu
2 mūṇṇavadu Rishabha-nayaru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷa[m]ai-
[yu]m peṛra Puṣattu nā[!].

"In the third year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is also irregular when examined for the third year of any known king of the name declared in the record. Tested for the reigns of the first or second Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya the stated day must fall in either A.D. 1253, 1278, or 1279. In the first case the given *tithi* fell on a Saturday, in the second on a Wednesday, in the third on a Tuesday; in the first two cases the *nakshatra* was Hasta and in the third Chitrā. On an 11th śukla *tithi* in Vṛiśabha the moon cannot be in Pushya.

99.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.³

- 1 Svast[i] śri[||*] [Kōḷ-Śaḍai]
2 buvanaachcha[k]karuvatti[ga] śri-Sundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]dēvarkku y[āṇ]-
3 ḍu 7vadu⁴ Mina-nayaru pūruva-pakshattu deśamiyum Nayarru-[kiḷa]-
4 maiyum [p]eṛra Atta[t*]tu nā[!].

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭa[varman *alias*] the emperor of the [three] worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Sunday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

¹ No. 446 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 680 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ There is some space between Śr and Kō which might have been intended for a punctuation.

⁴ No. 303 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁵ vadu is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 7.

This date is altogether unsatisfactory. In the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna corresponded to Saturday, March 10th A.D. 1258, the Pushya *nakṣatra* being current at mean sunrise.

For the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II I have tried all the possible years. In no case is the *nakṣatra* quoted correct for the day corresponding to the 10th śukla *tithi* in Mīna, these being always either Punarvasu, Pushya, or Āślēṣā, and never Hasta. Only in one year, A.D. 1284, does the 10th śukla *tithi* correspond to a Sunday, and that was on 27th February of that year; but the *nakṣatra* for that day was Punarvasu.

The record cannot belong to the reign of any possible king of the name coming between Māravarman Kuḷaśekhara I, whose last known date is June 9th A.D. 1303, and the second king of that name, whose reign began in March A.D. 1314; since in all the possible years that I have tried, the *nakṣatra*, on the given day, is either Punarvasu or Pushya. Indeed during the month of Mīna the moon cannot be in Hasta on a 10th śukla *tithi*.

100.—In the Vighnēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōr=Chadapaṇmar=āna Tiribhū[va]ṇa²chchakkaravattigal e[m*]maṇḍa[la]muṇ=gond-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu Svadu³ Risha-
- 2 bha-nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu tradiyayū[m*]⁴ Viyāla-kki[la*]maiym perṇa Pūṣattu nā[1].

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is irregular. To correspond with the 8th year of the named king, either the first or the second of the dynasty, the day must fall in either A.D. 1258, 1283, or 1284. In 1258 the 3rd śukla *tithi* in Vṛṣabha was current at sunrise of a Tuesday, and the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśiras or Ārdrā at sunrise. In 1283 the week-day was Saturday, and the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśiras by all systems. In 1284 the week-day was Friday, and the *nakṣatra* at sunrise was Punarvasu by all systems. Part of the 3rd śukla *tithi*, in this last case, coincided with Thursday; it did so in fact for the last 10½ hours of that day; but during that period the *nakṣatra* was Ārdrā or Punarvasu.

101.—In the Neḍuṅḡalanāthasvāmin temple at Tiruneḍuṅḡalam.⁵

- 1 [Sva]s[t]i [||*]samasta-jagad-ādhāra
- 5 [Sun]da[ra]-Pā[ṇ]ḍiya[dē]va[r]kn⁶ yāṇḍu pa[i]to[n]rāvadu⁷ Makara-nāyarṇu pā[r]vva-pakshattu [sha]sh[th]iy[u]m Budhan-kiḷa[m]aiym
- 6 perṇa Urōṣaṇ[i]-pāḷ.

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of [Sun]dara-Pāṇḍyadēva, —on the day of Rōhiṇī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No. 319 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Read *Tribhuvana*.

³ *radu* is represented by a flourish.

⁴ Read *trītiyayum*.

⁵ No. 677 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁶ The portion of this line, from *āḍiya* to *radu*, is written over an erasure.

⁷ Read *paṇḍyārāvadu*.

The date is irregular whether for the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, or for the second king of that name. The given *tithi* in Makara corresponded with a Wednesday in A.D. 1261, the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara I, and in January of A.D. 1286 which might possibly have been in the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara II; but the corresponding *nakshatra* on those Wednesdays was either Pūrva or Uttara-Bhadrapadā. In January 1287 the 6th śukla *tithi* in Makara fell on a Tuesday, with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī current at mean sunrise, and in January 1288 it fell on a Sunday, with the *nakshatra* Rēvatī current at mean sunrise.

102.—In the Kachehappēsvara temple at Tirukkachehūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī[||*] 6. Kō=Ch[cha]ḍa[pa]ṇmar=āṇa
Tiribuvānachehakkavattigaḷ śrī-[Śu]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṇu yā[ṇ]ḍu 13vadu²
paḍ[i]ṇṇū[ḥ]ṇadu Kum[bla]-nāyaggu pūrvva-[pa]kshattu pañchamiyum Bu-
2 dau-ki[la]mai[u]m peṇṇa Aśvati-nāl.

"In the 13th—thirteenth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This date is irregular. For the 13th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the 5th śukla *tithi* in Kumbha has Aśvinī for *nakshatra*, but the week-day was Monday. It corresponded to 4 February, A.D. 1261. For the 13th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II we may test the date in two ways, according as we accept one or the other of the accession periods fixed by the two groups of inscriptions. If we accept the earlier period, the 5th śukla *tithi* of Kumbha in the 13th year corresponded to 8 February, A.D. 1288, and at sunrise on that day the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī; but the week-day was Sunday. If we accept the later, the quoted day corresponded to 27 January, A.D. 1289; but on that day at sunrise the *nakshatra* current was Rēvatī, and the week-day was Thursday. The fifth śukla *tithi* was current for 3h. 24m. at the end of Wednesday, but the *nakshatra* Aśvinī did not begin till 13h. 46m. after mean sunrise on the Thursday, so that it could not possibly be connected with the Wednesday previous.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

103.—In the Kachehappēsvara temple at Tirukkachehūr.³

- 1 Svasti[i] śr[i]l[||*] [Kōr-Chaḍai]paṇmar=āṇa
T[i]ribuva[ṇ]checha[k]karavatt[i]ṇa śr[i]-Śundara-P[ā]ṇḍ[i]yadēvar[k]-
2 ku yaṇḍu Svatu⁴ Miduṇa-nāyaggu apara-pakshatt[u] Tiṇḍaḷ-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa
Uttirai[t]ṭiadi-nāl.

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The month of Mithuna in the 8th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I fell in A.D. 1258, in which year the 1st day of that month corresponded to Monday, May 27th, and the 8th kṛishṇa *tithi*. The *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise by the systems of Garga and Brahmagupta was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, but by the equal-space system Pūrva-Bhadrapadā was

¹ No. 315 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² vadu is represented by a flourish.

³ No. 305 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁴ vadu is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

then current. Examining Kielhorn's dates Nos. 11 to 18 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 306 ff.) I find that in six cases it is impossible to say which system was generally in use in the Chingleput tract during that reign; but No. 12 proves that in A.D. 1253, near Trichinopoly, neither the system of Garga nor that of the Brahma-siddhānta was in use, and No. 16 from near Tanjore shows that the latter was not used there in A.D. 1260.

On the morning in question, according to the equal-space system, Uttara-Bhadrapada began 55 m. *after* mean sunrise; and though this throws a slight doubt on the date I think it may be accepted.

For the reign of the second king of that name the date must fall in A.D. 1283 or 1284 and for those years the quoted *nakshatra* would be incorrect; though it is correct in all respects for Monday, June 1st, A.D. 1282, which was the 6th day of Mithuna. And if the quoted regnal year had been the 6th instead of the 8th, I should have had no hesitation in accepting it.¹ As the case stands, however, I think that the date is genuine and that it belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

104.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.²

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] Kā=Ch[cha]dai[paṇma]r=ā[ṇa Tribhūva]na[chechakkarava]
- 2 tti[ga] śrī-Śundara-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu 11vadu
- 3 Kaṇṇ[i]-nā[ya]ṇṇu [apara-pa]ksha[ttu] . . . [yum Buda]ṇ-kīla[m]ai-
- 4 [yu]m peṇṇa Śōdi-nāl.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadeva,—on the day of Svāti which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the . . . tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The given elements of the date do not correspond to any possible 11th or—supposing a wrong regnal year to have been stated,—10th or 12th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāndya II; nor to any śukla tithi on a Wednesday in Kanyā in any of those years, supposing that the fortnight was wrongly recorded.

The day apparently corresponds to Wednesday, August 31st A.D. 1261, which was in the 11th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāndya I, and on which day at mean sunrise, which was the 3rd day of Kanyā, the 4th śukla tithi was current, the current *nakshatra* being, by the equal-space system, Svāti. By the other two systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā.

I think that the record is one of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāndya I, and that the fortnight was wrongly stated. The date does not correspond to any day in the dark fortnight during the given solar month.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

105.—In the Neṇḍuṅgaḷnāthasvāmin temple at Tiruneṇḍuṅgaḷam.³

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] svast[i] samasta-jagad-ādihāra
- 5 śrī K[ḍ]=Ch[cha]dai[paṇma]r=āna T[i]ribuvaṇa-
chechakkaravattigal śrī-Śundara-Pān-

¹ Since the text was in print I am informed that the figure "8" is quite clear in the original.

² No. 741 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 667 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

- 6 [diya]dēvar[k]ku yaṇḍu Svadu¹ | Ma[ka]ra-[n]āyaru [p]ūrvva-pakshattu
daṣumiyum Buday-[k]iḷamaiyum perṛa Rō-
- 7 [ṣaṇi]-nal.

"In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

For the 8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the 10th śukla *tithi* in solar Makara fell on a Sunday, at whose sunrise the *nakshatra* was Kṛttikā. Neither Rōhiṇi nor the 10th śukla *tithi* could be connected with a Wednesday.

For the 8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II the year may correspond either with A.D. 1282-83, or 1283-84, according to the initial date accepted for the reign. The given date is irregular for both these years. It is, however, perfectly regular for the 9th regnal year of this king, if his accession dated from some day in the year 1276-77; for the given lunar day falling on the 23rd day of Makara, corresponds regularly to Wednesday, January 17th A.D. 1285, on which day at mean sunrise the 10th śukla *tithi* and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇi were current. Since this date is regular in all its details, I think it should be accepted. But in that case either it clashes with most of the other records of this king as to the initial date of his reign, or the regnal year is wrongly given as the 8th, when it should have been stated as the 9th. A mistake of this kind is frequently made, and I believe it to have been made in this instance.

108.—In the Vyāghrapādōśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.²

- 1 Svasti śri : Kō[ṛ]³=Śudaiṇaṁmar-āṇa Tiru[va]ṇa[ch]chak[ka]ru[va]ttiga| śri-
2 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvar[k]ku [y]aṇḍu 13[vadu] Mina-[nāya]ṇṇu pū[rvva]-paksha-
3 ttu Ṣaṇi=kkiḷamaiyum³ shash[th]iyu[m]⁴ perṛa Rō[ṣa]ṇi-na[ḷ]⁵.

"In the 13th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and to a Saturday of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

For the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the date is irregular, as the given *tithi* in his 13th year fell on a Wednesday, though the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi.

Working by the group of inscriptions which fixes the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II as beginning in 1276 and, therefore, his 13th year as beginning in 1288, I find the date so far satisfactory that for 4h. 31m. at the end of Saturday, February 26, A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of Mina, the 6th śukla *tithi* of Phālguna and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇi were together current. At sunrise on Sunday, both this *tithi* and *nakshatra* were current, and by ordinary practice they would have been coupled with Sunday, February 27, and not with Saturday, February 26th. Phālguna śukla 6th began 7h. 8m. after mean sunrise on that Saturday.

Working by the earlier accession-date fixed by the other inscription-group the date is irregular.

With the reservation above stated the date corresponds to Saturday, February 26th, A.D. 1289; and this fixes the beginning of the reign as subsequent to February 26th, A.D. 1276.

¹ vadu is represented by a flourish.

² No. 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The syllables *yum* are engraved below the line.

⁴ The *akshara* *m* is engraved below the line.

⁵ The *akshara* *ḷ* is engraved below the line.

107.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachehūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōścheḍapāpma[r]-āna
Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyade[va]rkku yāṇḍu 1[3]vadukku
edirām=ā-
2 ṇḍu Karkadaga-nāyarru apara-pakshattu deśamiyūm Tiṅgal-kkīlamaiyūm perṇa
Kāttigai-nāl.

"In the year opposite to the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkātaka**."

The date given is incorrect for the 14th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but correct for that of the second of that name. It corresponds to **Monday, July 3rd, A.D. 1290**, which was the 6th day of solar Karkātaka, or Karka, and on which day the 10th *krishṇa tithi* of Jyēṣṭha was current at sunrise. At sunrise, also, on that day the *nakṣatra* Kṛittikā was current according to all the three systems of calculation. According to this the accession-day of Jaṭavarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya II must have been subsequent to July 3rd A.D. 1276.

108.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachehūr.²

- 1 Kō Śaḍapaymar=āna Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 17vadu Siṁma-nāyarkku pūrvva-pakshattu
2 . . miyūm Tiṅgal-kkīlamaiyūm perṇa Uttirāḍattu nāl.

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttarashāḍhā which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the . . . *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Siṁha**."

This date is incorrect for the 17th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is, however, correct for the reign of the second king of that name. It corresponds to **Monday, August 25th A.D. 1292**, which was the 28th Siṁha, and on which day at sunrise the 11th *śukla tithi* was current, the *nakṣatra* being Uttara-Āshāḍhā by all systems. This was in the 17th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, if his accession took place on or before August 25th, A.D. 1276.

I have given great attention to the question of the date of accession of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, because the evidence regarding it has hitherto been in a very unsatisfactory condition; and after concluding my examination of the eleven inscription dates sent to me this year, which, with those previously examined by the late Professor Kielhorn and myself, make a total of twenty-six records, I have come to the conclusion that this king ascended the throne on a day between the 6th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

As I differ from the opinion expressed by the late Professor Kielhorn and have modified the conclusions I had previously formed (above, Vol. X, pp. 144 f.) it is necessary to state the case at some length. The difference of opinion alluded to has reference to records Nos. 23 to 27. Kielhorn considered that the regnal years stated in Nos. 23 and 24 were wrong, and adhered to those given in Nos. 25 and 27. He considered that a wrong *tithi* had been stated in No. 26, and corrected, rightly as I think, the "13th" *tithi* to the 3rd. After this correction the date

¹ No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

agrees with Nos. 23 and 24 as regards the day of the king's accession. Accepting this alteration I think that instead of altering the regnal years given in Nos. 23 and 24, it was those given in Nos. 25 and 27 that required correction. It is only fair to remember that apparently Professor Kielhorn had, at the time that he wrote, very few inscriptions of this king before him.

With these preliminary remarks I proceed to summarize the results for all the records yet examined, from which it will be seen that there is now a strong presumption in favour of the accession-date put forward by me. In the list, "K" stands for Kielhorn, and "S" for Sewell. The inscription-dates are published above, in Vols. VI, pp. 310-12, VIII, pp. 278-280, and X, pp. 127-28 as well as in the present article.

No.	Date of inscription A. D.	Regnal year.	Accession later than A. D.	Notes.
K 23	Mon. 1 Aug. 1289 .	13	1 Aug. 1276.	
" 24	Fri. 5 Aug. 1289 .	13	5 Aug. 1276.	
" 25	Mon. 21 July 1281 .	6	21 July 1275 .	Year 6 should be year 5.
" 26	Fri. 12 Sept. 1287 .	12	12 Sept. 1275 .	" 13th <i>tithi</i> " should be "3rd."
" 27	Mon. 15 May 1290 .	15	15 May 1275 .	Year 15 should be year 14.
" 52	Mon. 23 July 1285 .	10	23 July 1275 .	Year 10 should be year 9.
" 53	Wed. 29 Oct. 1287 .	11	29 Oct. 1276 .	Year 11 should be year 12.
" 54	Wed. 27 Aug. 1287 .	12	27 Aug. 1275.	
" 55	Mon. 28 Aug. 1290 .	15	28 Aug. 1275 .	" Kanyā " should be "Simha."
" 56	(<i>Doubtful</i>).			
S 74	Mon. 30 Sept. 1286 .	10	30 Sept. 1276 .	Year 10 should be year 11.
" 75	Mon. 20 Feb. 1290 .	15 (?)	20 Feb. 1275 .	Year 15 should be year 14.
" 76	Wed. 18 Mar. 1293 .	17	18 Mar. 1276.	
" 77	Sat. 14 Mar. 1293 .	17	14 Mar. 1276.	
" 78	(<i>Irregular</i>).			
" 98	(<i>Irregular</i>).			
" 99	(<i>Irregular</i>).			
" 100	(<i>Irregular</i>).			
" 101	(<i>Irregular</i>).			
" 102	(<i>Irregular</i>).			
" 103	(Reign of J. Sun. P.I.)			

No.	Date of inscription A. D.	Regnal year.	Accession later than A. D.	Notes.
S 101	(Reign of J. S. P. I.)			
„ 105	Wed. 17 Jan. 1285	8	17 Jan. 1277	Year 8 should be year 9.
„ 106	Sat. 26 Feb. 1289	13	26 Feb. 1276.	
„ 107	Mon. 3 July 1290	14	3 July 1276.	
„ 108	Mon. 25 Aug. 1292	17	25 Aug. 1275.	

From this statement it will be seen that we have six dates, *viz.*, Nos. 23, 24, 76, 77, 106 and 107 which as they stand, without any alteration, show that the king's accession took place in 1276 A.D. after August the 5th; one, No. 108, which shows that it may have taken place on or before August 25, 1276; and two, which, as they stand show that it took place before August 27th in that year. These are Nos. 54 and 55. Also one, No. 26, which, without alteration of the regnal year, supports that conclusion though a wrong *tithi* was quoted. Seven others, Nos. 25, 27, 52, 53, 74, 75 and 105, are not inconsistent with it if one year is either added to or deducted from the given regnal year. Nine others are either irregular or belong to the reign of a different king.¹

Referring to my remarks on the accession-date of this king at p. 129 of Vol. X, it will be seen that I now accept K. 26, with Kielhorn's proposed alteration. It was "intrinsically wrong" for the stated *tithi*, but, with the alteration made, it supports the accession-date which I now believe to be the correct one. With regard to two other dates, Nos. 55 and 75, I was doubtful on account of apparent errors in them; but in view of the light since thrown on the matter they may be accepted with those errors corrected.

JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

109.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai.²

- 1 || Svasti śr[ī]: śrī Kō-Chcha-
- 2 jāyavarmanarāya Tribhūv*ja-
- 3 yach[cha]kravattiga] śrī³
- 4 Kulasekharadēva-
- 5 rkkū jāṇḍu zvadu
- 6 Midhuna-nayarra iru-
- 7 budān-diyadiyum pā-
- 8 rrya-pakshattu trayō-
- 9 daṣiyum Budhaṇ-kīla-
- 10 māiyum per[ra A]-
- 11 ṇilattu nā].

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jātāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā which corre-

¹ Since this paper was in print I have seen Professor Jacobi's article above (pp. 132, ff.). His No. 86 (p. 136) confirms my opinion, since it shows that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 10th August A.D. 1276, 9th August of that year being still in his 14th year. This still further reduces the doubtful days of his accession, and, being accepted, proves that he ascended the throne on a day between 10th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

² No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

³ A letter *ku* has been engraved and erased after *śrī*; *kula* is written over an erasure.

sponded to a **Wednesday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twentieth solar day of the month of **Mithuna**."

This date is irregular for any year in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara I, as well as for any in the reign of Māraṇvarman Kuṣāśekhara II; nor is it correct for any date between A.D. 1199 and 1350 except in the case of two years. One is in A.D. 1239 and the other is in A.D. 1334. In each case the 13th śukla *tithi* coincided with the 20th day of solar Mithuna; and in each case the week-day was Wednesday and the *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise was Anurādhā; the only exception being that in A.D. 1239, if the calculation were made by the Brahmasiddhānta, Anurādhā had expired 20m. before mean sunrise on that day. But this objection need not be taken into account, since that *nakṣatra* was probably current at true sunrise.

For the year A.D. 1334 the coincidence is absolute. In the first case the given date corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A.D. 1239; in the second case it corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A.D. 1334. In the first case the king's reign began after June 15, 1237, and before June 15, 1238; in the second case the reign began after June 15, 1332, and before June 15, 1333. Careful study of the characters and form of the original inscription will doubtless lead to certain determination as to which of these two years is the correct one.¹ If this king's reign should be found to begin between 1332 and 1333 A.D., we shall have the name of a hitherto unknown Pandyan king, coming probably between Māraṇvarman Kuṣāśekhara II and Māraṇvarman Parākrama Pandya, and bearing the title "Jaṭavarman" according to custom. And if his reign began between 1237 and 1238 A.D. we shall similarly have a new "Jaṭavarman" between Māraṇvarman Sundara Pandya I and Māraṇvarman Sundara Pandya II, but with a certain overlapping of reigns. In the other case there is no overlapping; and if this should prove correct the king's title will have to be, at least provisionally, stated as "Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara II."

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

110.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai.²

- 1 Svast[i] śrīḥ śrīḥ Kō Mā[ra]paṇmar=āna Tribhuvanachechakkavattī-
- 2 ga] e[m*] [ma]ṇḍalamuṇḍ-gond-aru[i]ya śrī]-Kuṣāśekaradevar[k]a yāṇḍu 23va[du Ma-gara-
- 3 māyaru pūrvva-pakṣhattu [sapta]m[i]y[um] T[ī]ṇ[ga]l-kkiḷamaiyum perra Attattināl.

"In the 23rd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māraṇvarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kuṣāśekharadeva**, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**."

This date is irregular. In the first place the moon can never be in **Hasta** on a 7th śukla *tithi* during the solar month **Makara**. For the 23rd year of either of the known kings of the name stated, which correspond, for the 7th śukla *tithi* of **Makara**, to a day in January A.D. 1291 or January A.D. 1337, the week-day is Monday in the first case, and Friday in the second; and the corresponding *nakṣatras* are Rēvatī in the first case, and Aśvini in the second. Working for a possible 7th *krishṇa tithi*, on the supposition that a mistake had been made by the engraver, I find the week-days to have been respectively Tuesday and Friday, with *nakṣatras* Chitrā and Viśākhā.

¹ I have since been informed that, while it is difficult to decide the point from characters alone, the earlier date is the more probable.

² No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

111.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūratukkōyil.¹

- 1 Svasti² śri [i] * Kō Māravanmar-āṇa Tir[i]buvacheṇṇakkaravatt[i]ga[i] śri[i]-Kula-saradēvarku yaṇḍu
 2 28vadu Kaṇṇ[i]-nāyargu [am]ra-pakkashattu³ deśamiyū Velli-kkilaṇṇaiyū perra Attattu
 3 nā].

“In the 28th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, — on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Friday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā.”

This date is intrinsically wrong, for on a tenth *kṛṣṇa tithi* in solar Kanyā the moon cannot be in the *nakṣatra* Hasta. In such a month the day of Hasta must be either the 14th or 15th *kṛṣṇa*, or the 1st or 2nd *śukla tithi*. Moreover the week-day given is incorrect for the tenth *kṛṣṇa tithi* in Kanyā, both in the 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1295) and in a possible 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II, which would fall in A.D. 1341.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

112.—In the Mūlasthanēśvara temple at Toṅkarai.⁴

- 1 || Svasti śri : śri-Kō Māravanmar-āṇa Tiribuvacheṇṇakkaravatt[i]ga[i] [em]maṇḍalamnū-
 2 [goṇḍ-a]ru[i]ya śri-Kulaśēkharadēva[i]ku yāṇḍu 14vadu Kaṇṇi-nāy[r]ru pā[r]vva-pakshattu [sa]pta[m]iyyū [N]āyaru-kki[la]maiyyū perra
 3 [M]ūlattu nā].

“In the 14th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā.”

This date is regular for the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I, and incorrect for that of M. Kulaśēkhara II. For the former it corresponds to Sunday, September 21st, A.D. 1281, which was the 24th day of solar Kanyā. At mean sunrise on that day the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the current *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by all systems.

For the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II the given day would correspond to September 23rd, A.D. 1327; but that day was Wednesday.

113.—In the Mūlasthanēśvara temple at Toṅkarai.⁵

- 1 Svast[i] śri[i] : śri-Kō [Māravanmar-āṇa Tri]bhuvacheṇṇakkaravatt[i]ga[i] [em]maṇḍalamnū goṇḍ-aru[i]ya [śri]-Kulaśēkharadēva-
 [kku yāṇḍu [2]Svadu⁶ Vriśchika-nāya[r]ru
 2 apara-pakshattu chatu[r]thiyū Nāy[r]ru-kkilaṇṇaiyū perra Pūsat[tu] nā].

“In the [2]8th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, —

¹ No. 734 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² The *ea* of *Sva* is not added in the right place.

³ Read *apara-pakshattu daśamiyū*.

⁴ No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

⁵ No. 126 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

⁶ The year might also be read as 20. What is taken for 8 would in that case be the first letter *ā* of *āvadu*.

on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika**.”

For the 28th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulāśekhara I, which began in June A.D. 1295, this date is perfectly regular. It corresponds to **Sunday, November 27th, A.D. 1295**, on which day, the 30th day of solar Vṛiśchika, the 4th *tithi* of the second lunar fortnight was current at mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* then being Pushya by all systems.

It would be incorrect for the 20th year of that king, or for a possible 20th or 28th year of the second king of that name.

MARAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA II.

114.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.¹

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[i] [!]* Kō Māra[paṇ]ma[r-ā]ṇa T[i]ruba[va]ṇacheha[ka]ravattiga
[śrī]-Kulaś[ga]radēvarkku y[ā]ṇ[ḍu] Gvadu
- 2 Magam-nāya[r]ru pūrva-pakṣat[tu] pratha[mai]yum Śaṇi-kkiḷa[m]ai[yum] p[er]ra
Avittatu nāl.

“In the [6th] year (of the reign) of king Māgavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulāśēkharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [first] *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

This date regularly corresponds, for the 6th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulāśekhara II, to **Saturday January 12th, A.D. 1320**, which was the 17th day of Makara; on which day at mean sunrise the 1st śukla *tithi* was current, the *nakshatra* being Dhanishṭhā by all systems.

It is incorrect for the 6th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulāśekhara I.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

115.—In the Vikrama-Pāṇḍyēśvara temple at Śōlapuram.²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [!]* Śakābdam āyirattu-iru-[n]ūrru-[nār]pattu-nālin māl śrī-Kō-
Chehādai[pa]ṇmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuya[na]chehakra[va]tt[igu] śrī-Parākrama-
P[ā]ṇḍiyadēva[rku] yāṇḍu 8 M[ā]ṇa-nāya[r]ru 28³[tōdi]yu[m]
paṇ[r]n[ā]i[yu]m Budan-kilamai[yum] perra Śittirai-n[ā]l.

“After the Śaka year (one) thousand two hundred and forty-four (had passed)—in the year 8 (of the reign) of the glorious king Jātavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the full-moon *tithi*, and to the 28th solar day of the month of Mina.”

This date is regular when calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta. It corresponds to **Wednesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1323**, on which day at mean sunrise—the day being the 28th of Mina,—the full moon, or 15th śukla *tithi*, was current; it having begun 15h. 35m. in mean time before, and ending 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise.

The *nakshatra*, however, is found to have begun, by the equal-space and Garga systems, 1h. 32m. after mean sunrise; though by the Brahma-siddhānta it was current at mean sunrise, having begun 2h. 14m. earlier. I have calculated the date by the Brahma-siddhānta, and find that that authority was *not* used by the framers of the *pañcāṅga* in current use at the

¹ No. 742 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 487 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The syllables *tōdi* are expressed by a symbol.

time; for by it the day of the week, of the solar month and the number of the *tithi* all work out differently, as also does the *nakshatra* for mean sunrise of the day so established. It follows that the date was calculated by the Ārya-siddhanta; but that (i) either there was a slight error in the calculation of the *nakshatra*, or (ii) the *nakshatra* for which calculation was made was the one current at the time of the action recorded in the inscription,—which action probably took place between 1h. 30m. and 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise on the same 23rd March. The inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya whose reign began between 24th March A.D. 1315 and 23rd March 1316.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

116.—In the Vyāghrapadēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam.¹

- 1 [S]vasti śri [||*] Kō [M]ārapatmar=āṇa² Tribhuvapach[eh]akkaravattigal śri-
³Vikrama-Pāṇḍ[ya]yadēvarku yāṇḍu
 2 [6]vadū [Kaṇṇi]-nāyaṛru pūrvva-ṇakshattu prathamaiyum Nāyaṛra-k[ki]ṇṇaiyum
 perra At[ta][t*]tu nāl.

“In the [6]th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā.”

According to the information supplied to me, doubtless from palaeographic deduction, this inscription belongs to a period later than the fifteenth century A.D., and consequently to a king whose date has not yet been established, and with whose name we are not yet familiar. This may well be so, but I find it impossible, the details being given as they are here, to find a date which would correspond with those details, without examining them separately for every year, and this would entail a vast and perhaps unnecessary amount of labour.⁴

Meanwhile I would point out that, if it is permissible to suppose that this Māravarman Vikrama may be identical with the Kōṇṛinmaikōṇḍāy Vikrama whose reign began (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 228) between 13th January and 27th July, A.D. 1401, the given date very fairly well fits in with his reign. In the 6th year of this king's reign the 15th day of Kanyā corresponded to Monday, September 13th, A.D. 1406. On that day at mean sunrise the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, as also, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Hasta. The 1st śukla *tithi* had begun 11h. 20m. before mean sunrise, that is to say, it had been current for 11h. 20m. on the Sunday (September 12); and during that time the *nakshatra* Hasta had been current by all systems, it having begun by the equal-space system and that of Garga 17h. 11m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta 20h. 35m. before the Monday sunrise. That Sunday was a particularly sacred day being the Mahālaya-amāvāsyā day, with both sun and moon in Hasta. The moon's *nakshatra* has been already stated. At the moment when the 1st śukla *tithi* began on the Sunday the sun's mean longitude was 165° 4' 27', proving him to have been in Hasta.

It may be that the same conditions existed at an altogether later date, and the years can be examined individually if a palaeographic study of the original inscription can be undertaken which would confine possibilities within a limit of, say, 50 years.

¹ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² The length of *rā* is written in continuation of the letter *r*.

³ Read *Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadē*.

⁴ [Mr. Krishna Sastri now informs Mr. Sewell that palaeographically the inscription more probably belongs to the end of the 13th century. Mr. Svamikanu Pillai has accordingly calculated the date as corresponding to Sunday, August 29, A.D. 1288.—S.K.]

MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYADEVA.

‘ 117.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Ko Mārapaṇmar ²Ntribhuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Vīra-
Pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāṇḍu 15vadu Dhanusu-nāyaggu [a]para-
2 pakshattu ash[ta]m[i]yum Saṇi-kkiḷamaiyum perra Attattu nā].

“ In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman, the omperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

The date is incorrect for the reign of the only Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya as yet known to history, whose 15th year began between 13th March and 28th July, A.D. 1457. In that year the 12th Dhanus corresponded to Friday, December 9th, A.D. 1457, on which day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise. But the week-day was not Saturday, and the given *tithi* could not be connected with Saturday; while though the *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was Hasta by the Brahma-siddhanta having begun 2h. 26m. earlier, it was Uttara-Phalguni by the equal-space system and that of Garga.

In the previous year the given *tithi* was current at sunrise on a Monday.

The date, however, is perfectly regular for the 15th year of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya which year began between the 11th November A.D. 1266 and the 13th July 1267. In that 15th regnal year the 14th day of Dhanus corresponded to Saturday, December 10th A.D. 1267, and at mean sunrise on that day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, having begun 5h. 40m. before mean sunrise. At that sunrise the *nakshatra* Hasta was current by all systems.

I think, therefore, that the date is correct, but that the record belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Vira, and not of Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva. A study of the palaeography of the record will settle this question, since of course the inscription may belong to the reign of a later sovereign, bearing the name as given, who is not yet known to us historically.³

If my identification is considered satisfactory the commencement of the reign of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya is fixed as having taken place between December 11th, A.D. 1252, and July 13th, 1253.

No. 25.—THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

By A. H. FRANCKE.

Tibetan accounts of its origin.

As regards Tibetan historiography in general, there are two distinct schools of it, *viz.* the Central Tibetan and the West Tibetan school. Thus, the records referring to the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet vary to a certain degree, according to the schools of writers.

Central Tibetan records.—The Petersburg *rtzgal rubs gsalbai melong*, Sarat Ch. Das' *The Tibet-Mongolian dictionary*, Togbarlowa and the Bodhimör. They all agree on the following points: king Sron btsan sgampo (c. 600—650 A.D.) 'sent his minister Thonmi to Hindustan, Southern Hindustan or Magadha, to learn reading and writing. He received instruction from a certain Li byin (the Lijin of the Mongols) in reading and writing, and formed the Tibetan alphabet after the Lañtsha and Vartula characters, Tibetan dBu chan after Lañtsha, and Tibetan dBu mod after Vartula. He brought the Tibetan alphabet up to 30 characters,

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Read *Tribhuvana*.

³ Since the above was in print I am assured that the title *Māravarman* is quite clear in the original.

by taking 24 from the Indian alphabet, and inventing six new characters himself. For the expression of the Tibetan vowels he added four vowel signs.

The West Tibetan school states that king **Sron btsan sgampo** sent his minister **Thonmi** and 16 fellow students to Kashmir, to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman **Li byin**, and pandit **Señge** taught them the language (Sanskrit). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they formed 24 *gSal byed* and 6 *Rhis*, altogether 30 characters. (The following sentence is probably a later addition): Besides, they made them to agree with the Nagara characters of Kashmir and brought them into shape.

Looking at these two, the West Tibetan record strikes me as being the more original of the two. In the first place, the country from which the alphabet was brought to Tibet, is given here as being **Kashmir**. This is more in accordance with the result of Dr. Vogel's examination of the alphabet. Then, the passage about the forming of the Tibetan alphabet after the Indian **Lañtsha** and **Vartula** characters, which is altogether doubtful, is omitted here. The West Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian **Nagari** alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation.

European statements.—The Central Tibetan account, which makes the Indian **Lañtsha** and **Vartula** characters the parents of the Tibetan alphabet, was accepted by a number of European and Indian writers on this subject. Thus, Jäschke in his *Tibetan grammar*, p. 1, says that the Tibetan script was adapted from the **Lañtsha** form of Indian characters. Grünwedel, in his *Mythology* says, that the Tibetan script was formed after the Indian characters of those times, the so-called **Vartula**; and Sarat Ch. Das, in his article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet' (J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, p. 41) speaks of the 'letters which **Sambhoṭa** had introduced from **Magadha**, and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the **Wartu** characters of **Magadha**'.

As we now know, the Tibetan characters were directly derived from Indian **Gupta**. And this fact was already recognised by Csoma de Kőrös, the Nestor of Tibetan studies. He says on p. 204 of his grammar: "The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places, is stated to have been formed from the **Dēvarāgaṇi** prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at **Gaya**, translated by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at **Allahabad**, translated by Capt. Trevor and Dr. Mill, a striking similitude will be observed." When Csoma wrote this, the term of **Gupta** had not yet been coined for that particular kind of script. Otherwise he would have used the term.

The next student of Tibetan, who told me the same thing, was Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library. In his opinion, this fact was so apparent and firmly established, that he did not think it necessary to write a line about it. And in his letter of the 7th June, 1906, he sent me a list of **Gupta** characters from **Indore**, of the year 465 A.D., which agree very closely with the Tibetan characters.

The same view has been expressed more recently by Col. Waddell, in his article on ancient Tibetan inscriptions from **Ihassa** (J. R. A. S., 1910).

With regard to the date of the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet, and the place of its provenience, Dr. Vogel has favoured me with the following note:—

Relation of Tibetan to Indian scripts.


"Besides the ordinary Tibetan character, the lamas have the so-called **Lañtsha** which is exclusively used for Sanskrit formulas. The local tradition (of Central Tibet) holds, that the

Lañtsha is the older of the two, and that from it the ordinary Tibetan alphabet has been derived. This has been repeated by European writers, but in view of palaeographical evidence there cannot be the slightest doubt that the tradition has reversed the real facts.

"The ordinary Tibetan character is the more ancient of the two, and the Lañtsha originated several centuries later. Both were derived from Indian scripts, but quite independently of each other. The time of their origin can be approximately fixed, by a comparison with the characters used in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions.

"The Tibetan alphabet is based on the Indian script, which had developed from the **Western Gupta** and which used to be designated by the name of **Kuṭila**. Bühler has rejected this appellation and has proposed to call it 'acute-angled' (spitz-winklig).¹ The Tibetan has retained the characteristics of this script; acute angles at the lower ends, small wedges at the tops, and in general a very ornamental and elegant appearance. As regards the date, when it was introduced into Tibet, the following points may be noted.

"Initial *a* is indicated by the sign for initial *a* with a curve attached to the bottom of the vertical, and not by a stroke to the right as in Nāgarī. The stroke came into general use in India from about 900 A.D. [Let me note that this curve is a subjoined small 'a' (No. 23 of the Tibetan alphabet). But another ancient form of *a* is found in inscriptions near Khalatse.

There the syllable *am* is written like that  —F.]

"The *ja* has the ancient type of the Gupta period (with central bar to the right) which was preserved in India till about 700 A.D. [The Śāradā has kept this form throughout].

"The *ta* closely agrees with the corresponding Śāradā letter in that the left half of the curve has disappeared. [But see some forms of the 8th century.—F.]

"The *da* has no wedge at the lower end, as is found in India from about 700 A.D.

"In *pa* the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happens in India from about 700. Neither is this the case in Śāradā.

"The *pha* has retained its Gupta type, which existed in India till about 700 A.D. It differs considerably from the Śāradā *pha*.

"The *ba* resembles Śāradā *va*. The vertical, as in *pa* is not prolonged beneath. [But see one case from the 8th century.—F.]

"The *ma* has a loop, but the vertical is not prolonged beneath. It is therefore different from the Śāradā letter, but closely resembles the Indian *mā* of about 700 A.D.

"The *ya* is of special importance, as it has the tripartite shape, which in India became changed into the bipartite form in the seventh century. [The most ancient Ladakhi *yā dharma* formula from Khalatse which Dr. Vogel believes to date from c. 600 A.D., exhibits already the bipartite form of *ya*.—F.] The Śāradā has the bipartite type.

"In *la* we observe the same as in *pa* and *ba*: the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happened in India after 700 A.D. The absence of these prolongations is the more remarkable, as the Tibetan is fond of long down-strokes.

¹ *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 49.

"Our conclusion is, that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century. It is not based on the Śaradā, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character."

My own view is, that the Tibetan alphabet was quietly worked out in the ancient monasteries of Turkistan, the Tibetan *Li yul* and that *Sron btsan sgampo's* minister *Thonmi* reaped the fruit of such learning. My reasons are the following: The script used for Sanskrit in Turkistan, the so-called *Central Asian Brāhmī*, is another descendant of Indian Gupta and closely related to the Tibetan script.¹ Similar characters were used also in Ladakh for Sanskrit formulas between 600 and 800 A.D. These characters were probably the parent of the so-called *Brutsha* (*Brutsha*, Dard) form of writing.² The Turkistan monasteries were the very places where any new kind of script might have been invented, as is shown by a number of new languages which were first reduced to writing in Turkistan. Then, the man who taught *Thonmi* in Kashmir, is called *Li byin* which name doubtless means, 'Blessing of the land *Li*' (blessing of *Khotan*). This name may be compared with such names as *Khri-blon yul byin*, 'Blessing of the land *Khri bdun*.' Thus, the man who taught *Thonmi* may have been a native of Turkistan. We have a single testimony of history for the early use of Indian characters in Western Tibet, in the Chinese *Sui shu*, where it is stated, that such characters were used in the Empire of the 'Eastern Women' (*Guge*), etc. The Tibetan alphabet, though probably invented earlier, may have followed the development of the North Indian alphabets, until it remained stationary from the 7th or 8th century.

Regarding the language for which the alphabet was invented, I am of opinion, that it certainly was the classical Tibetan. But we must not believe that classical Tibetan was generally spoken in the 7th century. From passages occurring in a good number of documents excavated by Sir Aurel Stein in the deserts of Turkistan, we know for certain that the Tibetan dialects were then already developed to an advanced degree. It is very improbable that the prefixes should have been pronounced in full in those days. There is a possibility that Tibet was in possession of an archaic sacred language from time immemorial, that it was this language which was first reduced to writing, and that this already sacred language was accepted as the language of Buddhism. In this connection the following note from Dr. Barnett's article 'Tibetan MSS., in the Stein collection' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 112) will be of interest. "It was probably in the reign of *Khri Sron lde btsan*, if not later, that the larger part of the Northern Canon, including the Śālistamba Sūtra, was translated into Tibetan. If this be so, it is singular, that a nation, which according to tradition had been hitherto buried in barbarism, should within a century and a half have accepted a new faith, assimilated its doctrines in the most scholastic form of Mahāyāna, and concurrently developed a culture and a political organisation, which made it a formidable rival to the older homes of civilisation on its north-western frontier. Probably tradition has exaggerated the facts; it may be that Buddhism was fairly well known in Tibet before the seventh century, and *Sron btsan sgampo* was only a Constantine. A new page of history is opening before us."

The Tibetans themselves distinguish between two types of characters in their alphabet. One type was taken directly from the Indian alphabet, whilst the other was invented by *Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, or his forerunners. The first type is called *gSal byed* (consonants), and the second.

¹ Compare A. H. Franke, *The similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar-Brahmi Alphabet*. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff. [The correspondence between Central Asian Gupta and Tibetan is not so great that it is necessary to assume that they have been developed in the same locality. They have both been developed from the same source, and that explains the similarity—S. K.]

² Plate III, e of Sarat Ch. Das' article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, p. 41.

Riñs. The order of the Tibetan alphabet is of Indian origin. But it is strange to observe, that the group of gSal byed was divided into two parts, by inserting the Riñs between them. The Tibetan alphabet was arranged as follows :

gSal byed	1	k	gSal byed	9	t	Riñs	17	ts	gSal byed	24	y
	2	kh		10	th		18	tsh		25	r
	3	g		11	d		19	dz		26	l
	4	n		12	n		20	w		27	ś
	5	ch		13	p		21	z		28	s
	6	chh		14	ph		22	z		29	h
	7	j		15	b		23	'a		30	ā
	8	ñ		16	m						

As we see, there are seven Riñs, instead of six. Regarding the gSal byed, Dr. Vogel's note will suffice. Let me add a few words about the Riñs. The sibilants *ts*, *tsh*, and *dz* are distinguished from the signs for the ordinary palatals by an additional stroke.—The Tibetan *w* is a combination of *l* and *b*. We may say it is a *b* with a prefixed *l*. Also *b* with other prefixes may become a *w*; thus, the West Tibetan pronunciation of the word *dbañ*, power, is *wañ*.—The Tibetan *ś* was derived directly from the most ancient form of the Tibetan *ś*, by omitting the stroke on the left side of the *ś*.—The letter *z* is simply an inverted *j*.—The Tibetan character for 'a may have been developed from the Indian *g*. 'A as initial is in many dialects pronounced like *gh*. But as a prefix it generally has a nasal sound. Before the noose of the Tibetan *g* was properly developed, the characters for *g* and 'a may have looked much the same. To distinguish them, 'a was furnished for a time with an additional stroke. Compare the accompanying tables.¹

It is strange that *a*, the first letter of the Indian alphabet, should be found at the end of the Tibetan alphabet. I am rather inclined to believe that it was a later development. In many ancient documents, the Tibetan *a* looks almost exactly like a *ya*, and there are a number of words in which an original *ya* has been dropped, or been turned into a vowel-bearer *a*. Thus, *yañ* becomes 'añ; *yid* becomes *id*; *yon* becomes 'on, etc. But in its later development the letter *a* became decidedly similar to the *a* of the Takari script, for which reason it was derived from it by General Cunningham. As has been noticed, old forms of the *a* in Ladakh are furnished with a hook at the lower left hand corner.

Lañtsha and Vartula.

Dr. Vogel has favoured me with the following note on Lañtsha: "As regards the Lañtsha, it is based on the Indian script of the tenth century. A characteristic of this script, to which Bühler has drawn attention, are the small tails, slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals. These are most prominent in the Nāgari of the 10th century. Notice also the long straight topstrokes found in Nāgari. Notice especially the letters *gha*, *ja*, *ya* (bipartite), *ra* (with loop). See plates in Sarat Ch. Das' 'Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,' J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, and Hodgson's plates in *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVI (1828).

¹ There are several incomplete tables of Tibetan alphabets from the eighth or ninth century among the documents of the Stein collection. There, the arrangement of the characters is in the following respect different from the present day arrangement: The letter *b* (often pronounced *v*) is not placed between *ph* and *m*, as shown above, but between *l* and *ś*. Thus it has the place of the *r* in the Sanskrit alphabet. In the same tables the letter *wa* appears as a *ba* with a superadded 'a. This ancient alphabet consists of 29 letters only.

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE I.

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY.				C. 1000-1200 A.D.			15TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.
	dba	chun	dba	med	Atisa's time. dba • chun	Kyelang document. dba	Ala inscriptions. med	dba	chun	
ka	ཀ		ཀ		ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ		ཀ
ki	ཁ		ཁ		ཁ	ཁ				ཁ
ku			ཀྱ		ཀྱ					ཀྱ
ke					ཀྲ		ཀྲ			ཀྲ
ko			ཀོ		ཀོ		ཀོ			ཀོ
kya	ཀླ		ཀླ		ཀླ	ཀླ	ཀླ			ཀླ
kra	ཀྲཱ							ཀྲ		ཀྲ
kla	ཀླཱ		ཀླ		ཀླ					ཀླ
rka	རྐ									རྐ
ska	སྐ སྐ		སྐ སྐ		སྐ	སྐ				སྐ
skya	སྐླ		སྐླ སྐླ སྐླ			སྐླ				སྐླ
kha	ཁཱཱ		ཁ		ཁ ཁ	ཁ	ཁ	ཁ		ཁ
khi	ཁི						ཁི			ཁི
khu	ཁུ									ཁུ
khe					ཁེ					ཁེ
kho	ཁོ ཁོ				ཁོ ཁོ	ཁོ		ཁོ		ཁོ
khya	ཁྱ		ཁྱ		ཁྱ ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ	ཁྱ		ཁྱ
khra	ཁྲཱ		ཁྲ			ཁྲ ཁྲ ཁྲ		ཁྲ		ཁྲ
ga	ག		ཀྱཱ		ག	ག	ག	ག		ག
gi	གི གི		གི		གི	གི	གི			གི
gu	གུ གུ གུ		གུ							གུ
ge	གེ གེ གེ				གེ					གེ
go	གོ གོ གོ					གོ		གོ གོ		གོ
gya	གྱ		གྱ གྱ		གྱ	གྱ གྱ གྱ		གྱ		གྱ
gyu			གྱུ			གྱུ གྱུ གྱུ				གྱུ
gra	གྲ		གྲ གྲ			གྲ		གྲ		གྲ
gru	གྲུ		གྲུ			གྲུ		གྲུ		གྲུ
gla					གླ					གླ
rga	རྐ					རྐ				རྐ
rgya	རྐླ རྐླ		རྐླ		རྐླ རྐླ	རྐླ རྐླ	རྐླ	རྐླ		རྐླ
sga	སྐྱ སྐྱ		སྐྱ		སྐྱ					སྐྱ
sgru	སྐྱུ		སྐྱུ			སྐྱུ				སྐྱུ
da	ང ང ང ང		ང		ང ང	ང	ང	ང ང		ང

A. H. Francke, fecit.

Scale—Seven-tenths.

S. I. O., Calcutta.

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE II.

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY.		C. 1000-1200 A.D.		Khyelang document.		Aia inscriptions.		18TH, 19TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.
	dbu	chan	dbu	mod	Atse's time dbu	chan	dbu	med	dbu	chan	
ni											ཎི
nu	ཎུ	ཎུ									ཎུ
ne					ཎེ						ཎེ
no	ཎོ										ཎོ
na	ཎཱ		ཎཱ				ཎཱ				ཎཱ
cha	ཇ				ཇ		ཇ		ཇ		ཇ
chi	ཇི		ཇི	ཇི	ཇི				ཇི		ཇི
chu	ཇུ		ཇུ	ཇུ	ཇུ		ཇུ				ཇུ
che	ཇེ		ཇེ		ཇེ						ཇེ
cho	ཇོ				ཇོ						ཇོ
leha							ཇཱ				ཇཱ
chha	ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ
chhi	ཇཱི		ཇཱི								ཇཱི
chhu	ཇཱུ				ཇཱུ				ཇཱུ		ཇཱུ
chhe	ཇཱེ				ཇཱེ		ཇཱེ		ཇཱེ		ཇཱེ
chho	ཇཱོ				ཇཱོ		ཇཱོ		ཇཱོ		ཇཱོ
ja	ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ		ཇཱ
ji	ཇཱི								ཇཱི		ཇཱི
ju							ཇཱུ				ཇཱུ
je									ཇཱེ		ཇཱེ
jo	ཇཱོ						ཇཱོ				ཇཱོ
rj	རྟ		རྟ		རྟ				རྟ		རྟ
na	ཎཱ		ཎཱ		ཎཱ		ཎཱ				ཎཱ
ni	ཎི		ཎི		ཎི						ཎི
nu	ཎུ										ཎུ
ne											ཎེ
no	ཎོ										ཎོ
rna	རྟཱ		རྟཱ		རྟཱ						རྟཱ
na	ཎཱ		ཎཱ		ཎཱ		ཎཱ				ཎཱ
ta	ཏ				ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
ti	ཏི				ཏི						ཏི
tu	ཏུ		ཏུ		ཏུ				ཏུ		ཏུ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE III.

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY.				C. 1000 - 1200 A.D.				15TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Athab's time. dbu	chan	Kyeling document. dbu	Alu inscriptions. med	dbu	chan	
te	ཏ	ཏ			ཏ						ཏ
to	ཏ										ཏ
rta	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ			ཏ	ཏ			ཏ
lta	ཏ			ཏ	ཏ						ཏ
sta	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ
tra	ཏ										ཏ
tha	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
thi											ཏ
thu	ཏ		ཏ				ཏ				ཏ
the			ཏ								ཏ
tho	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
da	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
di	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
du	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
de	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
do	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
dra	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
dru	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
lta	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
sta	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
na	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
ni	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
nu	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
ne	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
no	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
rna	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
ma	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
pa	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
pi	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
pu	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
pe	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
po	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ
pra	ཏ	ཏ	ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ		ཏ

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY.				C. 1000 - 1200 A.D.			15TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.	
	dbu	chan	dbu	mod	Atisha's time		Kyelang document.	Ala inscriptions	dbu	chan	
					dbu	chan	dbu	mod			
pya	པ		པ	པ							པ
spa	ས		ས	ས							ས
spya	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ			སྤ				སྤ
spra	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ			སྤ				སྤ
pha	པ		པ	པ			པ				པ
phi	པའི		པའི	པའི			པའི				པའི
phu	པུ	པུ	པུ	པུ			པུ				པུ
phe	པེ		པེ	པེ			པེ				པེ
pho	པོ		པོ	པོ			པོ				པོ
phya	པལ		པལ	པལ			པལ				པལ
phra	པལ	པལ	པལ	པལ			པལ				པལ
ba	བ	བ	བ	བ			བ	བ	བ		བ
bi								བའི			བའི
bu	བུ	བུ	བུ	བུ			བུ				བུ
be	བེ		བེ	བེ			བེ				བེ
bo	བོ		བོ	བོ			བོ				བོ
hya	ཧ	ཧ	ཧ	ཧ			ཧ				ཧ
byu	ཧུ	ཧུ	ཧུ	ཧུ			ཧུ				ཧུ
bra	བ	བ	བ	བ			བ	བ			བ
bru								བའི			བའི
bla	བླ		བླ	བླ			བླ				བླ
sba	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ			སྤ				སྤ
sbya	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ			སྤ				སྤ
ma	མ		མ	མ			མ	མ	མ		མ
mi	མི	མི	མི	མི			མི				མི
mu	མུ		མུ	མུ			མུ				མུ
me	མེ		མེ	མེ			མེ				མེ
mo	མོ		མོ	མོ			མོ				མོ
nya	ལྷ		ལྷ	ལྷ			ལྷ				ལྷ
rna	རྣ	རྣ	རྣ	རྣ			རྣ				རྣ
sma	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ			སྤ				སྤ
smya	སྤ		སྤ	སྤ			སྤ				སྤ
tsa	ཅ		ཅ	ཅ			ཅ				ཅ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE V.

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY.				C. 1000 - 1200 A.D.			13TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.	
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atlan's time. dbu	chan	Kyelang document. dbu	Ala inscriptions. med	dbu		chan
tsi											ཅི
tsu											ཅུ
tsæ											ཅེ
tsə											ཅཱ
rtsa	ཌ		ཌ	ཌ			ཌ				ཌ
stsa	ཌཌཌ		ཌ		ཌ	ཌ					ཌ
taha	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
tahi	ཌ				ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
tshu					ཌ						ཌ
tshe	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
tsho	ཌ		ཌ		ཌ						ཌ
dza	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ	ཌ					ཌ
dzi	ཌ				ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
dzu											ཌ
dze											ཌ
dzo											ཌ
rdza	ཌ										ཌ
wa											ཌ
wi											ཌ
wu											ཌ
we											ཌ
wo											ཌ
za	ཌ		ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
zi	ཌ	ཌ			ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
zu	ཌ	ཌ			ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
zé	ཌ	ཌ			ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
zə											ཌ
zo											ཌ
za	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
zi	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
zu	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ	ཌ		ཌ				ཌ
ze											ཌ
zo											ཌ
zla											ཌ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE VI.

	STEIN COLLECTION STR. 9TH CENTURY.		C. 1000-1200 A.D.			15TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.		
	dba	chan	dba	med	Atisa's time. dba chan	Kyelang document. dba	Ati inscriptions. med		dba	chan
'a	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'i	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'u	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'e	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
'o	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ya	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yi	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
yo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ra	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ri	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ru	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
re	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
ro	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
rla	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
la	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
li	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
lu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
le	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
lo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śa	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śi	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śu	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śe	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śo	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
sa	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
si	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
su	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
se	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
so	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śra	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ
śla	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ	ཨ

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE VII.

	STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY.		C. 1000—1200 A.D.			15TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER.		Modern.
	dbu	chan	dbu	med	Atisa's time. dbu . chan	Kyelang document. dbu	Alel inscriptions. med	
ha	ᠬ		ᠬ		ᠬ	ᠬ		ᠬ
hi								ᠬ
hu	ᠬ							ᠬ
he								ᠬ
ho								ᠬ
lha	ᠬ		ᠬ		ᠬ	ᠬ		ᠬ
a	ᠠ	ᠠ			ᠠ	ᠠ		ᠠ
i								ᠠ
u						ᠠ		ᠠ
e								ᠠ
o					ᠠ	ᠠ		ᠠ
Nasal		ᠠ	ᠠ	sum	ᠠ	ᠠ	om	ᠠ
abbreviations						ᠠ	hūm	ᠠ
						ᠠ	rdorje	ᠠ
						ᠠ	thamschad	ᠠ
						ᠠ	bigyad	ᠠ
						ᠠ	yeses	ᠠ
						ᠠ	senschan	ᠠ
cerebrals					ᠠ	ᠠ	sha	ᠠ
					ᠠ	ᠠ	ta	ᠠ
								ᠠ
								ᠠ
								ᠠ
								ᠠ

Our conclusion is, that the **Lañtsha** was introduced into **Tibet** about 1000 A.D., and in this instance not from Northern, but from **Eastern India**. It should be remembered, that in the hill districts of Northern India, and probably in the plains of the Panjab also, **Sarada** was used, and not **Nāgarī**. The Indian alphabet was adopted wholesale and practically unchanged, probably because it was intended to be used for Sanskrit exclusively.

This explains how the Tibetan tradition came to reverse the real facts. The **Lañtsha** used exclusively for the sacred language, was considered as the holy script, and consequently the belief arose that it was the original character from which the ordinary Tibetan alphabet was derived. The **Vartula** is only a variety of **Lañtsha**."

Although the Tibetan script has almost remained stationary since the eighth century, it has undergone a few slight changes, which help us roughly to date ancient documents and inscriptions. The following are the chief characteristics :

(1) **The Stein MSS. from Turkistan, and stone monuments from Lhasa, of the 8th or 9th century.**—The *j* has only two parallel horizontal strokes to the right of the vertical stroke. The *t* in many cases looks as if the left half of the curve had not yet entirely disappeared. The shape of the *th* in many cases reminds us strongly of the old Brāhmī or Gupta form. The *k* is almost invariably of triangular shape. In one case the right vertical stroke of the *k* is prolonged below the line. The letter *a* in many cases is furnished on the top with a short additional stroke. The *s* in many cases shows the structure of the *z* distinctly. In *s* the connecting line between the two vertical lines mostly proceeds from the lower end or the middle of the left vertical line. The *h* mostly has a horizontal position like the *h* of Central Asian Brāhmī.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is very often inverted, and, apparently in the older documents, joined to its consonant base. All the other vowel signs are joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant, with the exception of *ch*, *tsh*, *kh*, and *y*, where it is joined to the middle, and *l*, where it is joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is joined to the right lower end of the consonant. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the middle of the upper line of the consonant, with the exception of *s*, *m*, and *p*, where it is joined to the left upper end, and *l*, where it is occasionally joined to the right upper end. It is often of the shape of a whip.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The suffixed *d* (called *drag*) is used rather frequently ; (b) subjoined *y* appears regularly below *m* when the latter is followed by *i* or *e* ; (c) the articles *pho* and *pha* instead of *po* and *pa* are found occasionally, and also *chhiñ* instead of *chiñ* in the supine, *chhi* instead of *chi* as interrogative pronoun ; (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a' ; (e) there are a good number of cases, where the final consonant of a syllable is written below the first consonant ; (f) the euphonic laws are somewhat different from those of the present day ; (g) aspirated consonants suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them (*gchhiy*, *one*, etc).

(2) **Documents of the 11th and 12th centuries, from Lahoul and Spiti.**—The *b* is of quadrangular form, and all the consonants have their present beautiful shape.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is no longer inverted (with the exception of a few cases in *dBu med*), nor is it joined to its consonant base. The *o* vowel sign shows a tendency to be joined to the right upper end of its consonant base, but occasionally changes about, especially in the case of *s*. In *p* and *m* it is still joined to the left upper end. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the left upper end of the consonant base in the case of *s*, *m*, and *p* (probably). In most other cases it shows a tendency to being joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is always joined to the right lower end of its consonant base. In *dBu med*, the *u* vowel sign alone is joined to its consonant base.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The *drag* is still occasionally found; (b) the *m* is mostly furnished with a subjoined *y*, when placed before *i* and *e*; (c) the articles *pho* and *pha*, the sapine in *chhiñ*, and the pronoun *chhi* have disappeared; (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are still occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a'; (e) the final consonant of a syllable is no longer written below the first consonant; (f) aspirated consonants do not any more suffer a *g*, *d*, or *t* prefix to be placed before them; (g) abbreviations of words appear; (h) inverted dental letters are used to express Sanskrit cerebrals. (A few have already been used in the eighth or ninth century.)

Sarat Ch. Das attributes the work of increasing the Tibetan alphabet from 30 to 50 characters to Santa Rakshita of the 8th century; palaeographical evidence may be adduced to prove this. A few inverted dental letters occur in the documents of the Stein collection. Dr. Vogel makes the following note on these new characters: "Another point is noteworthy. There are several letters which the Tibetan has not directly borrowed from India, but which are due to a secondary development in Tibet itself. They are the following; (a) Initials *ri*, *ri*, *li*, and *li* derived from the signs for *r* and *l* with vowel marks. The long vowels have the 'a attached beneath; (b) Mediae aspirate *gha*, *jha*, *dha* and *bha* formed of the signs for *ga*, *ja*, *da*, and *ba* with addition of subscribed *ha*; (c) cerebrals *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa*, and *ṇa* formed by reversing the signs for the dentals *ta*, *tha*, *da*, and *na*; (d) cerebral sibilant *sha* formed by reversing the sign for the palatal sibilant *śa*."

(3) **Stone inscriptions of the 15th and 16th century from Spiti, etc.**—All the characters have their present form.

Vowel signs.—With the exception of the *i* vowel sign, the vowel signs are still joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the right upper end of the consonant base. This is particularly evident in the case of *p*, *m*, *l*, and *s*. The same may be said of the *e* vowel sign.

Other characteristic marks.—The *drag*, the *y* between *m* and *i* or *e*, and all the other characteristics of the ancient orthography have disappeared. I believe that with Buston's edition of the great encyclopedias (1310 A.D.) the last remnants of the ancient orthography disappeared. I do not believe that there are any complete copies extant of the encyclopedias which exhibit the ancient orthography. According to Sarat Ch. Das, it was Tsonkhapa (c. 1400 A.D.) who introduced the new orthography.

(4) **Modern Tibetan Vowel signs.**—In *dBu chan*, none of the vowel signs is necessarily joined to its consonant base. In *dBu med*, only the *u* vowel sign may be joined to it. But the vowel signs are often found joined to their consonant bases, as was the case formerly.

NO. 26.—LIST OF MINISTERS' NAMES FOUND IN THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION IN FRONT OF THE TA-CHAO-SSU-TEMPLE (JO-KHANG) IN LHASA, 822 A.D.

By A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D.

On p. 89 of Vol. X of the *Epigraphia Indica* I published my reading of the text and a translation of the Tibetan part of the Tibeto-Chinese stone-inscription in front of the Ta-chao-ssu Temple (Jo-Khang) in Lhasa. My reading of the Tibetan text was based on a rubbing of the inscription reproduced in Bushell's article "The Early History of Tibet".¹ My article treated only of the principal part of the inscription and did not take into account the list of names of Tibetan ministers which was inscribed on the same stone monument. That list is found reproduced on a second plate appended to Bushell's article. This reproduction is also

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, 1880, pp 535 ff.

based on a rubbing stated to have been obtained at Peking in 1869, which was said then, from the condition of the paper, to date at least from the last century.

When I had just written my first article on the Ta'-chao-ssu inscription, Professor Waddell's first article on "Ancient Historical Edicts" came into my hands.¹ At first, I did not feel sure whether it would be right to publish my translation in these circumstances; but as Professor Waddell did not announce a translation of the Mu-tsung inscription in his preface, but only expressed some doubts regarding it, which I did not share, I sent my translation to the press. Since then, I have been in the pleasant position of cataloguer of Sir Aurel Stein's Tibetan manuscripts from Turkistan, and my work on these documents has suddenly given new interest to the list of ministers' names, found on the north side of the stone. I discovered that most of the names of ministers carved on the Lhasa stone monument, occur also in Sir Aurel Stein's documents, and this remark does not only hold true of the Mu-tsung edict of 822 A.D., but also of the earlier Potala inscription of 730 A.D. The names of the ministers *rJo-blas* and *sTag-sgra*, found in that edict, also occur repeatedly among Sir Aurel Stein's excavated documents. Thus, the name *sTag-sgra* is found in Nos. MI, xlv, 7, and x, 95; and the name *rJo-blas* in Nos. MI, xiv, 108, and xiv, 65, of the Stein collection. The names *Khri-bzer* and *sTag-bzer* of the Potala inscription of 764 A.D. are found in M. I. xvi, 3.

The ministers' names of the Mu-tsung edict are found in twenty short inscriptions in various states of preservation, which are separated from one another by Chinese inscriptions. The following article does not deal with the latter.

No. 1.

Text: Bod-chen-poi-blom-
dum-gyi 'adzinbai-gtogs-
thabs-dañ-myiñ-rus.

Translation: Titles, names, and clan-names
of the ministers of great Tibet who
have seized the [agreement] and . . .
others.

NOTES: *Rus* is probably the same as *rus-pa*, bone, clan; *dum* I cannot explain; 'adzin-ba instead of 'adzin-pa is often found in ancient documents.

No. 2.

Text: Bod-chen-poi-chhab-srid-kyi-blom-po-chen-
. la-gtogs-pai-thabs-dañ-myiñ-
rus.

Translation: Titles, names, and clans of
the great ministers of the govern-
ment of great Tibet, attached to
. and others.

No. 3.

Text: khā-chen-po-la-gtogs-to-
. sa-la-dbañ-ñin-chhab-srid-
. 'adzin
. dpal-chen-po

Translation: belonging to the
great (heaven?), seizing the govern-
ment, and reigning on earth,
. great glory

No. 4.

Text: gy(i)-go-chhog-gi

Translation: of the highest(?) . . .
. . .

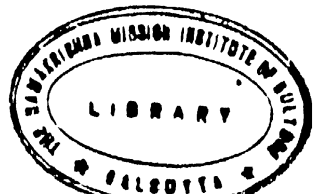
NOTE: *chhog* may stand for *mchhog*, best.

No. 5.

Text: blon-chen-po-blom-l

Translation: The great minister, minister
L

¹ J. E. A. S., 1909, p. 823.



No. 6.

Text: (blon-dmag)

Translation: (crowd of ministers?) ...

No. 7.

Text: (blon-rgyal)

Translation: (royal minister?)
(or: minister and king?).

No. 8.

Indistinct.

No. 9.

Text: chhab-arid
Khod-ne-staṅ.Translation: government
Khod-ne-staṅ.The name *Khod-ne-staṅ* has not yet been found in the Stein collection.

No. 10.

Text: chhab-arid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-
zaṅ-khri-bzer-
lha-mthoṅ.Translation: The great minister of the gov-
ernment, uncle *Khri-bzer-lha-*
mthoṅ.

NOTES: The word *zaṅ* 'uncle,' in connection with names of ministers is repeatedly found among the Stein relics. It may be compared to the title *agu*, 'uncle,' of the heroes of the Kesar Saga. The name *Khri-bzer* is probably the personal name, and *lha-mthoṅ* (god-soer) may be a clan-name.

The name *Khri-bzer* is found in the following documents of the Stein collection: M. Tagh. aV, 0015; aIV, 00123; bI, 0092; M1, i, 23; xvi, 1, 3; xxviii, 0016, etc.

The name *lha-mthoṅ* has been found only once, viz. in M. Tagh. aI, 0012.

No. 11.

Text: chhab-arid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-
blon-rgyal-bzaṅ-
'adus-(r)kaṅ.Translation: The great minister of the
government, minister rGyal-bzaṅ-
'adus-(r)kaṅ.

NOTES: Here again, as in all the following cases, I take the first name as the personal name, and the second as the clan-name.

The name rGyal-bzaṅ occurs in M1, xiv, 108g, and xiv, 0016 of the Stein relics. The name 'aDus-rkaṅ has not yet been found.

No. 12.

Text: Bod-chhen-poi-blon-po l-gyi-
thabs-daṅ-
myiṅ-rus.Translation: Titles, names, and clan-
names of the ministers
of great Tibet.

No. 13.

Text: Nan-blom-mchhims-zaṅ-rgyal-
bzer-khod-ne-
brtsan.Translation: The perfect minister of
Inner Affairs, uncle rGyal-bzer-
khod-ne-brtsan.

NOTES: *mchhims* is probably connected with 'achhims-pa, to be full, perfect.

The name rGyal-bzer occurs in the following documents of the Stein collection: M. Tagh. aIV, 00122 bI, 0022; bI, 0095; bI, 00104; M1, xxi, 001; xlii, 002. In No. M. Tagh. bI, 0096, we find the name rGyal-bzer-legs-brtsan.

The name *Khod-ne* has not yet been discovered in the Stein collection.

No. 14.

Text: Phyi-blon-bkū-la-gtogs-pa-
chog-ro-
blon-btsan-bzer-lha-goñ-

Translation: The minister of **Chog-ro**, who
is under the command of the minister
of Outer Affairs, **bTsan-bzer-lha-**
goñ.

Notes: *Chog-ro* is the well known name of a province.

The name *bTsan-bzer* is found in the following of Sir Aurel Stein relics: *M* Tagh, aII, 0057; *MI*, xxvii, 19.—
The name *lHa-goñ* occurs in *MI*, xiv, 58 in the following connections: *'O-nas-lha-goñ* and *dBan lha-*
goñ.

No. 15.

Text: mehhims-ñuñ-brtan-
bzer-stag-
tsab(tsañp).

Translation: The perfect, uncle
brTan-bzer-stag-(tsab).

Notes: The name *brTan-bzer* has not yet been found in the Stein's relics.

No. 16.

Text: mÑan-pon(Kha-ba-soi-slog-
gi-bla-'abal)-blon-
Klu-bzañ-myes-rma.

Translation: The lord of curses (magician)
the superior of **Kha-ba-soi-(slog^p)**,
minister **Klu-bzañ-myes-rma.**

Notes: *Pon*, instead of *dpon*, master; several syllables between *Khab* and *'abal* are indistinct. *Kha-ba-so*
are mentioned as officials in the account of *gNya-khri-btsan-po* in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*.

For the name *Klu-bzañ* see No. 17. A name similar to *myes-rma* is found in No. *MI*, xxiv, 0034 of Sir Aurel
Stein's relics, in the name *Lañ-khrug-sme-rma*. Let me add that several ancient names contain the syllable
myes as well as *rma* as one of their parts in the Stein collection.

No. 17.

Text: bKai-phr(i)n-blon- n-ka-
blon-stag-bzer-(hab?)-
(nyen).

Translation: The minister who announ-
ces the orders, minister **sTag-**
bzer-(hab-nyen?).

Notes: The name *sTag-bzer* is found in the following of the Stein documents: *MI* xxvii, 19; xxviii, 5,
xxviii, 0038, 0041; xlii, 2; xvi, 3.—In No. *MI*, xvi, 19, the name *sTag-bzer-legs-koñ* is found.

No. 18.

Text: rTsis-ba-chen-po- blon-
stag-
gzigs.

Translation: The great accountant,
. minister **sTag-gzigs.**

Notes: *rTsis-ba*, instead of ordinary *rTsis-pa*. The name *sTag-gzigs* has not yet been found in
the Stein relics.

No. 19.

Text: Phyi-blon zañ-klu-bzañ.

Translation: The minister of Outer Affairs,
. uncle **Klu-bzañ.**

Notes: The name *Klu-bzañ* is found in the following of the Stein documents: *M*. Tagh, aII, 0078; *MI*,
xxvii, 19.

No. 20.

Text: Žal-cho-ba-chen-po-zal-
blon-rgyal

Translation: The great judge, the minister
of judgment, **rGyal**

Notes: *che-ba* instead of ordinary *chhe-pa*. Unfortunately, the name of the minister has not been preserved
in full; there are many names, beginning with *rgyal*, occurring in the Stein relics.

GENERAL NOTE: Let me add that in the ancient documents of Sir Aurel Stein's collection, we generally find
only the personal names of the ancient ministers, preceded by their titles. It is only in rarer cases that we find the
personal names and clan-names combined. My explanation of this fact would be that in all those cases, where the
personal name alone is given, we may be sure that the document deals with the 'famous' minister, whose personal
name and clan-name are both found on the Mu-tsung monument. But there were certain officials, whose personal
names were in agreement with those of one or other of the famous ministers, but whose clan-name differed from
theirs. It is only in such cases, as I believe, that the documents of the Stein collection give both names, so as
not to leave any doubt with regard to the identity of the person in question.

In conclusion let me say that up to this I have examined more than six hundred of Sir Aurel Stein's relics.

No. 27.—TIWARKHED PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA; SAKA 553.

By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A.

Tiwarkhēd is a small village on the south bank of the Ambhōrā-nadi, in the Multāi tahsil of the Bētāl District in the Central Provinces. It is 14 miles south of the Multāi town which is 29 miles south-east of Badnār, the head-quarters of Bētāl District. The village has no ancient remains except a mud fort built as a protection from the Pīṇḍārī free-booters during the declining period of the Nāgpur Bhonslā rulers. This *garhī*, as it is called, is now dug up in several places, and the site occupied by the villagers. Within its premises Nandgiri Gosain, a resident of Tiwarkhēd, built a new house about 40 years ago. While digging for the foundations he came upon a set of copper-plates, but not knowing what they were, he stowed them away in his lumber room, where they continued to enjoy the same obscurity as they had done underground, until Mr. Balwant Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, Multāi Station house, visited the village in the beginning of the year 1910, when Bāpūji Gosain (son of Nandgiri now dead) observing that the plates contained some curious writing presented them to him for decipherment. Mr. Balwant Singh treated the plates with nitric acid to remove the accretions of centuries and then kindly forwarded them to me. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that the Multāi plates referring to the same line of kings were also found in the custody of a Gosain.¹

Our plates are two in number, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$. They are substantial, being $\frac{1}{8}''$ thick. Each plate is inscribed on one side only, the inscribed surface giving an appearance of a depression owing to the edges having been made slightly thicker. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation except that the left top corner of the first plate and the left bottom corner of the second one are a little bit corroded; still the lettering is pretty clear. The ring which was uncut when it reached my hands has a seal on a flattened out surface. It is oval in shape and bears the stamp of a figure which is now indistinguishable, but the legend *śrī-Yuddhīśvara* underneath, is fairly distinct. The record contains 16 lines, each plate bearing 8 lines. Under the eighth line the word *sauhasṭīna* is inscribed, but this word occurs in its proper place in line 11. On the margin of the second plate there appear to be 3 figures and 2 letters (probably after-additions) engraved one under the other, which I read as 553 *shāra*,² meaning apparently 'the year 553.'

The characters of the record belong to the northern class of alphabets. The engraving is well done throughout. The average size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The orthographical peculiarities worth notice are:—(1) the doubling of the letter with a *rēpha* on, as in *vistīraṇā* (l. 1 f.); but this is not uniform as in *-Durgarājā* (l. 2) *ga* has not been doubled; (2) the two different ways in which the vowel sign of *ē* has been expressed as in *Rāshtrakūṭāṇvayē* (l. 1 f.) of which the *ē* of *yē* is formed by attaching the sign to the letter instead of superscribing it as in *grāmē* (l. 9); (3) the letter *t* has been doubled before *r* in *sagōttrāya* (l. 6) and *puttrāya* (l. 7) and *dh* before *y* in *Mādhyandina*, l. 7; (4) the sign of *ā* attached to the letters *j* and *l* is represented by an upward stroke, instead of a downward one, as in *jā* of *-Durgarājā* (l. 2) and in *tā* of *Munḍibhattāya* (l. 7); (5) *b* is not distinguished from *v* as in *-vrahmaṇya* (l. 5). Final form of *t* occurs in line 2.

The language is Sanskrit, but the record seems to have been composed by a clerk who did not properly remember the *ślokas* in praise of the dynasty mentioned in the plates. He therefore introduced prose, maintaining the sense, if not the original wording which, if correctly put in, would have turned the first 6 lines into verse. At present, they are a mixture of verse and prose.

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII. p. 230, *et seq.*

² This word seems to have some connection with the Hindi word *sāla* 'year,' unless it is a mistake for *Śaka*.

[As will be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph the first two figures look very much like the English numeral 5. *Shāra* is probably meant for *Shāka*.—V. V.]

Commencing with *visṭīrṇṇā* in line 1 to *-Durgarājā(jō) nripaḥ* in line 2 there is the first half of a *Śardūlamukhikṛīṭa* verse, the other half of which may be completed from the Multāi plates, where it is given in full.¹ Again in line 4 f. we find a quarter of the same kind of verse beginning with *dānādrīkṛīṭa* and ending with *drīpēndrāyitaṃ*. In line 6 we again find a quarter of a *Vasuntatilaka* verse beginning with *śrī-Nannarāja* and ending with *-chand[ra*]aḥ*. All the rest is prose except a benedictive quotation in line 12. It is again the first half of a verse incorrectly quoted, other words of similar meaning having been inserted for words forgotten, thereby affecting the metre. It appears to me that the record being a business matter, no great attention was paid to formal portions which were copied from memory in the office of the record-keeper, wherewith synonymous words were sometimes substituted for the original ones without any consideration for metre.²

The inscription refers itself to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of which four kings are mentioned. It records a grant of land in the villages Tivērēkhēṭa and Ghuikhōṭā situated on the south bank of the Amvēviaraka-nadī, to one Muṇḍibhaṭṭa, son of Svāmibhaṭṭa, a Mādhyandina Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja-gotra, by king Nannarāja³ (Nandarāja?). The grant was made on two occasions, viz. on the Mahākārttikī day and on a solar-eclipse, the latter at the Kapilā-tīrtha. Apparently the Rāja went to bathe there and made the gift, as did his two principal officers, Gōvinda in charge of religious affairs and Narasiṃgha (Narasimha) the minister for peace and war, who gave away 10 *nicartanas* (of land) of Karañjamalaya on the eastern bank of the Śarasavahala and the Darbhavahala. The charter was afterwards issued from Achalapura and is dated in the Śaka year 553 increased by eight months, i.e. in the month of Kārttika as specified in the text. The date corresponds to October 631 A.D.

It does not, however, appear that there was a solar-eclipse in the month of Kārttika. Mr. Gōkul Prasād Iśwardās (now Tabsildār of Hōshangābād) informs me that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 553 on the *amāvāsya* of Māgha (27th January, 632 A.D.) i.e. after our charter was given away. But the solar-eclipse referred to must have occurred prior to the date of the issue of the charter. In the Śaka year 553 current, there were two eclipses, a total one in the month of Śrāvama on the 13th August 630 A.D. and an annular one in the month of Māgha on 7th February 631 A.D. The total eclipse having occurred at night was not visible, but the annular one was, as it occurred 17 minutes after sunrise. The former took place on a Monday and the latter on a Thursday. Thus while a grant made on an *amāvāsya* falling on Monday (*sōmaratī*) coupled with a total eclipse would be more meritorious than that made on a Thursday with an annular eclipse, it is possible that the visibility of the latter may have counterbalanced other considerations and invested it with greater importance. So the greater likelihood is that the grant was made on the 7th February 631 A.D. And this date falls much nearer the date of the issue of the charter than the other.

With regard to the history of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, this record does not throw any additional light on what is known from the Multāi plates. It gives the same information (in rather a vague form on account of its defective composition) as the Multāi record, mentioning Durgarāja as the original ancestor, whose son was Gōvindarāja, from whom was born Svāmikarāja, whose son was Nannarāja (Nandarāja), whose second name Yuddhāsura occurs on the seal. Our charter is, however, very important from one point of view. In the Multāi plates no less than five villages are mentioned, viz. the village granted with four others which bounded it on its

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234.

² [The text is so full of mistakes that the exact sense of the original is not apparent in several cases. For instance the part played by Śaṃragana (if it has to be taken as a proper name) in line 9, is obscure. No attempt is therefore made to correct the text. — V. V.]

³ In the Multāi plates the name of the king is *Nandarāja*. The name *Nanna* in the Rāshtrakūṭa family is also known from later times. A grant of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Nanna, the son of Kakkarāja, dated Śaka 715, has been published above, Vol. IX, pp. 193 ff.

four sides. None of these has been as yet identified. Dr. Fleet writing in 1889 remarked :—‘Mr. Ommanney reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multāi District nor could he discover any at all like them at Hoshangābād or Jabalpur. It is therefore not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long a time. All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India, or of the Central Provinces.’ On 30th July 1909 Dr. Fleet wrote to me, ‘It would be a valuable bit of work if you can locate this record. It is important to decide by identification of places, what locality it does belong to, because it has a bearing on three leading matters :—(a) the origin of that branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas which had the Garuḍa crest; (b) the northern or southern use of the Śāka era; (c) the origin of that particular type of Nāgarī. It is almost impossible that all these 5 villages should have ceased to exist. But though some years ago I closely examined many sheets of the Indian Atlas I could not locate them. All the probabilities are that this record belongs to the south of the Nerbodā. I have practically satisfied myself that the places do not exist in Gujarāt and Khāndēsh.’ Although it has not been possible for me to locate with anything like certainty the villages of the Multāi plates, our present charter has come to light as if to solve the difficulty which antiquarians have felt for the last twenty years or for the matter of that for three quarters of a century calculating from the date of the first discovery of the Multāi plates. The fact of the Rāshtrakūṭa domination on the Multāi plateau is now once for all fully established inasmuch as our plates were found in the very village where Nannarāja granted lands to Muṇḍibhaṭṭa. Tivēśkhēṭa of the inscription is undoubtedly the present Tiwarkhēḍ and the Ambēviaraka-nadī the Ambhōrā-nadī on whose south bank the present village is still situated. As noted above, the engraver has made no difference between *b* and *v*. The real name of the river appears to have been Ambēviara, *ka* being a poetic addition to make it sound like Sanskrit. According to the record Ghūikhēṭa should also be somewhere near the Ambhōrā-nadī, but it is untraceable now. There is one Ghūikhēḍ, about 40 miles south of Tiwarkhēḍ in the Chāndūr tāluk of the Amraoti District of Berār, but I do not find the river running to it. About 55 miles from Tiwarkhēḍ lies the town of Ellichpur (commonly pronounced Elachpur or Alachpur) which I take to be the corrupted form of Achalapura from whence our charter purports to have been issued. Ellichpur is a well known historical² place and was the headquarters of a district until 1905. The transposition of letters *cha* and *la* in Achalapura to Alachapura is of the same category which changed the old name of Benares from *Vānārasi* to *Vārānasi*.³ Even at the present day we often hear *Lakhnau* pronounced as *Nakhlan* and *matlab* as *matbal*. In the Nirvāṇa-kāṇḍa of a Prākṛit work of the Jains there is mention of Achalapura as follows :—

*Achchalapuravaraniyaḍō tsānaibhāya-Mēḍhigirisiharē
āhūṭṭhayaḍōḍō nivaḍaṇagayī namō tēsim.*

‘On the summit of Mēḍhigiri near the good town of Achchalapura towards north-east (of it) three and a half crores (of saints) obtained salvation. I bow down to them.’

This Mēḍhigiri or Mēḍhagiri is now better known as Muktagiri,⁴ a hillock on which several Jain temples are constructed, which contain idols dated in the 14th century A.D. It is only

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-231.

² Chammak, the old Chammāka, which was granted by a Vakātaka king is only 6 miles from Ellichpur; see *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 236.

³ In the Nirvāṇa-kāṇḍa, a manuscript preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona, the name of Benares appears as *Vānārasi*, whereas latterly elsewhere we have it as *Vārānasi*.

A modern recorded example of similar transposition may be seen in Mr. R. Hughes Buller's Census Report of Baluchistan for 1901 where on p. 99 he says: “The Mengāls, Bizaujōs, and Zahris, the three largest of the Brahui tribes are termed *Jadgāl* or *Jagdāl*.”

⁴ See *Retul District Gazetteer* (1907), p. 249.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥
 कृष्णं श्यामाङ्गं वन्दे नमस्कृत्य चित्तम् ॥
 ध्यायेत्तदा मुक्तिरश्नुते तत्रैव निवर्तते ॥

श्री संमल्ले वा मुनि रुद्र
 विजय वरी रक्षिणा कटे
 कपिला नीले रू दसु वपु नि पारि नं उक्त
 अ व स सूर्य वपु र स द स्यात्ति श्री गे नि सूर्य मिरा
 स स्यात्ति वा द स्या पु र्वे न ते क र ह्ये म प ट र द स्या
 वि द स्या पु र्वे न ते र स वि प र्क वा वि द स्या क स गे वि
 श्रु त स्यात्ति वपु र्ग र्ग सिं प्य र्ग र्ग ना ल स क स ल स ग र्ग
 स र्ग स प र्ग स प र्ग स प र्ग स प र्ग स प र्ग स प र्ग स प र्ग

6 miles north-east of Ellichpur and is classed as a *Siddha-kshētra* by the Jainas. It is visited by the pilgrims of that community from all parts of India. In the *Śrēṇikā-Purāṇa*¹ of the Jainas the name of the town again appears without transposition of letters. These references not only prove the identity but indicate that Ellichpur was an important place in olden days and that the Rāshtrakūṭas had made it the head-quarters of a province if not their capital which is believed to have been at Mālkhōḍ further south. The old name Achalapura was apparently given to Ellichpur with a certain meaning, as the latter is situated just at the foot of the Satpura Hills (*achala*). With regard to other places mentioned in the inscription, the *Sarasavāhalā* and *Darbhavāhalā* appear to have been streamlets which I have been unable to identify. It is not clear what *Karañjamalaya* was. It may have been a village, in which case it may be identified with one of the numerous *Kāranjās* in Berār. If it was a forest of *karañja* or *kuñji* trees (*Pongamia glabra*) or a field having *karañja* trees, it would now be very difficult to identify with certainty even if we came upon a forest or field having these trees.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om² [||*] Svasty=Acha[la]pur[ā]d= [||*] Vist[i]raṇḍō sthiti-pālan-āpta-yāsasi śri-Rāshtrakū-
- 2 ṭ-ānvayō ramyō kshira-niddhā(dhā)v=iv-ōndur-abhavat śri-Durgarājā(jō) nripaḥ tasyavātta.³
- 3 tmaja[h*] śri-Gōvindarājah māsi⁴ tasy-ātmajaḥ ātmaṇ(u)y-āhita-śakt[i]-saṁpana⁵-pra-
- 4 kṛiti-maṇḍala-śri-Svāmikarājā[s-ta*]sya tanayō dānāndrikṛita-pāṇa(ṇi)nā pratidi-
- 5 nam yōna dvipōndrāyitaṁ parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya[h*] prāpta-pañcha-mahāsa-
- 6 v(b)du[h*] śri-Nannarāja iti sarva-natōndra-chund[r*]aḥ Bhūradvāja-sagōttṛa-
- 7 ya Mādhyandina-Svāmibhaṭṭa⁶-puttrāya Maṇḍibhaṭṭāya Tivērēkhēṭa
- 8 Amvēviaraka-[na*]di-dakṣiṇa-taṭṭ pañchāsa Māhakārttikī⁷ (svahastēna⁸)

Second Plate.

- 9 śri-Saṁraganēna⁹ Maṇḍibhaṭṭasya Ghūikhēṭa¹⁰-grāmē A[mvē]-
- 10 via[ra*]ka-nadi-dakṣiṇe taṭṭ pañchāsa ādityōparāgō
- 11 Kapilā-ti[rthē] svahasta(stē)na pratipāditam [||*] Uktāñ=cha Vōda-Vyā-
- 12 sēna [||*] Shasṭa saṁvachohhara¹¹-sahasrāṇi svargō tishṭa bhūmīdā¹².
- 13 Sarasavāhalā-pūrvvō taṭṭ Karañjamalaya Darbhavā-
- 14 halā-pūrvva-taṭṭ daśa-nivarttanāni ddbarmmakusa¹³ Gōvi-

¹ [*Śrēṇikāpurāṇa* is the name of a work by Śubhachandra preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona. —V. V.]

² Expressed by a symbol.

•

³ Read *tasy-āir-ā-*.

⁴ Read *āsīt*.

⁵ Read *-saṁpanna-*.

⁶ Read *-bhāṭṭa-*.

⁷ Probably *Māhakārttikyām*.

⁸ The word *svahastēna* has been added under the line and probably applies to the correction which is made at the end of this line. The syllables *māhakārttikī* are entered over an erasure.

⁹ Probably *Saṁkaraganēna*.

¹⁰ [On the impression and on the plate the reading seems to be °khēṭha°.—V. V.]

¹¹ Read *shashṭīm varaha°*.

¹² Read *tishṭhati bhūmīdāḥ*.

¹³ Read *dharmakata* or *dharmākhata*.

15 nda-mahāsandhivigraha-Narasimgha¹-sahitā² || Śaka-kāla-samvachchha(tsa)ra-

16 śatōshu pa[ū]cha[su*] [tra]ya[h*]-pamchāsa-varshādhikōshu ashṭamaśābhyatikōshu.³

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Achalapura. In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious Rāshṭra-kūṭa lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability there was (born) a king, the illustrious Durgarāja, just as in the (broad and charming) ocean of milk (was produced the moon). His own son was the illustrious Gōvindarāja. His son was the illustrious Svāmikarāja, possessed of a host of subjects acquired by self-centred prowess. His son, who resembles the lord of elephants in having his hand moistened (with the water poured) at donations (*dāna*) while the elephant has the trunk wet with the ratty juice (*dāna*),⁴ (is) called the illustrious Nannarāja, who is most kind to the Brāhmanas, who has attained the five great sounds and who is the moon amongst all the kings.

To Muṇḍibhaṭṭa, son of Svāmibhaṭṭa, of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra (and) the Mādhyandina- (*śākhā*), fifty (*nivartanas*⁵ of land) in Tivērēkhēṭa (*village*) on the south bank of the Amvēviaraka river (were given) through the illustrious Śam[ka]ragana on the Mahākārttikī (*day*). To (the same) Muṇḍibhaṭṭa were given by our own hand at the Kapilā-tīrtha, fifty (*nivartanas* of land) in the Ghuikhēṭa village on the south bank of the Amvēviaraka river, on (the occasion of) a solar eclipse.

And it has been said by (Vyāsa) the arranger of the Vedas :—The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years.

Ten *nivartanas* (of land) on the east bank of Śārasavāhala (and) on the east bank of Darbhavāhala of Karañjamalaya (were given) (*perhaps to the same donee*) jointly by the Superintendent of religious affairs (*dharmaśāstra*) Gōvinda and the Great Minister for peace and war (*mahāsandhivigrahin*) Narasimha.

In five centuries of years increased by fifty-three years (and) also increased by eight months of the Śaka era.

¹ Read -Narasimha-.

² Read -sahitah.

³ Read -māśābhyadhikōshu.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Venkayya for drawing my attention to the pun on the word *dāna* in this sentence.

⁵ *Nivartana* is a land-measure which the dictionaries give as equivalent to 20 *rods*. The word occurs in a commentary on *śloka* 21, chapter 140 of the Śāntiparvan in the Mahābhārata *yaḥ kināśaḥ śatam nivartanāni bhūmēḥ karshati tēna viśṭīrūpēna rājakiyam api nivartanadātakam karshaniyam śriyavad rakshaniyam cha*. From enquiries which I personally made in Berar, I came across some old men both of the literate and the illiterate class who told me that in their younger days, about 50 years ago, a land-measure called *netana* equal to 9 *bighas* was in use, and that 13 *netanas* made a *chāhur* which is still in use and is equal to 120 *bighas*. In Berar a *bigha* is 2,670 sq. yds. A *netana* would, therefore, be equal to 2,670 × 9 or 24,080 sq. yds., a little less than 5 acres or 20 *rods* which contain 24,200 sq. yds. Taken with reference to a *chāhur* of 120 *bighas* a *netana* would be equal to 9 $\frac{1}{3}$ *bighas* or 24,646 sq. yds., i.e. slightly in excess of 5 acres. In popular calculations such complex fractions as $\frac{1}{3}$ are often neglected and it seems to me that the real value of a *netana* was somewhere midway between 9 and 9 $\frac{1}{3}$ *bighas* and this would be 5 acres or 20 *rods*. I therefore feel no hesitation in holding that *netana* is a corruption of the old *nivartana*. In the *sannads* in possession of the Berar jāgirdars *netana* occurs as a land-measure. That the use of the *netana*-measure was much prevalent in the Deccan may be inferred from the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I, of A.D. 674 (about the same period as our grant); above, Vol. X, pp. 102 to 108.

No. 28.—THE PARIKUD PLATES OF MADHYAMARAJADEVA;

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The plates bearing the subjoined inscription were sent in 1906 to the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, by Mr. J. R. Blackwood, I.C.S., Magistrate of the Puri District of Bengal. They were handed over to me by Dr. Bloch in 1908 for decipherment. I finished my article early in 1909 and gave the paper to Dr. Bloch; but he fell ill after looking through the transcript of the first plate and never recovered sufficiently so as to be able to finish it. The plates were not presented to the Indian Museum and consequently there is no record of them in that office. I had only heard from Dr. Bloch that they had come from **Pārikud** in the Puri District.¹ When I was touring in that district for collecting specimens for the Indian Museum, in September 1910, I learnt from Mr. J. Clarke, I.C.S., the then Magistrate, that the plates belonged to the Rāja of Pārikud, who had no intention of presenting them to the Museum. The plates will, accordingly, be sent back to the Rāja after publication. I am obliged to Mr. Clarke for the following information about the plates. The name of the present owner is Śrī-Gaurachandra-Mānasinha Harichandana Mardarāja Bhramaravara Rāja, Rāja Bahādur of Pārikud. The Rāja is not able to trace which of his ancestors first secured the plates and from what source they were received, nor is he able to state the locality in which they were discovered. The plates used to be preserved in his record room. Mr. Clarke kindly procured for me the genealogical tree of the Pārikud family, but I find that none of the kings mentioned in the subjoined inscription could be traced in the copy sent to me, though I heard from Mr. Clarke that the Rājas of Pārikud claim to have been descended from the kings mentioned in the copper-plate record.

The inscription is incised on three thin plates of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and held together by a circular ring of the same metal whose diameter is roughly $3\frac{1}{8}''$. To this ring was affixed a seal of some other metal, presumably brass (?), of which, however, there remains only a mutilated part and the solid base in which the edges of the ring are fixed. The last of the plates is broken in the right upper corner, while the first shows a slit from the ring-hole to the edge, as in the case of the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman.² This record which has been engraved on the second side of the first plate, and on both sides of the other two plates has already appeared in the *Vaṅgiya-Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*.³ It refers itself to the reign of **Madhyamarājadeva** of the **Śailōdbhava** family who ruled in the **Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala**. The language of the grant is very incorrect **Sanskrit** and the record has been very carelessly incised. Doubling of consonants has been avoided, and almost invariably letters are left out at the ends of words. There is one incorrectly spelt word in the inscription, which is quite unintelligible to me. It is *viśrakē* in l. 49.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in the **Katakabhukti-vishaya** to twelve **Brāhmanas**, viz. Śilasvāmi, Gōvardhanasvāmi, Vandhusvāmi, Kavaḍisvāmi, Nārāyaṇasvāmi, Mādhavasvāmi, Bharāṇisvāmi, Durgasvāmi, Ādityasvāmi, Rudrasvāmi, Śivasvāmi and Sukhasvāmi.

¹ [It may be noted that these plates were sent to the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1906 by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar while the latter was the acting Archaeological Surveyor of the Bengal Circle. The plates were returned to Mr. Bhandarkar with a set of ink-impressions for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vide Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Appendix A, No. 8). The accompanying photo-lithographic plate is prepared from the impressions supplied by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent's office (Madras).—V. V.]

² Above, Volume III, p. 41 f.

³ Volume XVI, p. 193.

The inscription supplies the new word *timmīra* which is not found in published copper-plates, in the phrase *dvādaśa-timmīra-pramāṇa*, l. 44. Perhaps "*timira*" is the correct spelling. The new verses of the inscription, which are not found in the Buguḍa plates, contain nothing of importance. I could only infer from them that the kingdom of Madhyamarāja contained all sorts of hermits (vv. 12 and 13). There is no mention of the doings of the king. We may gather, however, that he was a man of great strength (v. 17), a capable archer comparable to the son of Prithā (*i.e.* Arjuna) (v. 16) and an ardent devotee of Śiva (vv. 14 and 15). The inscription is dated twice: 1st, in the regnal year twenty-six: *śaḍ-viṃśatimē vijaya-vardhamāna-rājyē* (l. 45) and again at the end, in an era which has not been specified.¹ The letters on the third plate have suffered very much from corrosion and the numerals of the date have become very indistinct. I find on prolonged examination that the numerals are 80, 8, but Messrs. Venkayya and Krishna Sastri to whom the paper was first submitted are of opinion that nothing whatever can be discovered. If my reading of the date be correct, I would refer it to the Harsha era, though no instance of the use of this era has so far been found in Orissa.² If my views be correct, the date of the grant would be $88 + 606 = 694$ A.D.

Up to this date three inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala have been published:—The Buguḍa plates of Mādhavarman;³ (2) the Ganjam plates of the time of Śasāṅkarāja,⁴ and (3) the Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja.⁵

The first part of the inscription on the Pārikud plates is in verse, like that of the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavarman, and the first nine verses of both are identical. The tenth verse of the Buguḍa grant is not to be found in this record and the eleventh verse of that record appears as the tenth of the Pārikud inscription. The Buguḍa grant furnishes the genealogy of the family from Raṇabhīta to Sainyabhīta, while the Pārikud grant carries the genealogy two generations further.

The following tables show the genealogy according to the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants:—

<i>Buguḍa plates.</i>	<i>Pārikud plates.</i>
Śailōdbhava (<i>in his family</i>)	Śailōdbhava (<i>in his family</i>)
↓	↓
Raṇabhīta	Raṇabhīta
↓	↓
Sainyabhīta I. (<i>in his family</i>)	Sainyabhīta I. (<i>in his family</i>)
↓	↓
Yaśōbhīta	Yaśōbhīta I.
↓	↓
Mādhavarman Sainyabhīta II.	Sainyabhīta II.
	↓
	Yaśōbhīta II.
	↓
	Madhyamarāja.

¹ [From the accompanying photo-lithographic plate it will be clear that the date is here very badly damaged. What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *samvatsarē*.—V. V.]

² It may have been imported from Northern India as was the Gupta era in the case of the date of the Ganjam plates of the time of Śasāṅka; above Vol. VI, p. 143. [Palaeography is hardly in favour of this early date. Professor Kielhorn thought that the Buguḍa plates, which are earlier, may belong to the 10th century; see above, Vol. VII, p. 102.—S. K.]

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵ J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII, Pt. I, 1904, pp. 282 ff.

The Khurda and Ganjam plates mention three generations only:—

Khurda plates.

Sainyabhita

Yasobhita

Mādhavarāja

Ganjam plates.

Mādhavarāja.

Yasobhita

Mādhavarāja II.

(619-20 A.D.)

Both of these plates, like the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants, were issued from the **Kōṅḡḡḡa-maṇḍala** and the similarity in names as well as the name Sainyabhita found on the seals of the Buguḍa, Ganjam and Khurda grants leads one to believe that Mādhava was the surname of both Yasobhita's father and son. But the characters of the Ganjam and Khurda grants are much older than those of the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates. It may be that the former were written in the current alphabet of North Eastern India while in the latter the alphabet prevalent in the Northern Circars, was used.¹ If the four grants be held to belong to the same country, then it may be affirmed with some degree of certainty that the Sainyabhita of the Khurda grant is the same as the Sainyabhita I of the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants. As Yasobhita is a common factor, we have to admit that Sainyabhita II. is the same person as Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjam plates.

It is not certain whether Yasobhita II. and Madhyamarāja are different persons. When the late Professor Kielhorn published the Buguḍa grant for the first time, he was of opinion that Mādhavarāman was a son of Sainyabhita II.² Dr. Hultzsch, in his paper on the Ganjam grant of the time of Śaśāṅkadēva,³ pointed out that Sainyabhita was probably a surname of Mādhavarāman, and this view was subsequently also adopted by Professor Kielhorn.⁴ A similar case occurs in this inscription also. In the metrical portion of this inscription, there is nothing to show that there was any relationship whatsoever between Yasobhita II. and Madhyamarājadēva. In ordinary circumstances and on the analogy of the Buguḍa inscription, it may be assumed that Madhyamarāja is a *viruḍa* of Yasobhita II., but there is one small phrase, the import of which, though very weak, yet may prove that king Madhyamarāja was a son of Yasobhita II. This is the phrase in the 27th line:—*Madhyamarājadēva-guṇa-dhṛid-rājyaṁ pituḥ prāptavān*. The word *pituḥ* may refer to Yasobhita II.

The inscription records the grant of a village in the **Katakabhukti-vishaya**. As the king addresses the officers of the **Kōṅḡḡa-maṇḍala**, it is apparent that the village was situated in that district. The identity of **Kōṅḡḡa** with **Kong-u-t'o** is, perhaps, well known.⁵ Very little can be added to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks about the characters of these inscriptions in his note on the Buguḍa plates.⁶ The king Madhyamarāja had performed the *vijāpēya* and *aśvamēdha* sacrifices (ll. 38-39). He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and the fact that he performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice shows that he claimed the rank of a supreme monarch (*chakravartin*).

¹ [It is difficult to follow Mr. Banerji when he says that the alphabet of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is much older than that of the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates and at the same time asserts they may be local varieties current simultaneously.—V. V.]

² Above, Vol. III, p. 42.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 100.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² svasti [||*] Indōr-ddhauta-mṛṇāla-tantubhir=iva śliṣṭāḥ karai[h*] kōmalai[r=va](r=ba)ddh-ābhēr-arun[ai][h*] sphurat-pha-
- 2 ṇi-maṇṇir=digdha-prabhā[s]ṭa-sūbhi[h]³ [I*] Pāravyatā[s*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vy[ā]vri[t*]ta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h*]-pluti-
- 3 bhi[n*]na-bhasma-kapikā[h*] Śambhōr-jatā[h*] pāntu va[h*] [I] [1*] Śrīmān-u[ch*]chair-nabhastō gurur-Achala-patō[h*] kshōbhaj[i]d=ya[h*]
- 4 kshamāyā *gambhīrāmbhiya-rāsēr=atha divasakarā[d]=bhāsvad-āloka-kārī [I*] hlādi[sa]rvvasya ch=ē[ndos]-tri-
- 5 bhuvana-bhavana-prērakaś=ch=āpi vāyō rājā sa Sthāna(qu)mu(mū)rtti[r*]=jayati Kali-mala-kshālanō Mā[dha]-
- 6 vēndra[h*] [I] [2*] Prāṇśur⁵=mmahābha-kara-pivara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛishṇa-āśma-saichayā-vibhōda-viśāla-vaksh[āh] [I*] rājī[va]-
- 7 k[ṣ]mala-dal-āyanta-lōchanānta[h*] khyāta[h*] Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēna[h*] [3*] Tēn=ē[t*]tham
- 8 guṇin=āpi sa[t*]tva-mahatā nyashtam(n=ēshṭam) bhū(bhu)vō mma(ma)ṇḍalanā śaktō yaḥ paripālanāya jagata[h*] kō nā-
- 9 ma sa syād-iti | pratyādish[t]a-vibh-ūtsa vōna bhagavān=ārādhitā[s*]=śāśvatam⁶ s=ta[ch*]-chi[t*]t-ānugunam
- 10 r[i]dhitsur=adishā(śa)d=vañchhā[m*] Svayambhūr=api [4*] Sa śilā-[sa](śa)kal-ālbhōdi tēn=āpy=ālōkya dh[i]ma-
- 11 ta(tā) | parikalpita-sad-vañśai-prabhū[s]⁷=Śailōdbhava[h*] kṛita[h*] || [5*] Śailōdbhavasya kulaj[ṣ] Rapa-
- 12 bhita āsid=ya(yō)[n=ā]sakṛi[t*] [kṛi]tabhiyā[m] dvishad-aṅganānām [I*] jyōts[n]ā-[pra]vō(ba)dha-sama-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 yē sva-dhiy-[ai]va sārddham=ākampitō nayana-pa[k]shma-ja[l]ēshu chandra[h*] [|| 6*] Tasy=[ā]bhavad=v[i]va(bu)dhapā[la]-samas[ya sū]-
- 14 [nu][h*] śrī-Sainyabhita iti bhūmipatir=ggariyā[n*] [I*] yam prāpya [nai]-ka-sata-nāga-ghatā-vigha[t]a-laddha(bdha)-pras[ā]da-
- 15 vijaya[m*] mumudā dharittri(tri) [|| 7*] Tasy=āpi *vañśō=tha yathā[rtha]-nāmā jāta(tō) Yaśōbhita iti kshiti(ti)śa[h*][I*] yōna prarū-

¹ From the original plates and from a set of impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist. [The text was revised by Mr. Krishna Sastri when he was officiating as Government Epigraphist for two months in 1911.—V.V.]

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read *maṇṇir digdha-prabhāṣṭa-sūbhiḥ*.

⁴ Read *gambhīrāmbhiya-rāsēr*. *Ambhiyarāsi* as a synonym for *ambhōrāsi*, is peculiar. The Bugada plates use the word *tōyārāsi*.

⁵ Read *prāṇśur*.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous. Read *śāśvatam* as in the Bugada plates.

⁷ Read *vañśah*. A superfluous mark of punctuation is inserted after the syllable *bhā*.

⁸ Read *vañśē*.

Parikud Plates of Madhyamarajadeva.

i.

2
4
6
8
10
12

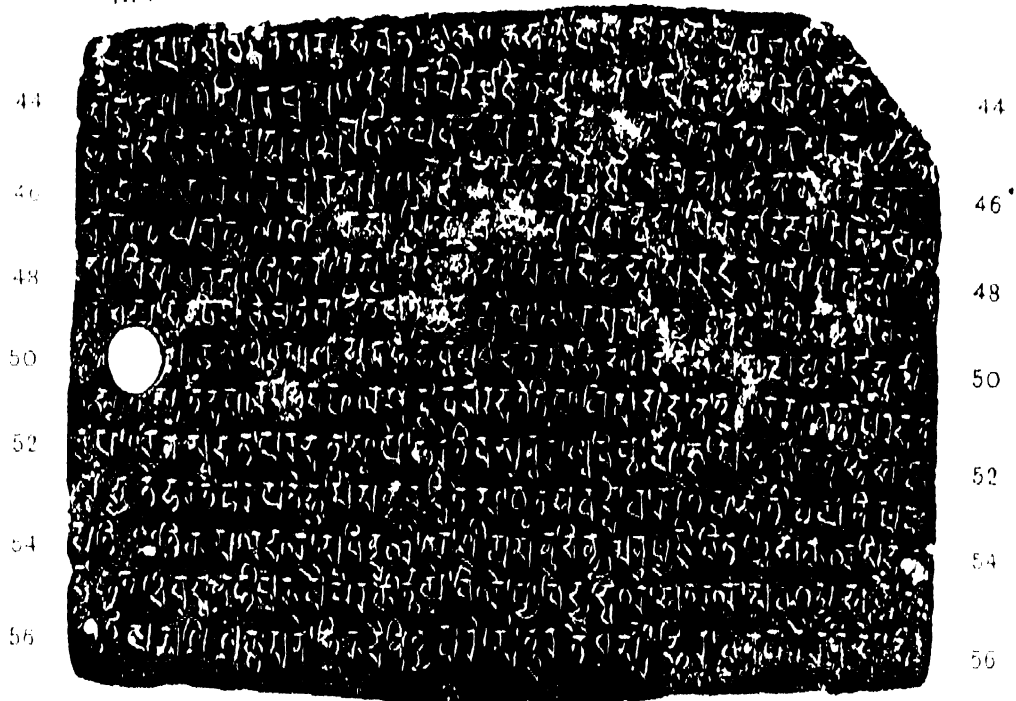
ii a

14
16
18
20
22
24
26

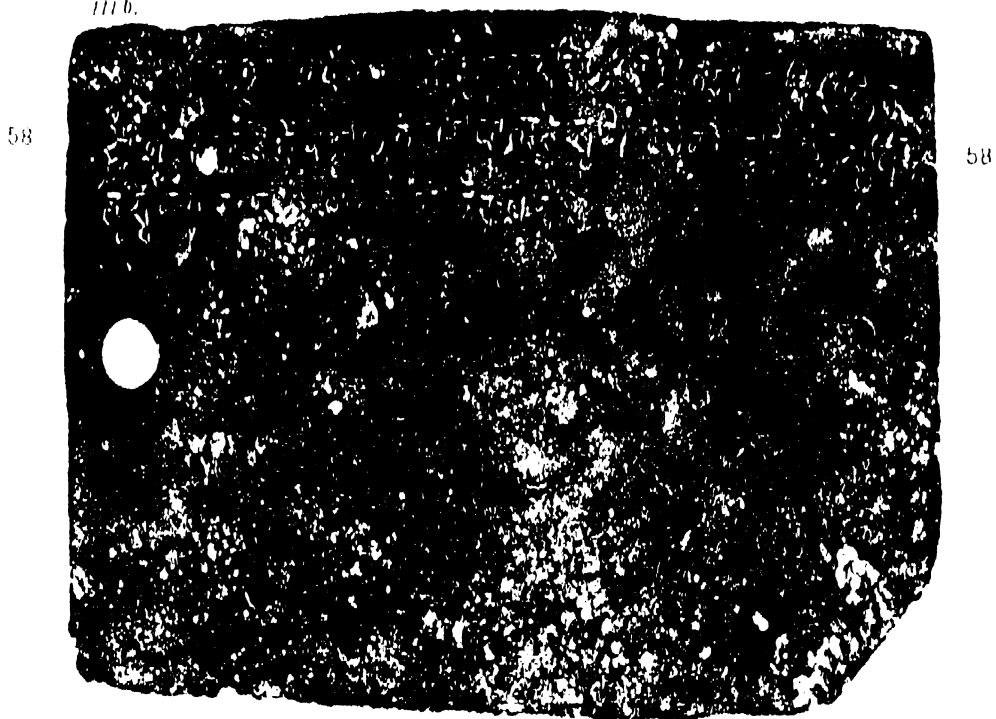
ii b

28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42

iii a.



iii b.



- 16 dhō=pi śubhaiś=charittrair=mrishṭa[h*] kalauka[h*] Kalidarppapasya | [8*] Jāto-
tha tasya tanaya[s*]=sukṛiti(ti) samasta-simanti(ṇti)-
- 17 nī-nayana-śaṭpada-puṇḍarika[h*] [1*] śrī-Sainyabhita iti bhūmi(ni)-patir=
mmahēbha-kumbha-sta(stha)li-dalana-d[u]-
- 18 rllali(li)t-āsidhāra[h*] [|| 9*] Kālēynir=bhūta-dhātri(tri)-patibhir=upachit-ānai(nā)ka-
pāp-āva[t]ārai[r*]=ni(nī)ta(tā) yōśā(śhā)in ka[th=ā]pi pra-
- 19 layam=abbimatā ki[r]tti-sā(pā)lair=ajaśra(sra)[m] | yajñais=tair=Aśvamōdha-
prabhṛitibhir=amarā lambhītās=[tr]i(tri)ptim=u-
- 20 rrvī(rvi)[m=u]ddri]pt-ārāti-pakṣha-kṣhaya-kṛiti-paṭunā Śrīnivāsēna yēna | [10*]
Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākṣil-ārē[r]=mmarud=iva a-
- 21 vannu(?) bhāsvad-uśhūāśu-tējā¹ śi(śā)rō māni dayālu[r*]=narapati[shu*]
Yagōbhita-dēvas=tanṭja[h*] | mātāgān-yō=ti(ti)tu-
- 22 ōgā[n]=va(ba)ha[la*]-madamuchas=chāru-vaktra-prachandah va(ba)dvā(ddhvā)²
karṣhaty=a[s]vōna punar=api tapatō ya[n]-nata[s*]=sa pragalbha[h*] [|| 11*]
- 23 Kō chid=vabhya(nya)-mrigēṇa sārddham=achi(cha?)rauis=tās=tā sthiti(ti) li(li)layā
kō chi[ch*]=ch=[ō]rddh[v*]a-mukhās=sahasra-kirāṇa-jvāl-ā-
- 24 vali-prākṣhaṇa(pā)[h*] [1*] kō chid=vashka(lka)linas=tath=ājina-dharā[h*] kō
chirj=ja(j=ja)tā-dhāriṇā(nō) [n]ānā-ru(rā)pa-dharās=tapanti yati-
- 25 pā divy-āspa[d]-ā[k]ā[h]kṣhīṇa[h*] [|| 12*] Kō chit=solā³-guh-ōdarēshu niyatā
dhūmāvali-pāl(yi)na[h*] anyō vāyu-phal-ā-
- 26 myu(mbu)-bhakṣha-niratā[h kō] chi[n=ni](nni)rāhārakā[h*] [1*] itha⁴ yōga-yugō⁵
vihāya vasati dh[y]āyanti divyam padam chittram
- 27 Madhyamarājadēva-guṇa-dhṛid=rājya[m*] pitu[h*] prāptavā[n*] | [13*] Yasy-
āhva(hvā)nān=mama[d*]yu[s*]=sura-bhavana-ga-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 28 tā divya-sa[t*]tvā[h*] pragalbā[s*]=⁶ tai[s*]=sārddha[m*] nityakālān
sa(su)kpi[ta*]-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-hṛidya(dyā)[h*]⁷ prakurvva[n*] [1*] Śambhō[s*]=
sa[m]-
- 29 sthāna-kāri padam=amarajava[h*] śāśvata[m*] śānta-rūpam lavdh(bdh)-ōtsāha[s*]=sa
vira[h*] kṣhititala-vasati(ti)m nirjjit-ārā-
- 30 ti-pakṣha[h*] [|| 14*] Sthity-upā(ṭpa)[t*]ti-[v]ināśa-kāraṇa-parama⁸ jyō
—vyābhata[m*] vyakt-āvyaktun=ananta-śakti niyatam d[ē]vāti-
- 31 dēvō mahā[n*] [1*] tasy-ānugrahakāri-vikrama-dhanu[s*]-chōśhṭā[m] karōty=
adbhūtā[m*] sa śrīmān-atula[s*] Śāsānka(nka)dhavala-kṣhō-

¹ Read -uśhūāśu-tējāt-.² It would suit the exigencies of metrical purposes if the two syllables *baddhvā* came after *astēna* ; but purport would still be indefinite.³ Read *chich-chhaila*-.⁴ Read *itham*.⁵ Read -yugō.⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁷ One would expect *hṛidya-sukṛita-guṇa-kath-ālāpān*.⁸ Read *param*. The missing syllables may be *svayam*.

- 32 [nī]-(nī)-yaśa[h*]-khyāpitā[m*] [|| 15*] Ā karṇād=atula[m*] vikṛīṣya(shya)
tara[sa*] chāpa-dvayair-lilayā ||¹ [a]śtābhi[h*] kapa(va)chair=vvivēśhtya
- 33 phalakō(kā)n-ārād-ubhābhyām-api [i*] pāṇibhyā[m*]ś=chaturah śīli(li)makhai(kha)-
mukhai[h*] — — sūti(ti)kshṇai[r*]=bhṛīśah² jāṭo di(di)vya-gati[h*] Pri-
- 34 thā-tu-sata-sana[h*]³ Kōṅgōda-ra[tua]-kshītō(tau)[|| 16*] Varmmā(rna)bhyān
sakala[m*] śarīram-asakpit=samvyē(vē)śhtyē(śhtya) lil-ānvitam pīnē(nau)
- 35 dvō(dvau) puruśhō(śha) nidhāya yagavat⁴ skandha-[dvayē] lilayā [i*] sadya[ś*]
sāta-kṛipāṇa-bhāsura-karō dhāvaty=a-
- 36 khi[n*]nō bhṛīśa[m*] bhūpālō Hanuma[t*]-parākrama iti khyāta[h*] kshamā-
maṇḍalē | [17*] Jātena yēna vapuśhā śa[ś]i- .
- 37 n=[ā]va yēna sa[m]varddhitān=kumuda-śa(sha)ṇḍam=iv=ātma-gōttra[m*] [i*]
samkōchitam cha ripu-paṅkaja-vṛindam=ārādhat⁵ k[ō]pēna
- 38 [yō] jayati lavdha(bhū)-jaya-pratāpa[h*]⁶ | [18*] Kaṭāt⁷ śrī-Śailōdbhava-
kula-tīlakō mahā-makha-Vājapēy-Āśva-
- 39 mēdh-[a]vabhṛitkasmāna-nirvvi(rva)rttita-prakhyāta-kirtti-krama[h*] parama-mēhō-
svara(rō) mātā-pitrī-pādānuḍhyāta[h*]
- 40 śrī-[Ma]dhyamarājadēva[h*] kuśa[li] asmīm Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē śrī-
saman[ta]-mahāsā[ma*]uta-mahārāja-rā-
- 41 ja(ja)naka-rājaputr-ā[m]taraṅga-danḍanāyaka⁸ōparika-vishayapati-[ta*]dāyu[k]taka-
varttamana-bhavishyad-v[y]ava-
- 42 hārīpa[h] sa-kāra(ru)ṇyām vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōgadi⁹ janapadān-cha yath-ārha[m]
mā[na]yati [lōdha]ya[ti ā]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 43 jñāpayati cha [||*] viditam-astu bhavatā[m] jñā(śrī ?)-Kaṭakabhukti-visha[ya*]-
samva(nba)ddha-purvva-[kha]ṇḍa . . .
- 44 [mō] dvādaśa-[t]immira-pramāṇa[s*]-sarvva-pidā-varjitaś=chāpa-bhaṭ-āpraveśy[ō] na
kīnchid-anapa[rgrā*]¹⁰
- 45 hya[h*] shad-viṇśatime samvatsarē vijaya-varddhamāna-rājy[ē] mātā-pitrōr-
ātmanas=cha puṇy-abhi[vṛi*]-
- 46 [d*]dhayē salila-dhārā-puru[s*]sarēna(nā)-chand-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam-asmābhi[r*]=
nānā-gōttra-pravara-

¹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Read *chāpa-dvayam*.

² Read *bhṛīśam*.

³ This corrupt phrase is, perhaps, to be corrected into *Prithāsuta-samah*. *Ratna-kshiti*, as applied to Kōṅgōda, is difficult to explain. Perhaps *Kōṅgōda-ratna-kshiti* was intended.

⁴ Read *yugapat*.

⁵ Read *ārāt*.

⁶ Compare this verse with verse 10 of the Buguda plates, which is omitted in the first part of the subjoined inscription. Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman is there compared to the Sun, while here Mādhyamarāja is compared to the Moon.

⁷ Read *Kaṭakācha=chhrī*.

⁸ Read *-danḍanāyaka*.

⁹ *Purōgadi* is pleonastic. Read *purōgād=janapadānt cha*. One would have expected, as in other allied plates, *janapadān-ayānā cha*.

¹⁰ Perhaps we have to read *na kva chit=parigrāhyah*.

- 47 charaṇāya vrā(bṛā)hmaṇa-[Śi]lasvāmi-Gōva[r]ddhanasvāmi-Vandhusvāmi-Kavaḍḍisvāmi-Nārāyaṇa-
- 48 svāmi-Mādhavasvāmi-Bharaṇisvāmi-Durggasvāmi-Ādityasvāmi-Rudrasvāmi-Śivasvāmi-
- 49 S[u]khasvāminē¹ vi[śra]kē(?) pratipādita[h*] yatō [h_y]aya yatha-kalam-upayujyatō na k[ō]na śchi(chi)d=[vighāta][h*] kara-
- 50 nīya[h*] | Uktañ=cha Dharmmasāstr[ā] [h*] Va(ba)huhair vvasudha data(ttā) rājabhi[s*]-Sagar[ā]dibhi[h*] [h*] yasya yasya yatlā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=
- 51 tasya² tasya³ tuda(dū) phalaṇi [h] 19* Mā bhu(bhū)d aphala-saṅka va[h*] para-da[t*]t=ōti pa[r*][th]iva[h*] [h*] [sva]-dānāt=phalaṇi=anantya[m*] para-dat[t-ā]-
- 52 nupājana(nē)² [h] 20* Sva-da[t*]tā[m*] para-da[t*]tām=va yō harōti(ta) vasundharām [h*] śva-vishṭhāyā[m*] kṛimīr=bhu(bhū)tva [h*] pitribhi[s*]-saha
- 53 pachyatō [h] 21* Harutō hārayatō bhu(bhū)mi[m*] manda-vu(bu)ddhi[s*]-tama-vṛita[h*] [h*] sa va(bu)ddhō Vārunai[h*] pāsai(śai)[s*]-ti(tī)[r*]ya[g*]-yōnisha(shu) jā-
- 54 yati(tē) [h] 22* Iti kamala-dal-āmyu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śri(śri)yam-anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [h*] sakulam-ida[m-u]-
- 55 dāhritañ=cha vu(bu)ddhva na hi(hi) purushai[h*] para-kīrttayō vilōpya[h*] [h] 23* Vidyud-vilāsa-taralām=avagamya sa[mya*]k(g)=lōka-
- 56 sthitim yasa(śa)śi(śi) śa(sa)kta-manōbhīr-u[eh*]chai[h*] [h*] nitya[m*] par-ō[pakṛiti*]māttira-ratai[r=bhavadbhir*]=dharmm-ābhīrādhana-parair=anu[mōdita]-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 57 [vyam] [h] 24* [likhi]ta[m] sāndhivigrahika-
- 58 dēvēna [h*] Lāñchi(ñchhi)taṁ
- 59 dṛiddhēna || Sa[mvat] . . [88] Kārttika-sūkla

NO. 29.—EIGHT CHOLA DATES.

By THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BARADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L., LL.B.

In his paper on the dates of Chōla kings (above, Volume X, pp. 121 ff.) Mr. R. Sewell has shown, by an elaborate calculation of a Tamil date from Nandalūr and of five Telugu dates from Bāpāṭh (Nos. 186 to 190) of king Kulōttunga-Chōḍa II., that the accession of **Kulōttunga-Chōḍa II.** (Kulōttunga-Chōḍa II. of Tamil inscriptions) must be placed between **March 26th and July 14th A.D. 1133.** The subjoined eight dates, besides confirming the correctness of Mr. Sewell's results, enable us to reduce the limits of the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōḍa II. to the period **May 9th—July 14th A.D. 1133.** Also, in the date from the Nandalūr Tamil inscription (which I have included among the eight dates now calculated) the difficulty felt by

¹ [The reading intended is perhaps *vipatchite*.—V. V.]

² See above, Vol. II, p. 45, note 15.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

Mr. Sewell about the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is explained by a reference to the custom usually followed in fixing the day of the Śivarātri in Southern India. The Śivarātri begins at midnight, when the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa must be current, and is kept all the following day. The inscription presumably refers to the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa only in this sense, as it was not current at sunrise on the following day.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA (II)

244.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tirumalavādi.¹

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Pū-maruviya puviyēlum
 33 Kōv-Irājakēśari-
 34 patmar-ūṇa Tribuvapaḥchakkaravattiga! śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṛku
 35 yāṇḍu 2āvadu Danu-nāyarru apara-pakshattu navamiyu[m] Ti[n]-
 36 gaṭ-kiḷamaiyum perṅa Attatti-ṇāḷ.

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th December A.D. 1134, on which day the *nakshatra* Hasta ended at 54 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśīra commenced on the same day at 45½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Dhanus, as recorded in the inscription.

245.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Uḍaiyarkōyil.²

1 Scast[i] Śr[i] ||— Pū-ma[nn]u-padumam
 29 Kōv-I[rā]jakēśaripaṇmar-ūṇa
 30 [Tr]ibuva[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga! śrī-Ku[l]ōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṛku yā-
 31 ṇḍu 4 nāl-āvadn
 33 Śiṭṭā-nāyarru apara-paksha[tt]u Tiṅga[l-ki]lamai[yn]m [śadurtt]iyu[m] perṅa
 Irēvadi-[nāḷ].

"In the 4th— fourth— year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṃha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th August, A.D. 1136, on which day the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Bhādrapada ended at 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Rēvatī ended on the same day shortly after sunrise. The ending moment of the *nakshatra* in mean Laṅkā time was just *before* sunrise on the 17th August, but from the time of the year and for any place in Southern India, it will be seen, from Table XIII of my *Indian Chronology* that the ending moment of the *nakshatra* in *local* time must have been shortly *after* sunrise, so that the inscription is correct in giving the *nakshatra* as Rēvatī. The solar month was Siṃha.

¹ No. 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² No. 405 of the same for 1902.

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246.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmin temple at Nandalūr.¹

- 1 [Sva]sti śr[i] [||*] Pū-mēvu tirumagaḷ
- 2 kōv-Irr-ā (Irā)jakēsariṇa[ṇmar-āṇa] Chakrava[rtti]-
ga[ḷ] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu oṭṭ-āvaḍu
- 6 śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga]- Śōḷadēva[ṅku] yāṇḍu oṭṭ-āvaḍu
Kumbha-nāyaṇṇu apara-pakshattu=chchatuṛddasi[yum] Vellī-kkiḷamaiyu[m]
Tiruvō(vō)ṇamum-āṇa Śivarāttiri-nāḷ.

"In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rajakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Śivarātri, which was (a day of) Śravaṇa, a Friday, and the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February, A.D. 1141, on which day the 14th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Māgha ended at 41½ *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa had ended at 8 *ghaṭikās* after midnight between the 6th and 7th February. Now, Śivarātri is celebrated on the day following the midnight (nearest to Māgha *amāvāsya*) at which the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is current. Therefore Śivarātri in the year in question fell on a Friday, and it was the solar month of Kumbha, as stated in the inscription.

247.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maṇṇu-padumam
- 4 kōv-Irajakēsariṇaṇmar-āṇa Tiribu[va]ṇa[ch]cha-
[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga]-Śōḷadē[va][r*]kkku yāṇḍu 10 avadu [Da]ṇu-
nāyaṇṇu [pū]rva-paksha[tta] ēkāde(da)śi[yum] Tiṅga[t]-kiḷamaiyum perra
A[ś]vati-nāḷ.

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rajakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 30th November, A.D. 1142, on which day the 11th *tithi* or *ēkādaśi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśīras ended at 59 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Aśvinī ended on the same day at 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise.

It may appear at first sight that a *tithi* which ended at 59 *ghaṭikās* after mean Laṅkā sunrise may possibly have been carried forward to the next day in local time, but it will be seen from Table XIII of my "Indian Chronology" (p. 157 of the Tables) that in the year A.D. 1142, on the 251st day of the solar year, which was our day, the difference between mean Laṅkā time and Tanjore time was only an addition of 4 *palas* to the former, which would still have placed the ending moment of the *tithi* within the civil day noted above, i.e. the 30th November. The solar month was Dhanuṣ, as stated in the inscription.

¹ No. 572 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

² No. 553 of the same collection for 1904.

248.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Uḍaiyarkōyil.¹

- 1 [Svasti śri] [||*] [Pū-maṇṇu-padumam]
 21 kōv-Irājak[ē]sar[i]panmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti[ga] śri-
 Kulōttuṅga-Śōla[d]ē-
 22 vaṇku yāṇḍu 14 āvadu Mēsha-nāya[r]ru pūrvvapakshattu navamiya(yu)[m]
 V[i]yāla-kkiḷa[mai]ya(yu)[m] peṇṇa Ayilai[ya]ttiṇ nāl.

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Āślēśhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, 10th April, A.D. 1147, on which day the 9th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Vaiśākha commenced at 26 *ghaṭikās* after mean Lanka sunrise, while the *nakshatra* for the whole of that day and for 5½ *ghaṭikās* of the next, was Āślēśhā, the *nakshatra* Pushya having ended shortly before sunrise on the 10th April. The solar month was Mēsha.

249.—In the Kṛipāpurīśvara temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.²

- 5 [i]nda śri-mey-kkirttiy-uḍaiya Tribhuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga! śri-
 Kulōttuṅga-Śō[la]dēvaṇku yāṇḍu 15 vadu [pa]dinaiṇj³
 shṭiyun⁴=Diōga-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Bara-
 6 nī-nāl.

"In the 15th—fifteenth— year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had this glorious panegyric poem (in his honour)⁵, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Bharanī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi*"

Neither the solar nor the lunar month is traceable in the inscription which only refers to a sixth *tithi*; but it will be observed from Table XI of my "Indian Chronology" that a 6th *tithi* can concur with the *nakshatra* Bharanī only in the dark fortnight of lunar Śrāvaṇa or of lunar Bhādrapada. We work for the latter in the year A.D. 1147 and find that the date corresponds to Monday, 18th August, A.D. 1147, on which day the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended at 39½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Bharanī ended on the same day at 12½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Śirihā. N.B.—Monday, 9th August A.D. 1137, would have satisfied the *vāra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, but we reject this date, as A.D. 1137 was obviously not the 15th year of our king.

250.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tirumalavāḍi.⁶

- 1 || Svasti śri [||*] Pū-maṇṇi yāṇar
 27 kōv-I-
 28 rājakesari[pa]nmar=ā[ṇa*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga! śri-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladē-
 varkku
 29 yāṇḍu 15 āvadu
 32 ivv-āṭṭai Magara-nāya[r]ru pūrvvapakshattu piri[di]-
 pada[mu]m Viyāla-kkiḷamaiy peṇṇa Uttirāḍatti-nāl.

¹ No. 401 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 316 of the same collection.

³ Read *padinaiṇjavadu*.

⁴ Read *shashṭhiyun*.

⁵ Viz the introduction *pū manṇu-padumam*, etc. of Tribhuvanachchakkaravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva mentioned in No. 315 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902 (No. 251, below).

⁶ No. 83 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**,— on the day of **Uttarāshādhā** which corresponded to a **Thursday**, and to the first *tithi* (*pratiṭṭā*) of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara** in this year."

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 25th December, A.D. 1147**, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month **Pauṣa** ended at $23\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* **Uttarāshādhā** ended at $20\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on the same day. The same day was also the first of the solar month **Makara**.

261.—In the Kripāpurīśvara temple at Tiruvonnainallūr.¹

- 1 [P]ō-maṇṇu-padumam
- 2 śrī-mey-kki[r*]tti-y-ṇḍaiya Tribhu[va*]nachchakkaravatti[ga] śrī-
Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvarkku yaṇḍu [1]5 vadu Ishaba-nāyazṇu=ppadinarān=diyediy āna
Nāyazṇu-kkiḷamai-nāl.

"In the [15th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had (*this*) panegyric poem (in his honour), the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**,—on a **Sunday** which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of **Rishabha**."

The lunar *tithi* is not cited, but the week day affords a clue to the date. During the 15 years A.D. 1135 to A.D. 1149 there were only two years in which the 16th day of solar **Vṛishabha** was a **Sunday**, and they were A.D. 1137 and A.D. 1148. We reject the former date, as it obviously was not the 15th year of our Chōḷa king, and we conclude that the date of the inscription was **Sunday, 9th May, A.D. 1148**, which was the 16th day of **Vṛishabha**.

Summary.

We can now arrange the eight dates discussed above in chronological order and endeavour to discover therefrom the commencement of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II**.

- (244) 2nd year : Monday, 10th December, A.D. 1134.
(245) 4th year : Monday, 17th August A.D. 1136.
(246) 8th year : Friday, 7th February A.D. 1141.
(247) 10th year : Monday, 30th November A.D. 1142.
(248) 14th year : Thursday, 10th April A.D. 1147.
(249) 15th year : Monday, 18th August A.D. 1147.
(250) 15th year : Thursday, 25th December A.D. 1147.
(251) 15th year : Sunday, 9th May A.D. 1148.

Dates disclosed by Inscriptions.

We see that the 15th year of the reign must have commenced between the 10th April, A.D. 1147, which fell in the 14th year and the 18th August A.D. 1147 which fell in the 15th year. At the same time the last inscription shows that the regnal year did not change till after 9th May. Therefore regnal years of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II** must have regularly commenced between 9th May and 18th August, rather 9th May and 17th August, if we bear in mind the result of inscription 245; that is, the reign itself commenced between 9th May and 17th August A.D. 1133; the 2nd year of the reign in May, June or July, A.D. 1134, and so on with the 3rd and subsequent years.

¹ No. 315 of the same collection for 1902.

No. 30.—MANNARKOYIL INSCRIPTION OF JATAVARMAN
SUNDARA-CHOLA-PANDYADEVA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA Aiyar, B.A.; Ootacamund.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the base of the north wall of the central shrine in the Gōpālākṛiṣṇasvāmin temple at Maṇṇārkōyil in the Ambāsamudram tāluka of the Tinnevely district. With the kind permission of the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I edit it from an inked impression prepared in 1905.

The inscription which is in tolerably good preservation consists of 8 lines of Tamiḻ prose written in the Tamiḻ alphabet of the period to which the record belongs. The letters are well engraved. There are a large number of Sanskrit words and syllables in Grantha characters.² Two forms of *ya* occur, one with a closed loop to the left which occurs only in the beginning of line 1, and the other, which is more common, without this loop. The secondary *ā*-symbol is, in a few cases, not separated from the consonant to which it is added. In the majority of cases the central loops of the consonants *ṇ* and *ṇ* appear fully developed, though there are instances where they are written without the loops. Another peculiarity is that the secondary *i*-sign is marked on the left top corner instead of on the head of the letters as is generally seen in records of this period. This is especially the case with *pi*, *vi*, and *li*, while in *ni* the *i*-sign is sometimes added on to the top of the letter and sometimes by its right side, according to the shape of the letter *n* which, in this record, is not uniform. The signs for *u* and *ū* in the letters *mu* and *ru* are not distinguished. Only in one case a curve has been added to the *u* in *mu* in order to denote the length. Except in the letters *lai* and *lai* where the first part of the vowel *u* is used to denote the *ai*-symbol, the secondary *ai* is invariably marked by two secondary *e*-signs written side by side as in Grantha. The group *nta* is always employed whenever the two letters come together. The palatal *ñ* is so shaped in some cases that it may at first sight be mistaken for *ṇi*. The guttural *ṇ* occurring in *purāṅgarai* (l. 3), = *Tiruvāraṅga*- (l. 6) and *Iruṅgaṇḍi*- (l. 8) and the syllable *ru* are peculiarly shaped.

The object of the inscription is to register a sale of land to the Viṣṇu temple called Rājendraśōḷa-Viṇṇagar. Lines 2 and 3 give the boundaries and extent of the various fields that were sold, and line 4 describes the formal transfer of the land to the temple by the assembly of Rājarāja-chaturvōdimaṅgalam. Lines 5 and 6 give the names of some of the members of the assembly at whose instance the lands appear to have been sold. The conveyance was drawn up by the accountant (*karuṇattāṇ*) of the village and was attested by several of the persons who ordered the sale (ll. 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that most of the members of the assembly were learned men, and this is indicated by the titles *bhaṭṭa*, *sōmayājin* and *kramaviṭ* affixed to their names. Further, it might also be pointed out that these members were not natives of the village but immigrants from other parts of Southern India, who had settled in the several suburbs (*sēri*) of the village. A list of these suburbs and villages is given at the end of this paper.

This inscription is a record of one of the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya kings.³ South-Indian inscriptions point to the existence of at least three Chōḷa princes who bore the title Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (A.D. 1011-44), after he had subjugated the Pāṇḍya country, is said to have appointed his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya to rule over it.⁴ Parakēsarivarman Rājendradēva (A.D.

¹ No. 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamiḻ record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the Southern country of a large number of Brāhmanas from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājendra-Chōḷa I., which extended as far as the Ganges.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, p. 50, paragraph 25.

⁴ *Idem*, 1906, Part II, p. 68, paragraph 17.

1052-64) is reported to have conferred the title of Śōla-Pāṇḍiyan¹ on his younger brother, the victorious Mummaḍiśōlan.² The Chōla king Virarājendra (A.D. 1062-70) is also stated to have been pleased to grant the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam "whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gaṅgaikondaśōlan³ along with the title Śōla-Pāṇḍiyan, the leader of an army of very tall elephants."⁴ Inscriptions discovered so far reveal the names of two Chōla-Pāṇḍya princes, viz. Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Vikrama-Chōla-Pāṇḍya. The former of these is spoken of in a Maṇṇārkōyil record as one of the sons of Rājendra-Chōla-I.⁵ and he is, therefore, identical with the first Chōla-Pāṇḍya ruler. It is perhaps to the same king that we must attribute inscriptions dated during the reign of Jaṭāvarman *alias* Uḍaiyār Śōla-Pāṇḍyadeva found at Śuchindram⁶ and Śevilipēri,⁷ though the name Sundara does not occur.

The title Chōla-Pāṇḍya given to them seems to have been invented to indicate the double fact that they were members of the Chōla family and were made to rule over the Pāṇḍya territory. The position held by them was apparently that of a viceroy acting under the orders of the Chōla king ruling at Tanjore. The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāṇḍyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōla yoke during the whole period of Chōla supremacy in Southern India.⁸

The subjoined record is dated in the 13th year of the reign of king Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadeva. As his accession to the throne has been fixed at A.D. 1020-1 from the fact that his 15th year probably coincided with the 24th of his father,⁹ it follows that this inscription should have been engraved about A.D. 1033-4 which corresponded to his 13th year. A few facts concerning the king's reign deserve mention.¹⁰ His latest known date is the 23rd year¹¹ corresponding to A.D. 1043-4, which was the last year of the reign of his father. Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions have so far been traced in the ancient Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa dominions, i.e. in the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely and portions of the Pudukkōṭṭai and Travancore States.¹² His Chōlapuram¹³ inscription is dated in the 11th year and registers the gift of a lamp by a certain Sarvalōkaśraya Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja *alias* Śaḷukki-

¹ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 62.

² The title Mummaḍiśōlan was first borne by Rājārāja I.

³ Rājendra-Chōla I. appears to have first assumed the title Gaṅgaikondaśōlan after his conquest of the North. The city of Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram owes its name to him.

⁴ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III., Part I, p. 36.

⁵ No. 112 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ Nos. 69 and 70 of the same collection for 1896.

⁷ No. 408 of the same collection for 1906.

⁸ Parāntaka I. is known to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas thrice in the field. His grandson Sundara-Chōla claims to have driven the Pāṇḍya king into the forest, while Aditya II. (Karikāla), even when he was a youth, fought against Vira-Pāṇḍya. Utama-Chōla's title Madhurāntaka indicates his hostility to the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvāḷāṅḍu plates give Amarablujaṅga as the name of the Pāṇḍya sovereign defeated by Rājārāja I. Rājendra-Chōla I., Rājādhirāja and Virarājendra I. claim to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyas seem to have asserted their independence already during the reign of Kulōttunga I. At any rate, we have no reason to suppose that the Chōla-Pāṇḍya kings continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century, which was probably occupied by the rule of the few princes known from inscriptions.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, paragraph 25.

¹⁰ Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍisuram-uḍaiyār, the ancient name of the ruined Śiva temple at Perundurai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State suggests that the temple was probably called after the king and built in his time.

¹¹ No. 18 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894 and No. 438 for 1909.

¹² His inscriptions found at the following places roughly indicate the extent of the country ruled by him :—

Apaimalai, near Madura; Perundurai in the Tirumaiyam tāḷuka of the Pudukkōṭṭai State; Maṇṇārkōyil, Tiruvāḷisvaram, Ambāsamudram, Virāśikhāmaṇi, Kaḷugumalai, Gaṅgaikondaṇ, Śevilipēri, Śhērmādevi, and Aḍanūr in the Tinnevely district; Chōlapuram and Śuchindram in the Travancore State.

¹³ No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896.

Vijayādittan-Vikki-anṇap. The terms Śaḷukki and Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, occurring in the name of the donor, suggest that he must have been a member of the **Eastern Chālukya** family.¹

According to the **Tiruvālaṅgāḍu** grant, the Pāṇdyas were first attacked by Rājendra-Chōla I., with the result that their king deserted his country from fear. Establishing his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya as the protector of the Pāṇḍya territory, Rājendra-Chōla proceeded westwards, conquered the forces of the Kēraḷa ruler in a fearful battle and returned to his capital leaving that country also in charge of the same prince. That the Chōla-Pāṇḍya here referred to is none other than **Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya** of our record has already been noticed. It may be pointed out now that while the stone inscriptions of the 5th and 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla I. mention his conquest of the Kēraḷas, the invasion of the Pāṇḍya country is practically omitted in the historical introduction of all his records. If, as stated in the **Tiruvālaṅgāḍu** grant, the Chōla king conquered the Kēraḷas immediately after he had overcome the Pāṇdyas, the latter event would have taken place before A.D. 1016-7, which corresponds to his 5th year.² It would thus appear that Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya was in charge of the two conquered countries from or prior to A.D. 1016-7, i.e. four years before his accession.³ That he actually ruled over the Kēraḷas is borne out by some of the inscriptions at **Mappārkōyil**, where mention is made of two of his Chēra feudatories named **Rājasimha** and **Rājarāja**.⁴ In one of his inscriptions,⁵ it is stated that the Chēra king (*Śrīraṇṇār*) Rājasimha built the Viṣṇu temple called **Rājendraśōla-Viṇṇagar**, i.e. the modern **Gōpālakrishṇasvāmin** temple at **Mappārkōyil**. The name of the Chēra king conquered by Rājendra-Chōla is not given. Nor do we know if it was Rājarāja or Rājasimha.

Among the geographical names that occur in this inscription, **Mappārkōyil** does not find a place. It seems to be a shortened form of **Mappānārkōyil**⁶ and probably denotes the modern **Gōpālakrishṇasvāmin** temple. The village in which the temple was situated, was called **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** in ancient times. It was a *brahmādēya* in **Muḷli-nāḍu**, a district of **Muḍigonḍaśōla-vaḷanāḍu** which was a subdivision of **Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu**. A number of hamlets appear to have been attached to this village in early days. The modern villages of **Ambāsamudram**⁷ and **Kallaḍaikkurichchi**⁸ were its southern hamlets, while **Pāpāṅgulam**⁹ (**Vēlārkurichchi**) and **Ālvārkurichchi**¹⁰ (**Kāḍēru**; text l. 2) situated at a distance of about 8 miles from **Ambāsamudram**, formed its hamlets on

¹ We do not know of any Eastern Chālukya prince with this name at the time. About A.D. 1030 the approximate date of the Chōlapuram inscription, the ruler of Vēṅgi was Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-1063).

² It cannot, however, be inferred from this that the Pāṇdyas remained independent even until this date, because earlier inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I. have been found in the Tinnevely and Madura districts. The existence of these records in that part of the country might be taken to show that the Pāṇdyas acknowledged the overlordship of the Chōla sovereign even before the invasion, conquered as the Pāṇḍya country was by Parāntaka I. and Rājarāja I. It was perhaps the Pāṇḍya king's attempt to assert his independence that caused the invasion in the present instance.

³ Perhaps he was not formally installed in the Vicerealty but allowed to issue orders in his own name as soon as he was placed in charge of the Pāṇḍya territory. This privilege was probably granted some time after he had been actually governing the subjugated province.

⁴ Nos. 111, 113 and 114 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ No. 112 of the same.

⁶ *Maṇṇanār* means Viṣṇu.

⁷ No. 102 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905. "The ancient name of **Ambāsamudram** was **Ilāṅ-gōykkudi**.

⁸ No. 90 of the same collection for 1907.

⁹ The Viṣṇu temple of Rāmasvāmin at **Pāpāṅgulam** is called in its inscriptions **Bagavadi-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār** at **Vēlārkurichchi**, the north-western hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** (No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

¹⁰ The **Vaṇṇiyappar** temple at **Ālvārkurichchi** was called in ancient times **Tiruvāṇṇichechuramudaiyār** at **Kāḍēru**, the north-western hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** (No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

the north-western side. Four other hamlets of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, viz. Pāmbuṇāri, Kōṇṣṭu, Kaḍaiyam and Pulakkulam *alias* Vārimāyilēṭṭi are also mentioned in this inscription. Of these, Kaḍaiyam may be identified with the village of the same name, situated to the west of Ambāsamudram. The modern name of Pulakkulam is Funakkulam¹ and it is also in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram. I am not able to identify the two others. The position assigned to several of the hamlets would point to the identification of the *brahmadēya* of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam with the modern village of Brahmadēsam in the same tāluka and it may be noted that the Śiva temple of Tiruvāliśvaram and the Vishnu temple of Rājendrasōla-Viṇṇagar which are stated in their inscriptions to be in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, are quite close to Brahmadēsam. From the boundaries described in the grant portion of the subjoined record it appears that at Maṇṇārkōyil there was in ancient times another Vishnu temple called Rājārāja-Viṇṇagar. This has now disappeared. The district of Muḷli-nādu mentioned above seems to be different from another of the same name in which Shērmādevi was situated, because while the first was in the subdivision of Muḍigonḍasōla-vaḷanāḍu the second was in Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu.² Though the names Uttamaśōla and Muḍigonḍasōla after which the two subdivisions are named may refer to the same Chōla king (perhaps Rājendra-Chōla I.), yet, as these divisions occur in the inscriptions of the same period, there is not much doubt as to their representing different local areas. Further, it may be pointed out that the two subdivisions named above comprised different districts. Thus, for instance, the districts of Nechchura-nāḍu,³ Kīlkalā-kurram⁴ and Kūlvēmba-nāḍu⁵ were in Muḍigonḍasōla-vaḷanāḍu, while Purattāya-nāḍu,⁶ Nāḍji-nāḍu⁷ and Marugal-nāḍu⁸ were in the subdivision of Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu. A rough idea of the extent of Muḍigonḍasōla-vaḷanāḍu might be formed from the fact that Tinnevely, Kalugumalai, Ambāsamudram and the villages near them were originally included in it. In Uttamaśōla-vaḷanāḍu were situated Cape Comorin, Shērmādevi, and Chōlapuram near Nāgercoil. Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu was the name applied to the Pāṇḍya country after its conquest by the Chōla king Rājārāja I.; and it mainly consisted of the districts of Madura and Tinnevely and a part of the Travancore and Pudukkōtai States. Though the Pāṇḍyas were defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominion acquired by the Chōlas by conquest, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered prior to the time of Rājārāja I.

Two rivers are mentioned in this record, viz. Muḍigonḍasōlappērāru and Rājārājappērāru. As one of the fields sold to the temple is said to have been situated to the north of the former and south of the latter, the relative position of the two is established beyond question and affords facilities for the identification of both. Porundam, the original name of Muḍigonḍasōlappērāru is synonymous with the Tāmrapparni, which near Maṇṇārkōyil runs parallel to its tributary, the Gaṭanā, and is to the south of it. Rājārājappērāru is, therefore, identical with the Gaṭanā. In passing, it may also be pointed out that the two rivers join within a mile's distance of Maṇṇārkōyil at a place called Tiruppuḍaimarudūr.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śri [[*] Kō-Chchadaiyapaṇmar-āna Uḍaiyār śri-Sunta(nad)ra-Sōla-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍiṇ[mū]rā[va]ḍu⁹ śri-Rājārāja-Ppāṇḍināṭṭu Muḍigonḍasō[la]-vaḷanāṭṭu Muḷli-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śri-Rājārāja-

¹ It may be noted that in the Tinnevely district there are two kinds of tanks, *puṇakkulam* and *kūlvembattuk-kulam*. The former depends on rain for its supply of water, while the latter is fed by a channel from a river.

² Nos. 193 and 194 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 and No. 106 of the collection for 1905.

³ No. 18 of the collection for 1894.

⁴ See remarks against No. 416 for 1906.

⁵ No. 408 of 1906.

⁶ No. 100 for 1896.

⁷ No. 34 of 1896.

⁸ No. 32 for 1896.

⁹ The *ra* in *mānārāḍu* is written above the line.

chcharuppēdima[ñ]galattu śri-Rājēnta(ndra)śōla-Viñ[ṇa]r [pa]ramasvāmiga-
ḷukku śri-Rājarāja-chchatu[r]vōd[i]maṅgalattu mahāsabhaiyōm viṛru-kkuḍutta
bñmiyāvadu [||*] .Eṅgaḷ paḍāgai Pāmbunā[ri] Iḍaikk[u]ṇṇaveṭṭikku
mērkum [i] śri-Rājarāja-Viṇṇagardēvar dēvadā[ṇa]-

2 ttukku=kkilakkum [i] Taṇ-Porundam-āṇa Mudigonḍaśōlappērārrukku
vaḍakkum [i] sri-Rājarājappērārru[k]ku-ttorkkum [i] āga ivv=e[||*]laiyuḷ
agappa[t]ta iru-pū¹ ārupāyochchal nila[ṇ*] āru-vēliyum mērpāḍi maḷuk-
[kā]ḍu² vaṣakkānigra nilaṇ mū-vēliyum pu[ṇ]ṣey maḷnkkāḍu nilaṇ mū-
vēliyum eṅgaḷur=ppaḍāgai Kōṇāṭṭu iru-pū ārup[p]āyochchal³ nilaṇ oṇṇēy-
ēḷa-māvum ivv=ūr=ppaḍāgai Kaḍaiyattu-Padaiyāḷi Kāḍērru iru-pū
ārupāyochchal nilaṇ araiyum ivv-ūr=ppaḍāgai Pulakkuḷa-

3 m=āṇa Vārimāyileṭṭi śri-puṇaṅ=garai oru-pū nilaṇ araiyum i=kkulatt-agam
pu(pū)-nir-kōvai-nilaṇ araiyum [ā]ga iru-pū ārupāyochchal⁴ nilaṇ ē[ā]ē-
mukkālēy-iraṇḍu-māvum mērpāḍi maḷukkāḍu nilaṇ mū-vēliyum—puṇṣey
maḷukkāḍu nilaṇ mū-vēliyum oru-pū nilaṇ araiyum kuḷattil ni[r*]-kōvai-
[ni]ḷaṇ araiyum āṇa nilaṇ paḍiṇālē[y]⁵-mukkālēy-iraṇḍu-māvum viṛru-
kkuḍuttōm śri-Rājēndraśōla-Viṇṇagar [parama]svāmigaḷukku śri-Rājarāja-
chcharuppēdimaṅgalattu mahāsabhai-

4 yōm [||*] I-ppariśu viṛru-kkuḍutta i-bhūmikkum emmil-iśaiñja vilai=
pporu=ellān-gaiyilēy ara-kkoṇḍu iduvē[y]⁷ vilai-ōlaiyu[m] poru[l]-śēla ōlaiyum=
avid=āḡavum iduv=alladu vōru vilai-māvarudi=pporuḷ-śēla ōlai kātta=
kkuḍamaiy-ṇiri vilai~~kk~~-ara-viṛru=p[poru]ḷ-ara-kkoṇḍu viṛru vilai-ōlai-ṣeydu
nirōḍu aṭṭi-kkuḍuttōm Rājēndraśōla-Viṇṇagar paramasvāmigaḷukku śri-
Rājarāja-chcharuppēdimaṅgalattu mahāsabhaiyōm [||*] I-ppariśu viṛru =
kkuḍukka=ppanichchōm sri-Rājarāja-

5 chehēri Kkoṭṭaiyūr-Chchaṅgarāṇ Śivadēvabattachchōmāśiārum⁸ śri-
Mummudiśōlachchēri Tiruppēr=Ddēvadēvēśa- [Nā]rāyaṇaṇum śri-
Arumolil[ē]vachchēri=Kkirāñchē Mahēśvarakiramavittaṇum⁹ śri-
Nittaviṇḍachchēri Kōrōvi-Kāḷidāda¹⁰batṭa[eh]chōmāśiārum śri-
Chōḷēnta(ndra)śiṅgachchēri Karāmbirchēṭṭu Śridarabattāṇum śri-
Sundaraśōlachchēri Kōrōvi śri-Mādvachchōmāśiārum śri-Vāpavaṇ-
nādēvichchēri=Kkoṭṭattu=Ddēvadēvēśa-Śandiraṇum śri-Uttamaśōlachchēri Kkarip-
purattu=Pporokku-

6 mārakiramavittaṇum śri-Sēmbiyaṇmādēvichchēri-Kkirāṇṇr Śōlaippirāṇ-
Ṣuppiramaṇiyabattāṇum śri-Kundavachchēri Nimbai-I[ḷai]yamb-
battāṇum śri-Paṇchavaṇmādē[vi]chchēri=Kkuṇḍūr=Ttiruvaraṅga-Nārā-
yaṇa-kkiramavittaṇum śri-Oḷkamādēvichchēri Iḍaiyārrukkuḍi-
Chchōmaṇakkāṇum āṇa i-ppari[śu] paṇichchu viṛru-kkuḍuttōm śri-
Rājēndraśōla-Viṇṇagar paramasvāmigaḷukku¹¹ śri-Rājarāja-chatu[r]vētīmāṅkalattu¹²
mahāsabhaiyōm [||*] Ippāḍi aṇiṇē Kōḷ[ṭai]yūr=Chchaṅgarāṇ śivadēvabattā-

¹ oru-pū and iru-pū are terms still employed in some parts of the country to mean single-crop and double crop lands.

² The *akshara* *kū* seems to be corrected from *ku*.

³ Read *ārupāyochchal*.

⁴ The *y* of this word is a correction from *p*.

⁵ *Sōmāsi* is the abbreviated Tamil form of the Sanskrit *sōmagājīn*.

⁶ *kiramavittan* stands for the Sanskrit *kramavid*, one who keeps the *kramapāṭha* of the Vēdas.

⁷ *Kāḷidāda* is the Tamil form of *Kāḷidāsa*.

⁸ Read *chaturvēdimangalattu*.

⁹ This word is written below the line in the original.

¹⁰ The *akshara* *y* looks like *p* in the original.

¹¹ Here the original reads *pa* instead of *ya*.

¹² Read *paramasvāmigaḷukku*.

- 7 *chchōmāsiyēṇ ivai eṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ Kōrōvi-
Kālidādachchōmāsiyēṇ ivai eṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ Tirupper
Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇaṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ Kirāñchi-Mahēśvara-
kkiramavittāṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ Śrīdaṇṇr-Kkēsavaṇ Śenduppirāṇ
eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi [aṇi]vēṇ Karāmbich[ehēt]tu Śrīdarabattāṇ eluttu [I*]
ippaḍi aṇivēṇ Kōrōvi śrī-Mādvachehōmāsi[y]ēṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ
Nimbai-Ilayaṇambibattāṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ*
- 8 *Iruṇṇaṇḍi-Ddēvadēvēśabattāṇ eluttu [I*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṇ Irāḷippurattu¹
Yaññāṇ² eluttu [I*] Ittham Virasya p[ū]trēṇa Śūstamaika(ga)lavāsiṇ³ [I*]
[Nā]rāyaṇēṇa vidita[m] bhakta-bhaktēṇa Sārggiṇ³ [I*] Iti viditam Sōlaipraṇ
Snbramaṇyēṇa ||o Mahāsabhayār-ppanikka ivv-ōlai eluḍiṇēṇ ivv ūr sabhai-
kkaraṇattāṇ [Sūrrī]-Śaṅgarāṇ-āṇa Śamañjaṣappiriyaṇēṇ eluttu ||o*

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirteenth year of (the reign of) king Jaṭavarman *alias* *Uḍaiyār śrī-Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva*, the great assembly of *Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅga-
lam* sold the following land to the Supreme Lord (*pāramasvamin*) of *śrī-Rājendraśōla-
Vinṇagar* at *śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*, a *brahmadēya* in *Muḷli-nādu* (a district of)
Mudigoṇḍaśōla-vaḷanādu (which was a subdivision) of *śrī-Rājārāja-Pāṇḍinādu*. (The
land lies) to the west of (the path called) *Idaikkuṇṇavettī*⁴ (leading to) our hamlet (*paḍṇṇi*) of
Pāmbuṇṇi, to the east of the *dēvadēva* of the god of *śrī-Rājārāja-Vinṇagar*, to the north of
(the river) *Taṇ-Porundam* *alias* *Mudigoṇḍaśōlappērāru*⁵ and to the south of (the river called)
śrī-Rājārājappērāru. The great assembly of *śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* sold to the
Supreme Lord of *śrī-Rājendraśōla-Vinṇagar*, six *vēli* of river-fed double-crop land lying within
these boundaries together with three *vēli* of *maḷukkāḍu*-land of the same (class) which
was being brought under cultivation;⁶ three *vēli* of dry *maḷukkāḍu*-land; one (*vēli*) and
seven *mī* of river-fed double-crop land in *Kōnādu*, a hamlet of our village; half (a *vēli*) of
double-crop river-fed land at *Kaḍēru* in *Kaḍaiyattu-Padaiyāvili*, a hamlet of this village;
half (a *vēli*) of single crop land close to the bank of the tank at *Pulakkuḷam* *alias*
Vāḡimāyileṭṭi, a hamlet of this village; half (a *vēli*) of crop-yielding marshy land in the bed of
this tank; —in all measuring seven (*vēli*) three quarters and two *mī* of river-fed double crop
land; three *vēli* of *maḷukkāḍu*-land of the same (class); three *vēli* of dry *maḷukkāḍu*-land; half
(a *vēli*) of single crop land; half (a *vēli*) of marshy land in the tank; together making a
total of fourteen and three-fourths (*vēli*) and two *mī*. For the land thus given away by sale,
this shall be the sale deed and the document evidencing the receipt of the money for our having
obtained on hand the entire sub-amount agreed upon by us. Besides this, no other deed
evidencing the payment in full of the sale money (*vilai-mar-aruḷi-porul-śōlar-ōlai*) shall
be demanded. We, the members of the great assembly of *śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*,
gave the land with libation of water to the Supreme Lord of *Rajendra-śōla-Vinṇagar*,
having sold it completely and obtained the entire price and having executed the

¹ Read *Rāṣipurattu*.² Read *Yajñāṇ*.³ Read *Sārggiṇaḥ*. This is a verse in the Anushtubh metre.⁴ Literally this word means a path cut through a hill.⁵ At first sight one would take the expression *Taṇporundamāṇa-Mudigoṇḍaśōla-ppērāru* to mean 'Mudi-
goṇḍaśōlappērāru which is over filled with water', but the real significance of the words seems to be that Mudi-
goṇḍaśōla-ppērāru is another name for *Taṇ-Porundam* or the cool *Porundam*. *Porundam* and *Poruṇi* are other
names of the river *Tāmraparṇi*.⁶ The word *vaḷakkāṇṇa* seems to be used in this sense also in No. 326 of the Epigraphical collection for
1908, in the passage *i-niḷattukku kīṇum-kallī kādum-vētti niḷamum-vaḷakki pavi-ērri*. Here *vaḷakki* seems
to mean cultivating or ploughing in which sense it does not appear to be used at present.

sale deed. We (the following persons) thus ordered the sale (of the above mentioned land) :— Kottaiyūr . Śaṅgaray-Śivadēvabhāṭṭa-sōmāsiyār of śrī-Rājarājachēhēri ; Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēsa-Nārāyaṇay of śrī-Mummadisōlachēhēri ; Kiriāñji śrī-Mahēśvara-kramavittay of śrī-Arumōḷidēvachēhēri ; Kōrōvi Kāḷidādabhāṭṭa-sōmāsiyār of śrī-Nittavipōdachēhēri ; Karāmbichēhēṭṭu-Śrīdarabhāṭṭay of śrī-Chōḷēndrasīṅgachēhēri ; Kīrōvi Madhava-sōmāsiyār of śrī-Sundaraśōlachēhēri ; Kōṭṭattu-Dēvadēvēṣay-Chandray of śrī-Vāṇavay-mādēvichēhēri ; Karippurattu-Porkumāra-kramavittay of śrī-Uttamaśōlachēhēri ; Kiraṇūr Śōlaippirāy-Subrahmanyabhāṭṭay of śrī-Sēmbiyanmādēvichēhēri ; Nimbai Ilaiyanambibhāṭṭay of śrī-Kundavachēhēri ; Kuṇḍūr Tiruvanaṅga-Nārāyaṇa-kramavittay of śrī-Paṇḍavaymādēvichēhēri ; Idaiyārṅkkuḍi Sōmaṇakṅay of śrī-Lōkamādēvichēhēri. We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, thus ordered and sold (the land) to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndrasōla-Viṇṇagar. I, Kottaiyūr Śaṅgaray-Śivadēvabhāṭṭa-sōmāsi know this ; this is my signature. I, Kōrōvi Kāḷidada-sōmāsi know this : this is my signature. I know this : the signature of Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēsa-Nārāyaṇay. I know this : the signature of Kiriāñji Mahēśvara-kramavittay. I know this : the signature of Śrīdaray Kōṣavay Śēnduppirāy. I know this : the signature of Karāmbichēhēṭṭu-Śrīdarabhāṭṭay. I know this : the signature of Kōrōvi śrī-Mādhava-sōmāsi. I know this : the signature of Nimbai Ilaiyanambibhāṭṭay. I know this : the signature of Irūṅgaṇḍi-Dēvadēvēṣabhāṭṭay. I know this : the signature of Rāṣipurattu-Yajṇay. Thus known by Nārāyaṇay, son of Vira, who was the devotee of the devotees of Viṣṇu (and) resident of Śāstamaṅgala. Thus known by Śōlaippirāy Subrahmanya. At the command of the great assembly I, Śarri Śaṅgaray *alias* Samāḷjasapriyay, the accountant (*karayattāy*) of this village assembly, wrote this document ; (this is my) signature.

List of villages and chēris mentioned in the inscription.

Serial Number.	Names of villages.	Serial Number.	Names of chēris of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. ¹
1	Kottaiyūr	1	Rājarāja-chēri
2	Tiruppēr	2	Mummadisōla-chēri
3	Kiriāñji	3	Arumōḷidēva-chēri
4	Kōrōvi	4	Nittavipōda-chēri
5	Karāmbichēhēḍu	5	Chōḷēndrasīṅga-chēri
6	Kōṭṭam	6	Sundaraśōla-chēri
7	Karippuram	7	Vāṇavaymādēvi-chēri
8	Kiraṇūr	8	Uttamaśōla-chēri
9	Nimbai	9	Sēmbiyanmādēvi-chēri
10	Kuṇḍūr	10	Kundavai-chēri
11	Idaiyārṅkkuḍi	11	Paṇḍavaymādēvi-chēri
12	Śrīdaray	12	Lōkamādēvi-chēri
13	Irūṅgaṇḍi		
14	Rāṣipuram		
15	Śāstamaṅgalam		

¹ Of these chēris Nos. 1—5 are named after the surnames of Rājarāja I, No. 6 after his father Parāntaka II, Sundara-Chōḷa, No. 7 after his mother Vāṇavay-mahādēvi, who performed *sahagamana* on her husband's death, No. 8 after the Chōḷa king Uttama-Chōḷa, son of Guṇḍarāditya, No. 9 after the mother of Uttama-Chōḷa, No. 10 after Rājarāja's sister and Nos. 11 and 12 after his queen. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 136, I have shown that Chōḷēndrasīṃha was a surname of Rājarāja.

No. 31.—DADHIMATI-MATA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHIRUHLANA;
[GUPTA-]SAMVAT 289.¹

By PANDIT RAM KARNA; JODHPUR.

This inscription is the oldest of all so far discovered in Mārwar. It was found in a very ancient temple, which is dedicated to the goddess Dadhimati, commonly called *Dadhamat-mātājī*, situated in a desert where the boundaries of two villages named Gōṭh and Māṅglōd meet. These villages are 2½ miles north-east of Nāgōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, in the Jōdhpur State.* The rims of the slab are raised one inch high on all sides, and it was discovered lying upside down in one of the corners of the hall of the temple of the goddess.

When the news of this find reached Jōdhpur, the stone was brought to the Tawārīkh Mohkma or Historical Department of the State, where its contents were first deciphered by me. The stone had been kept there for several years when, on the request of the *patichas* of the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇa community of Jōdhpur, the Darbār kindly ordered that it should be returned to them with instructions to take proper care of it, it being the most valuable and oldest inscription in the State. The reason why it was made over to them was that all the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas recognise Dadhimati as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess, and that they consequently urged that the presence of such an inscription rendered the edifice more sacred and important in their eyes and proved the antiquity of the temple of their *mātājī*. The stone is, therefore, now lying in its former position in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of this temple.¹

The inscription covers a space of writing 1' high by 1' 7¼' broad. The average size of the letters is about ⅜". Considerable skill seems to have been exercised in engraving this inscription, and the rims are raised one inch high, as noted above, presumably with a view to protect the writing from the effects of weather and rain or from other stones coming into contact with the written surface; but, in spite of this care and foresight, the right half of the sixth line has been rubbed off, apparently with an instrument, by somebody. Otherwise, the inscription is in an almost perfect state of preservation. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit, which is grammatically faulty and inaccurate in some places, e.g., *Arighvanagah-pramukhā* (l. 2), *datta drama-paṅchashāḥ* (l. 7f.), *datak dramaśatak* and *Bappatak*, *Pūrṇamulha-patrēpa* (l. 10), etc., etc. Besides, there are several minor mistakes of engraving. The text is in prose excepting lines 11 and 12 wherein a verse occurs, which is a quotation from the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*, as will be shown subsequently. The date of the inscription is given in the last line. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the letters *r, ś, ṣ, n, jh, h, d*, and *b*, are identical with those of the Mandasār inscription of Rājāśikha Yaśodharma-Vishṇuvardhana of M. V. 589.² In respect of orthography it may be noticed (1) that in all cases where the word *Brāhmaṇa* occurs (except in ll. 3 and 12), the sign for *r* is used for *b*, though in the case of other words wherein the letter *b* occurs the sign for *b* is invariably employed; (2) the consonant following *r* has been doubled only once in the word-*Pūrṇa*- in l. 10; (3) the rules of *parasavarṇa* have been throughout observed with the exception of the word-*saṁvādhya* in l. 1.

¹ Its contents have since been committed in Devanagari characters to a copper-plate which has been fixed on the left hand of the entrance and in the front wall (facing the deity) of the Sabhāmaṇḍapa for the reason that if the stone, which is now old enough, be broken, the contents may not be destroyed. A new *prastāvi* has been added, composed by Pandit Ram Karna, and giving the genealogy of the Rāthōrs from Sihā and down to the late Mahārāja, Sir Sardar Singh. [The accompanying plate has been prepared from an impression prepared by Pandit Ram Karna himself.—Ed.]

² Published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 224 ff., and *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 152.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī. Then follows a request to *dēvī Dādhimati* by the community (*gōshūhikā*) of *Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas*, headed by *Avighnaṇāga*. These *Brāhmaṇas* used to reside, it appears, in the same temple and were the worshippers of the *dēvī*. A passing reference is also made here to one *Śrī-Dhrūhlāṇa*, who appears to have been then the ruling prince, but who this chief was and where he ruled we are unable to ascertain. Lines 3 to 10 contain the names and *gōtras* of the donors with their fathers' names and the amount contributed by each, the details whereof are embodied in the sub-joined table.

No.	Name of donor.	Name of father.	Gōtra.	Clan.	Amount contributed.	
1	Avighnaṇāga	Laṅgaka	Vachchha ¹ .	Āvō .	1,100	
2	. . . . . Miśra	Kataka . . . . .	...	...
3	Mātulya	Pūphaka . . . . .	...	...
4	Yakapati	Yakshadīna . . . .	...	...
5	Majhabāha	Gaṇabhata . . . . .	...	...	100
6	.....	.....	...	...	120
7	Vishṇudēva	Udhūlana . . . . .	...	...	50
8	Nimbagaṇa	Śūraka . . . . .	...	...	100
9	Dhanīyaka	Achintita . . . . .	...	...	300
10	Bālāditya	Avigahaka . . . . .	...	Mahattara	100
11	Bappaka	Pūrṇamukha . . . .	...	...	150
12	Sōmānka . . . . .	.....	...	...	4
13	Achilakadō [va*] }	Nimbāditya . . . .	...	...
14	Suvaka }					

Line 11 contains the verse² *surva-maṅgala-maṅgalyō śivē sarvārthasādhikē | śaranyē tryambakē Gauri Nārāyaṇi namō-stu tē*, quoted from the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, as said above. Then follow (1. 12) the names of the *Brāhmaṇas* numbered 12-14 in the above table. The reason why their names are mentioned after this verse and not along with those of their caste fellows specified above, is not quite clear. Probably they contributed their mite after the engraving of the inscription had commenced. The last line, i.e., the 13th, gives the date which is the 13th of the dark half of Śrāvāṇa of the year 289 (Gupta, equivalent to Vikrama-Samvat 665 or 608 A.D.).

It may be noted that the date of this inscription has been expressed in numerical symbols. The numeral 200 has been represented by a sign resembling २ which is just after the fashion

¹ [Perhaps the same as *Vatsa*.—V. V.]

² Its meaning is, O goddess Nārāyaṇi, obeisance to thee, who art the source of all blessings, doer of good, accomplisher of desired objects, giver of shelter, endowed with three eyes and Gauri (i.e. the spouse of the god Mahādēva).

so often observed in the Jaina manuscripts¹ (*vide* Bühler's Table IX). Again, 80 has been expressed by a symbol which differs but little from that given in Bühler's Table. Then follows the sign for 9, which is also in harmony with the Valabhi system. So that 200 80 9 stand for the year 289, which has been given in the symbolical system so often met with in early inscriptions. Then follow the words *Śrāvāṇa ba* apparently for *Śrāvāṇa badi* (*i.e.* the dark half of the month of Śrāvāṇa), the letter *di* after *ba* having been omitted for want of space. The date 13th has, again, been expressed by numerical symbols. 10 has been represented by a sign which is just like that met with in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions (*vide* Table No. IX of Bühler, referred to above) and 3 is denoted by three more or less parallel lines (≡) which is also after the Gupta fashion. Similarly, the numeral 4 in the last line has also been represented by the symbol (𑀘) which is after the same Gupta or Nēpāl system (*vide* table quoted above). There is a dot after this symbol in the original stone, but it appears to have been inadvertently engraved by the mason. If the author had meant 40, the sign for 40 and not that for 4 would have been used in its place. From the above, it is quite clear that the date of the inscription is of the Gupta era and not Vikrama or Harsha. Secondly, the formation of the characters resembles that of the Mandasor pillar inscription of king Yaśodharman, as already noted, which fact also corroborates the conclusion arrived at above; and thirdly, we know that the Gupta rule, which had extended far and wide over the land, came to its end at about the same period.

It may be inferred from the words *asmīn dēryā nīpōsē* of line 3 that the temple of the goddess Dadhimati was *in situ* when the contribution was raised by the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas headed by Avighnanāga. Had this subscription been called for erecting the shrine, some such word as *kārita* would have been used. The temple is therefore a very old one. Additions to the temple were made by a Dāhimā Brahmacārī named Viśvudāsajī in V.S. 1906.²

In the beginning of this inscription there is a mention of *Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas*.³ These are now-a-days known as Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas, and are one of the *chha-nyāti* (six castes⁴) of Brāhmaṇas of the Pañcha-gaṇḍa section. There is no doubt that the Dadhyas of our inscription are the modern Dāhimās, because, first, the whole of the community of the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas recognise this goddess (Dadhimati) as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess; secondly, the majority of the population of the villages, adjoining the temple within the limit of 10 to 20 *kōs*, consists of these Brāhmaṇas; thirdly, most of the modern names of the Khampas (clans) of this community are after the names of the villages situated round about the temple, *e.g.* Gōṭhechā after Gōṭh, Māṅgalōdyā after Māṅglōḍ, Āsōpā after Āsōp, Īnānyā after Īnāpā, Khatōḍa after Khātū, Borādā after Borāwār, Dīḍawānyā after Dīḍwāpā, etc. The Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas assert that they are descended from the well-known Dadhichi-*Rishi* and style themselves *Dādhičas*; while in this inscription they are termed *Dadhyas*, certainly after the name of the goddess Dadhimati. A reference to No. 2 in the above table would show that the epithet *Mīśra*, which is still used by the Dāhimās, was common in those days. In the third line there occurs a word *arō*; but there is no clan amongst the

¹ [A closer approximation to the symbol used in the present inscription occurs in Pandit G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate 42, column 9, where it is stated that the symbols in that column are taken from "various records and charters."—V. V.]

² Further repairs to the temple are being executed by the Dāhimā-mahāsabhā, by raising subscriptions from the whole community of Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas residing in all parts of India. Nearly a sum of Rs. 10,000 has already been collected and spent for the purpose.

³ [Though it seems most natural to read *śrī-dadhyā*, I feel little doubt that what the engraver had before him was *śrī-dēryā*.—S.K.]

⁴ The names of the six castes who interline but do not intermarry are :—1. Dāhimā, 2. Pārikha, 3. Gauḍa, 4. Gūjara-gaṇḍa, 5. Śārasvata, and 6. Śikhawāla (some say Khandelawāla).

Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas known by this name. It therefore appears that it is perhaps a contracted form of the word *āvāṭi*, just as the word *brāhmaṇa* is written in the abbreviated form *brāhṇa* in line 12. It is also possible that the letter *ṭ* of the word *āvāṭi* has been carelessly omitted. The word *āvāṭi* or *āvāṭi* means a worshipper; and hence it may be inferred that the Dadhyas were worshippers of the goddess Dadhimati in those days. The office of worshipping this goddess is now held by the Sēvagas (or Bhājakas). It is just possible that the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas, as they took up some other profession, later on employed a Sēvaga for this purpose, whose descendants are up to this day doing the same work. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas of the village Rāl, 10 miles from this temple, even now personally perform the worship of the deity and offer oblations in her honour in the months of Chaitra¹ and Āśvina when fairs are held in and around the temple. In these fairs the inhabitants of the adjoining villages meet together to worship the goddess and offer their cattle for sale.

The most noteworthy information furnished by this inscription is the light it throws on the date of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. In line 11 of our inscription is quoted the 9th verse of the 91st chapter of that *Purāṇa* or the 10th chapter of the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*, as the latter begins from the 81st chapter and ends with the 93rd. From this quotation we can conclusively and convincingly assert that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was composed before V. S. 665, i.e. before the 7th century A.D. It would, therefore, be futile if any one were to assign a date, later than the 7th century, to the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* or the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. The section *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is regarded by some scholars as an interpolation, but what can with certainty be contended is that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not a production later than the 7th century or thereafter. Rev. K. M. Banerjea writes in the introduction to his edition of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa* as follows² :—

“We cannot help noticing in this place the dignity imparted to the work under review. It is classed in the same category with the Vēdas, and described as an immediate product from Brahmā's mouth. Although a *Purāṇa*, it is not attributed to Vyāsa, whom other Śāstras consider as the author of all works bearing that title. The *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*, however, does not acknowledge him as its composer, editor or compiler.³ It claims equal honour in this respect with the Vēdas themselves.”

And he says in the beginning of his preface⁴ that “the section called *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was probably an interpolation.” A reference to chapter 94, verse 1,⁵ would show that when recapitulating the past, the speaker (i.e. Mārkaṇḍēya-Rishi) says that he has caused him (the addressee, i.e. Kraushṭuki-Rishi) to hear the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. This internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not an interpolation but forms a part and parcel of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. Besides, if the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* were to be removed from it, the

¹ In the months of Chaitra and Āśvina falls the *Navarātra*, i.e. the first nine days of the bright half of the months when worship of the goddess is eloquently recommended in the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. The Dāhimā-Mahāsabhā is contemplating to re-assume the management of the temple which was formerly in their own hands even when the Sēvagas were the worshippers. The annual meetings of the *sabhā* have been held in this temple for three consecutive days in every Chaitra-Navarātra, for the last four years, and the Mahāsabhā has recently started a school there.

² P. 15 of the Bibl. Ind. Edition, Calcutta, 1862.

³ This statement has apparently been made on the authority of the Bengal manuscripts of the *Purāṇa* that were at Mr. Banerjea's disposal when editing the work, but the Maithilī and other manuscripts of the same *Purāṇa* recount in the ordinary way the names of the eighteen *Purāṇas* and their author.

⁴ Preface, p. 1.

⁵ सदाशिवोक्तिं सुयुक्तं प्रोक्तं मन्वन्तरं तव । तथैव देवीमाहात्म्यं महिषासुरघातनम् ॥२॥

total number of verses attributed to this Purāṇa in the commencement would fall short by the number contained in the *Mahātmya*.¹

But to return to our inscription. It does not give the names of the clans wherewith the Dadhya-Brāhmanas were then known; and the two names *ācō* and *mahattara*, which may be presumed to be clan-names, are not identical with the modern ones. It is therefore evident that the present Khāmpas, such as Gōṭhēchā, etc., must have been introduced only after V. S. 665. There is one *gōtra* mentioned in the inscription, *viz.* *Vachchha* (Vatsa) which is even now found among the Dāhimā-Brāhmanas. Had their present clans been well known, they would certainly have been mentioned as the epithet "Mīśra" has been in I. 4.

The record does not contain the name of the person who composed it, nor of the mason who engraved it.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ नमः॥ [म]रस्त्वले [॥*] श्रीदध्या 'दधिमतीसंनिध्यपादानुध्याता[:*] श्रीभू-
ह्मणपादानु[पा]-
- 2 लिता ब्राह्मणा⁵ अविघ्ननागःप्रमुखा⁶ देवी⁷ दधिमतीं विज्ञाययन्ति⁸ ॥ अ-
- 3 स्मि⁹ देव्या [नि]वेशे गोष्ठिकाप्रथमं¹⁰ आवी[ब्राह्म]ण¹¹ अविघ्नना[ग]:¹²
ब्राह्मण[लं]ग-
- 4 कपुत्रः¹³ वच्छसःगोत्रः¹⁴ तथा ¹⁵ब्राह्मणमिय . . . कटक[पुत्रः¹⁶ मा]तुल्य¹⁷
पूफकपुत्रैः¹⁸ त[था]
- 5 ¹⁹ब्राह्मणयशपतिः यच्चदित्रपुत्रः²⁰ ए[ति]गोष्ठिके²¹ प्रततः²² द्रम्मसहस्रं शताधिकं । ब्रा-²³
- 6 ह्मणमभ[ही]ह (१) गणभटपु[त्रे]ण दत्त²⁴ द्रम्मशतं ।
- 7 ब्राह्मणैर्दत्त²⁵ द्रम्मशतं विंशोत्तरं²⁶ । तथा ²⁷ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवः दृढणपुत्रेण दत्त²⁸
- 8 द्रम्मपंचाशः²⁹ [॥*] तथा ³⁰ब्राह्मणनिम्बगण (१) शूरकपुत्रेण दत्त³¹ द्रम्मशतं [॥*]
[त]था ब्राह्म-³²

¹ [The above should be compared with the able discussion of the age of the *Mārkaṇḍēya* by Mr. Pargiter, in the introduction to his translation in the *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1904, where he sums up his results on p. 22 as follows,—
"The *Dēvināḥātmya*, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The third and fifth parts, which constituted the original *Purāṇa*, were very probably in existence in the third century, and perhaps even earlier, and the first and second parts were composed between those two periods."—S. K.]

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read "संनिध्य".

⁵ Read ब्राह्मण.

⁶ Read "नागप्रमुखा.

⁷ Read देवी दधिमतीं.

⁸ Read विज्ञाययन्ति.

⁹ Read "स्मिन्."

¹⁰ Read "ष्ठिकाप्रथम.

¹¹ Read "ब्राह्मणोऽवि."

¹² Read "नागो ब्रा."

¹³ Read "पुत्रो.

¹⁴ Read वच्छसगोत्रः.

¹⁵ Read ब्राह्म.

¹⁶ Read "पुत्रो.

¹⁷ Read मातुल्यः.

¹⁸ Read "पुत्रः.

¹⁹ Read ब्राह्मणयशपतिर्य.

²⁰ Read "पुत्र.

²¹ Read "गोष्ठिके.

²² Read प्रदत्तं.

²³ Read ब्रा.

²⁴ Read दत्तं.

²⁵ Read ब्राह्मणैर्दत्तं.

²⁶ Read "शोत्तरं.

²⁷ Read ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवः.

²⁸ Read दत्ता.

²⁹ Read "शतं.

³⁰ Read ब्राह्म.

³¹ Read दत्तं.

³² Read ब्राह्म.

- 9 णधनियक (i) 'अचिन्तितपुत्रेण दत्त' द्रव्यचिन्ति³ ॥ तथा महत्तरवा-
लादित्य (i) अ[वि]-
10 गहकपुत्रेण दत्तः⁴ द्रव्यशतं⁵ [॥*] तथा वप्यकः⁽ⁱ⁾पूर्णमुखपुत्रेण दत्त⁶ . द्रव्य-
11 शतं (i) साहस्र⁷ [॥*] सर्वमङ्गलमङ्गल्ये शिवे स[र्व]यसाधके⁸ । अरण्ये⁹
चांस्यके¹⁰ गौरि(i) [ना]-
12 रायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥ तथा ब्राह्म¹¹सोमानक¹² ब्राह्मण¹³अचिलक[दि][व*]सुवकः¹⁴
[नि]-
13 [स्व]ादित्यपुत्रैर्दत्त¹⁵ [द्र]व्या¹⁶ ४ ॥ ¹⁷संवत्सरशतेषु २०० ८० ८
आवण ब¹⁸ १० ३

No. 32.—SEVADI COPPER-PLATES OF THE CHAHAMANA RATNAPALA;
VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1176.

By PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR.

These copper-plates were found at Sēvādī, a village in Bāli district, Gōdwar province, Jōdhpur State. They were brought to light in a house in this village in consequence of a heavy downpour of rain. The news of the find reached the Police Sub-Inspector who forwarded the plates to the Mēhkmā Khās, Rāj Mārwar. They were thence sent to the Historic department (Tawārikh Mēhkmā) of the State for being deciphered and for impressions being prepared therefrom. One set of impressions has been furnished to the Ajmer Museum at the request of the Curator.¹⁹ The original plates are now in charge of the Superintendent of the Tawārikh Mēhkmā.

The plates are three in number, of which the first is inscribed on one side only. The second is written on both sides, and the third bears but three lines of writing on its inner side. The inscription is perhaps incomplete as shown by the isolated and unconnected letter *ka* at the end. The average breadth of the plates is 9" while the average length is 11½". The edges have been slightly raised into rims, and the plates are strung on two almost circular rings, the ends of which are open and bear no sign of any seal. The ends of the rings are so wide apart as to permit the plates passing out of them without any difficulty. Their diameter varies from 2" to 2¼", and their thickness is slightly over ¼".

The inscription consists of sixty lines of writing and is in an almost perfect state of preservation. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare forms of the letters *i* and *bh*, while the archaic formation of

¹ Read 'यकाचि'.

⁴ Read दत्तं.

⁷ Read साहस्र.

¹⁰ Read च्यम्बके.

¹³ Read ब्राह्मणाचिलक°.

¹⁶ Read द्रव्या.

¹⁹ [The accompanying plate has been prepared from impressions sent by Pandit Ram Karṇa.—V. V.]

² Read दत्ता.

⁵ Read °शतं.

⁸ Read °साधिके.

¹¹ I.e. ब्राह्मण.

¹⁴ Read °सुवकी.

¹⁷ Read संवत्सरश°.

³ Read द्रव्यचिन्ति

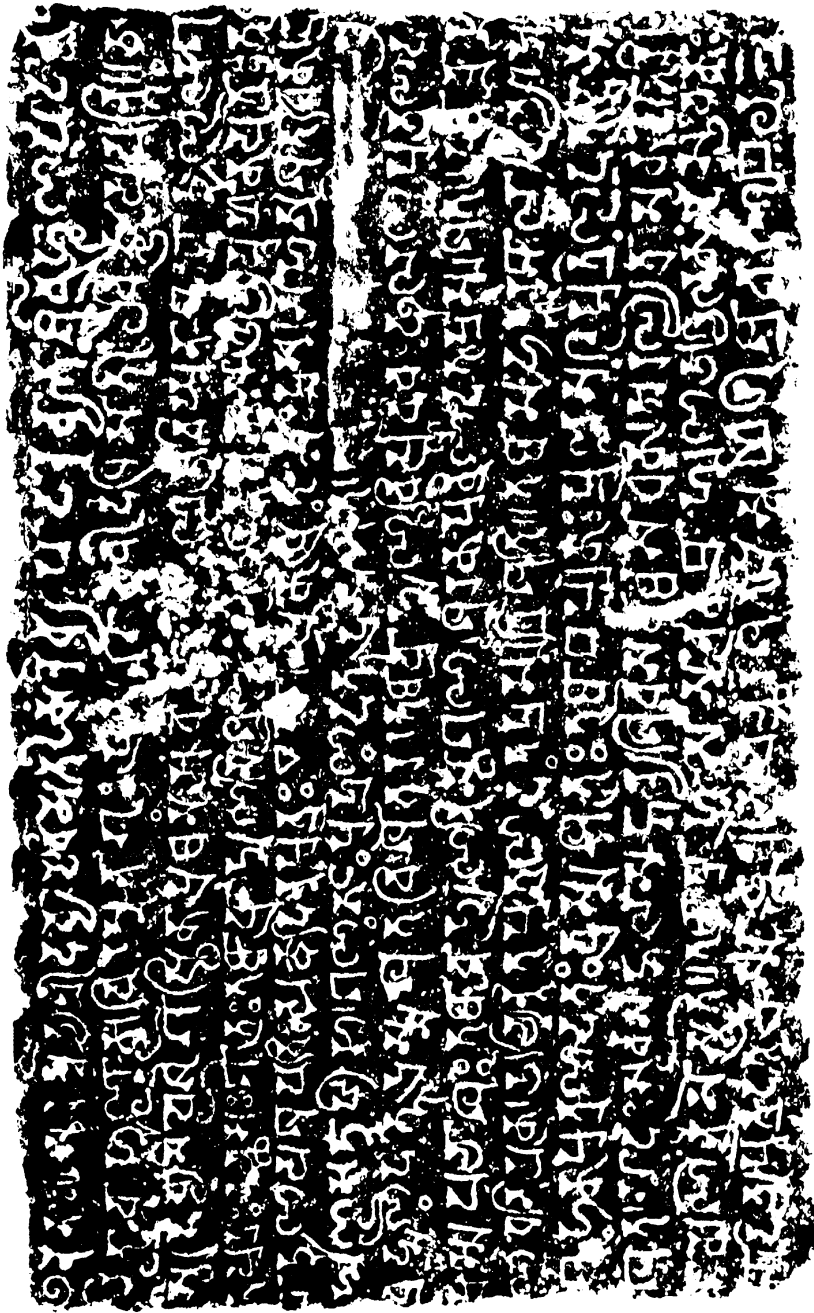
⁶ Read दत्तं.

⁹ Read अरण्ये.

¹² Read सोमानकी.

¹⁵ Read °पुत्री । एतैर्दत्ता.

¹⁸ Read बदि.



the labial *ph* is rather peculiar to this inscription. The language is Sanskrit; and the text is in prose with the exception of thirteen lines at the beginning and seventeen at the end containing 11 and 15 verses (numbered), respectively, although the numbers of the last two are omitted. In respect of orthography the following may be noted: (1) the sign for *v* is also used for *b*; (2) there is an indifference about the doubling of the consonants after *r*, e.g. *-karmānu* in l. 52; (3) rules of *parasavarṇa* have in some places been violated; (4) *ś* and *s* have been confounded, e.g. *-yasaśkarīni* (l. 53), *-sakaśrīni* (l. 58).

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of a village named **Gūṇḍakūrecheḥā** (the modern Gūṇḍoch as we shall see later on) to Brahmanas residing in the same village, by a **Chāhamāna** king named **Ratnapaladēva**,—the son of **Prithvipāla**, in V. S. 1176.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Brahman. The introductory verse extols the word *svasti*. A person came out of the eye of **Indra**, lord of the east, while looking; and from this person sprang the **Chāhamāna** dynasty (v. 2), which is extolled in the succeeding verse (v. 3). The next eight verses unfold the following **Chāhamāna** genealogy. There lived a king named **Lakṣmaṇa**, whose son was **Śōhita**, who is here called lord (*pati*) of **Dhārā**. His other name is **Śōbhita**.¹ From him sprang **Balirāja**, who was succeeded by his paternal uncle **Vigrahapāla**. **Vigrahapāla**'s son was **Mahēndra** whose other name is **Mahindu** to whom the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** king **Dhavalā** lent a helping hand against **Mudjarāja**.² **Mahēndra**'s son was **Anahilladēva**, who was blessed with two sons named **Balaprasāda** and **Jēsaladēva**, whose (latter's) other name is **Jendrarāja**¹ or **Jindarāja**. **Jēśala**'s son was **Prithvipāla**. Then comes the prose portion of the inscription. **Prithvipāla**'s son was **Ratnapālādēva**, who is styled a *Maharājādhirāja*. He issues the following order after having called together all his ministers, civil and military officers, the headmen as well as the leading persons among his subjects and all the resident Brahmanas of the **Saptaśata-vishaya** (of 700 villages):—

“Be it known to you that, the seat of our Government being in **Nāḍāla** (**Nāḍōl**) and the head-quarters of our armies in the village **Nahurā**, after having bathed and put on two cleaned clothes, setting aside such faults as vehement desire, hatred, jealousy, moral decline, and others of like nature; being in the state of absolute goodness; realising the instability of the world; holding *tīla* (sesamum), unhusked grain (barley), *kuśa* (grass) and water in our right hand; having satisfied gods and *pitṛis* with water; remaining true to our duty; comprehending (the fact that) life is more unsteady than the drop of water on the petal of the day-lotus; having worshipped the consort of **Pārvati** (i.e. the god **Mahadeva**), who is the ruler of both the moveable and the immoveable; having adored **Vishṇu** (*who is*) the greatest in the world and is skilful in destroying heaps of sins and is able to save from (the pains of) birth, old age and death; having restrained the totality of the senses for a moment; having realised (the fact that) wealth (world) collapse in a moment and such other inconstancies (of the world); having satisfied **Brāhmaṇas** and other venerable persons by gifts of gold, food, and clothes; favouring (i.e. following) the right path; recalling (mentally) the fear of the next world; accepting the fruit of (actions in both) this and the next world; having seen that the lettering of the charter formerly issued by the **Mahārāja Jindarāja** has disappeared, and (having) a mind to renew the same in its former state; for the increase of our religious merit and fame; and for our well-being in the next world; with a pure mind inspired by great devotion; our sins vanishing far (from us) and we being conscious of self (i.e. being in our right senses), we have, with libations of water, granted this charter according to the former state of things on **Thursday**, the 8th of the dark half of the month of **Jyēṣṭha**, when 1176 years, reckoned (in the

¹ See above, Vol. IX, p. 83.

² Above, Vol. X, p. 68.

name of) **Vikramāditya** had elapsed, to all the resident **Brāhmaṇas** of the great **Brāhmaṇa** village named **Guṇḍakūreḥchā**, that has survived in all the four *yugas*, who delight in the six¹ acts of sacrificing, etc., prayer, study of the *Vēdas*, meditation and religious practices, who are well-versed in the sacred lore of *Itihāsa* (epic poems), *Purāṇas* (legends), *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata*, in words and sentences, and in (the *Smṛitis* of) *Yājñavalkya*, *Kātyāyana*, *Bṛigu*, *Āgiras*, and *Mārkaṇḍa*; in the six *darśanas*² beginning with the *Bhāṭṭa-darśana* (*Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*) and other sciences; who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the *Yajur-vēda*, such as *Ācasathya* (sacred domestic fire), *Agnihotra* (daily offering to fire), *Agnishiloma* (liturgical rite in the *Soma* sacrifice), *Sautramani* (rite sacred to *Sutrāman*, i.e. *Indra*), *Paśubandha* (animal sacrifice lit. binding of victim to sacrificial post), *Chāturmāsya* (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) and others; who are competent to break the hard knot of sins; who are well-versed in the *Vēdas*³ and the *Vēdaṅgas*⁴; and whose fame is as brilliant, extensive and praiseworthy as that of the full moon. In the beginning of the *Kali*-age a pious *Mahārāja* (named) *śrī-Jājuka* who was ruling *Kanyakubja*, rode a mare, and the land that he could traverse in 4 *prathams* (or 12 hours), was granted by him, with the pouring out of water, for his welfare in the next world, to a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Gōvinda*, by a *śisano*, the glorious **Guṇḍakūreḥchā**, a brush (*kureḥa*) for manifesting the picture of good conduct, circumscribed by the four boundaries, (ll. 16-36). From that time the name **Guṇḍakūreḥchā** (of the village so) named after the *Brāhmaṇa* *Gōvinda* became famous on (this) earth (l. 37). In the *Kṛita*-age it was known by the name of *Nishachhā*, in *Tretā* as *Triyambakī*, in *Dvāpara* as *Khanitri* and in *Kali* as **Guṇḍakūreḥchā** (l. 38). Its (four) boundaries (are described as follows):—

“To the east (lies) the way (leading) to the village (named) **Vērā** and passing by (the village) **Ghoḍiyā**, the reservoir (*radaha*), (locally called *Nādi*), (the village) **Tōusāla**, and the *Śiva* temple of the village **Ārāchandra**.

To the south (are situated) the pond (named) **Rajji** near the village of **Khavaḍa**, and the villages **Chāṃgaubhā**, **Krikuḍupadra**, **Gugī** and the proximity of the *pratoli* (main gate) of the village **Chadarapadra**.

To the west (are to be found) the villages (named) **Milua**, **Ākandhāpadra** and **Goḍāṇi**, and three reservoirs of water (*radaha-traya*).

To the north (passes) the way which leads to **Lavana-khēḍa**, going from the three reservoirs of water (*radaha-traya*) to (the village named) **Sumnēvi**, thence going round the mountain named **Sēhatuṅga** and (finally) reaching the village **Vērā**” (ll. 39-43).

“These are the four boundaries marked out. Within these limits, future kings, whether of our own family or others, should not demand even a single flower from the *śrī-lokas* (i.e. *Brāhmaṇas*) residing in **Guṇḍakūreḥchā** (i.e. should levy no tax, flower being mentioned as an insignificant article of no practical value) (l. 44).”

Then follow 15 imprecatory verses, after which there stand the first half of a verse and the letter *ka* which perhaps was the beginning of the second half left out for some reason unknown to us.

We thus see that the inscription refers itself to the **Chāhamāna** family of **Lakshmana**, whose progenitor is, in this inscription, said to have been born out of the eye of the god *Indra*; while, in other inscriptions of the family it is recorded that, “when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy **Vachchha** (i.e. *Vatsa*) brought about the creation of a new race

¹ The six acts prescribed for the *Brāhmaṇas* are sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, giving and taking.

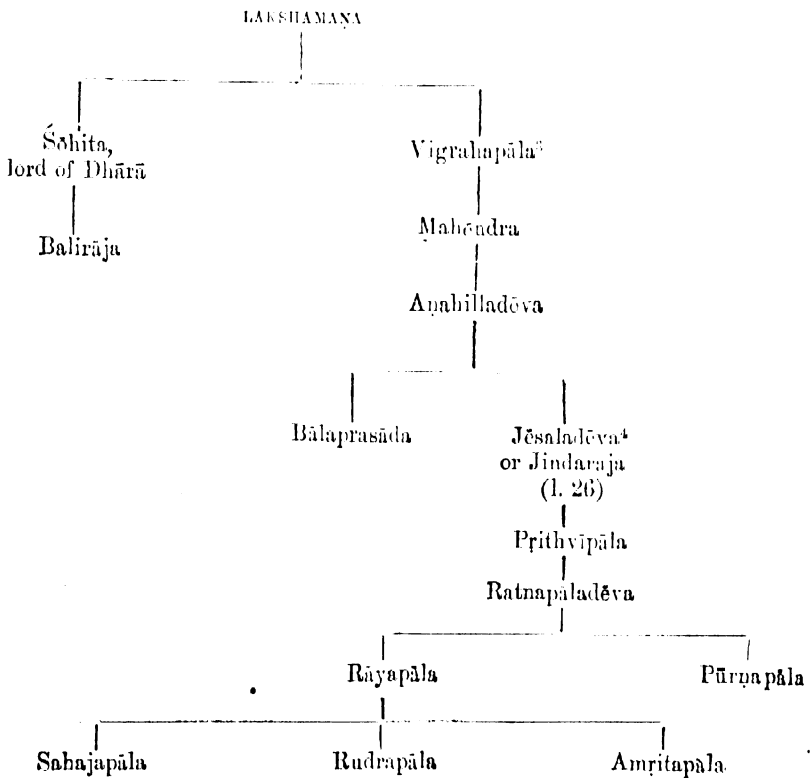
² The six *darśanas* are *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* of Jaimini, *Uttara-mīmāṃsā* of Vyāsa, *Nyāya* of Gautama, *Vaiśhika* of Kapada, *Sāṅkhya* of Kapila and *Yōga* of Patañjali.

³ The four *Vēdas* are, *Rik*, *Yajur*, *Sāma*, and *Atharvan*.

⁴ The six *Vēdaṅgas* are, *Śikshā* (orthography or phonetics), *Kalpa* (rituals or liturgy), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology and lexicography), *Chhandah* (prosody), and *Jyōtisha* (astronomy).

of warriors, the Chāhamāna race."¹ This fact is further corroborated by an inscription where we read² that "there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Īlshi* Vatsa." Professor Kielhorn also points out³ that "according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No. 154 of his *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa-*gotra* at Aliechhatrapara." The current belief that the four races of Paramāras, Chālukyās, Chāhamānas and Pratihāras sprang from the *agni-kunḍa* receives no support from this inscription.

The genealogy unfolded by our inscription, is the same as that given by Prof. Kielhorn in his paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddula, referred to above, as far as Prithvipāla, and the name of Ratnapālādēva, the hero of our inscription, is an addition to it. But an inscription recently discovered at Maṇḍōr, when archaeological excavations were being carried out under the supervision of Dr. Marshall, reveals the name of two further generations, *viz.* Rāyapāla, son of Ratnapāla, and Sahajapāla, son of Rāyapāla. Before the discovery of the inscription at Maṇḍōr, it was not known whose son Rāyapāla was, though he was known to be a Chāhamāna from his eight inscriptions found in the Godwar District. From these latter we further learn that Rāyapāla had besides Sahajapāla two other sons, *viz.* Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla; while in another inscription of Ratnapāla (published in the *Bavanagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*), the name of Ratnapāla's son is given as Pūnapāksha, which I am inclined to read as Pūrnapāla. So the dynastic list would now stand as follows:—



¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ The present inscription does not give us the relation which Vigrahapāla bore to his predecessor Balirāja. It is taken from Kielhorn's Genealogical Table (above, Vol. IX, p. 82).

⁴ Called Jēndrarāja (Jindurāja) in Prof. Kielhorn's Table.

In our inscription, Śohita is styled lord of Dhārā. Śohita's time is after V.S. 1039¹ when Muñja was ruling over Dhārā. It is possible that he defeated Muñja and became, for some time, lord of that city or country. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Śohita's son Balirāja, routed the army of Muñjarāja.² The *Mahārāja Jindarāja* mentioned in line 26 is the same as Jēsaladēva of verse 10 above. We may also note that the grant, the renewal of which is recorded in this inscription, is stated to have been originally made by *Mahārāja Śrī-Jājuka* in the beginning of the Kali age.

Of the localities mentioned in our inscription, all of them except 5 have been identified :—

Gūṇḍakūrechhā—is the modern Gūṇḍōch, 5 *kōs* south of Pālī (called Mārwar-Pālī), the principal town of the district of the same name and a railway station on the Jōdhpur-Bikaner Railway. It is a *Jāgīr* village held by Thākur Gōpāl Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, of the Udāvat clan of Rathors.³

Vērā—Bed (now desolate) 1 *kōs* east of Gūṇḍōch.

Khavaḍa—Khōḍ, 4 *kōs* south of Gūṇḍōch.

Gugī—Gogāvās (now deserted).

Chudharapadra—Chāñchhōḍī, 7 *kōs* south.

Mālva—Mālōla (now uninhabited), 1 *kōs* south.

Ākandhāpadra—Kāndā, 1 *kōs* west of Gūṇḍōch.

Gōḍāina—Gurḍāi, 3 *kōs* west.

raduha-traya—are the 3 Nāḍis (or reservoirs of water) called Ḍūlī, Bhāḍlāi, and Ghūṇēvara, 1 *kōs* (west).

Schātuniga—Kāliyōṇika and Baḍā Bhākara are the names of 2 small hills and a way leading to Bōḍ passes between the two.

Ghōḍiyā—Bachūji-rō-Gurhō, 1 *kōs* east of Gūṇḍōch.

raduha—is the Nāḍī called Sānvaliyā, 3 *kōs* east.

Ārāchandra—now desolate; but there is still a temple of Śiva in the desert, $\frac{3}{4}$ *kōs* south of Gūṇḍōch.

Nahurā—now called Bāmapān-rō-Nōrō. It lies in the Jālōr District and is situated at a distance of 11 *kōs* to the west of Gūṇḍōch.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं श्रीं ब्रह्मणे^a नमः । [1*] स्वस्तीति चतुरो वेदान् सषडंगपदक्र-
मान् [1*] सर्वाश्रयमया^a स्वस्ति स्वस्तीति परमं
2 पदं ॥ [१*] पपात पुरुषे^b तित्रादीक्षतः पूर्वादकाते.¹⁰ । ¹¹चाहमानात्व-
यस्तस्माद्भव¹² गुणिनां प्रियः ॥ [२*] ¹³वंशः सतां य¹⁴

¹ This is the latest date given for Lakshmana by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar; above, table opposite p. 78.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 71.

³ Besides Gūṇḍōch proper, he holds the following villages as his *Jāgīr*—Kōnalā, Bachūji-rō-Gurhō, two *ghāns* (hamlets) near Gūṇḍōch, Pratāppurā and Gōpālgarh. The annual rental of all these villages is estimated at ₹7,000 per annum by the State for the purposes of levying State taxes, etc. The majority of the population consists of two different castes of Brāhmanas, viz. Gurjar-Gaṇḍas and Sāṅkhavālas. The former claim the village to have been granted to their ancestor named Guṇḍēya (a corruption of Gōvinda of our inscription). The *kūrcha* grass still grows here in abundance—a fact which leaves not even a shadow of doubt as to its being the same village.

^a From the original plates.

^b Expressed by a symbol.

^c Read ब्रह्म°.

⁷ Metre: Anushtubh.

^a Read सकलाश्रयमया.

⁸ Read पुरुषी नेवा°.

¹⁰ Read °व्वदिक्ते°.

¹¹ Read °नाम्नय°.

¹² Read °द्भव.

¹³ Metre: Iudra-ajrā.

¹⁴ Read यः.

- 3 'सफलः सपुण्यो लोके प्रसिद्धः सगुणो बभूव' । सारोक्तारण्डेदविभेदहीन³
आकारवर्मानुरतोऽभिपेक्षे⁴ ॥३॥
- 4 'श्रीलक्षणो' 'लक्ष्वरप्रदानस्तता' 'बभूवाखिलराज्ञपत्यः'⁹ ॥ 'वृद्धाभिषिक्तोतिव-
रण'¹¹ पुष्टसपःदृशीवा-¹²
- 5 स्थिरमंविक्तायाः¹³ ॥४॥ 'तस्यात्मजोरातिचयावमर्दी' 'य[सो]भिराक्रांतममयकाष्ठः ।
नरेन्द्रहृदेः'¹⁶
- 6 तुतपादपद्मो बभूव¹⁷ धारापतिशोहिताय्यः ॥५॥ 'ततो बभूव'¹⁸ राजन्यो 'वलि-
राजो महीपतिः [1*] वलिममा-²¹
- 7 नदानो यो जितनिःशेषसंगरः ॥६॥ 'संख्याजिर'²³ विग्रहपालसूनुः प्रतापनिःशे-
षितवैरिजा[तः 1*]
- 8 'सक्रंदनायो' 'वलवा[न्नि]तांतं ततश्च राजा समभून्महेंद्रः ॥७॥ 'तस्याभवच्छीम-
णहिल्लदेवः'²⁷ सु-
- 9 तः 'शमांकोज्वलदानकीर्तिः । येनाहवे वैरिजनोपि साक्षी[कृतः स्वशैर्यस्य'²⁹ जना-
तिग[स्य] ॥८॥ 'त[स्या]-
- 10 त्मजोरातिगण[स्य] हंता बालप्रसादो³¹ नृपतिर्व्वभूव³² । रणाजिर येन जिताः
³³सपत्ता सुस्थ[कृत]-³⁴
- 11 ता शेषजना तिदापैः³⁵ ॥९॥ 'तस्यानुजो जेमलदेवभूपो बभूव'³⁷ पुणा³⁸ कमनीय-
कांतिः । जातं मता-
- 12 नां परिपूर्णतायाः शत(तं) स्थिवास्वर्णतुरंगदानैः³⁹ ॥१०॥ 'सनुस्तस्यां⁴¹भवद्राजा
पृष्ठोपाल'⁴²

¹ The letter स is probably a subsequent addition.

³ Read सारोक्तारण्डेद°.

⁴ Read 'वर्मानु°.

² Read बभूव.

⁶ Read 'लक्ष्मणो.

⁷ Read लक्ष्वरप्रदानस्ततो.

⁵ Metre: Upajati.

⁹ Read 'राजपुण्यः.

⁸ Read बभूवा°.

¹⁰ Read वृद्धा°. [The first akshara appears to be च. Perhaps the reading intended is वृद्ध°.—V.V.]

¹¹ Read 'वरंण.

¹² Read पुष्टसपःप्रभावात्.

¹³ Read 'मंविक्तायाः.

¹⁴ Metre: Upajati.

¹⁵ Read यशोभि°. [There is a blank space for at least three letters between र and क्री in the original.—V.V.]

¹⁶ Read वृद्धेर्भुत°.

¹⁷ Read बभूव.

¹⁸ Metre: Anushtubh.

¹⁹ Read बभूव.

²⁰ Read बलि°.

²¹ Read बलि°. This line offends against the metre. [Perhaps we have to read बलिस्म°.—V.V.]

²² Metre: Upajati.

²³ Read 'जिर.

²⁴ Read सक्रन्द°.

²⁵ Read बलि°.

²⁶ Metre: Upajati.

²⁷ Read 'क्री°.

²⁸ Read शशाङ्कोज्वल°.

²⁹ Read 'शैर्य°.

³⁰ Metre: Upajati.

³¹ Read बाल°.

³² Read 'वर्बभूव.

³³ Read 'पत्ता°.

³⁴ Read स्वस्थीकृताः.

³⁵ Read निवापैः.

³⁶ Metre: Upajati.

³⁷ Read बभूव.

³⁸ Read पुणाः.

³⁹ Read स्थिरा°.

⁴⁰ Metre: Anushtubh.

⁴¹ Read सनुस्तस्या°.

⁴² Read 'पाक्षी°.

- 13 महावलः¹ [I*] शूरो रणे कृती [त्या]गी कक्षाशौचे सदा रतः ॥११
तत्पुत्रो [नि]जकुलाभोजमित्रो म-
- 14 हाराजाधिराजयोरन्नपालदेवो महीं पालयन्² स्वीयमहामात्यरहसादिनियोगिनो³
महासामतः⁴
- 15 'उडनायकदुःसाधसाधनिकठकुरवलाधिप'पट्ट[कि]लजनपदादीन⁷ 'सञ्चान' 'सपशत-
विषयातःस्थितः'⁹
- 16 महास्थानब्राह्मणांश्च¹⁰ बोधयत्वस्तु¹¹ वः संविदित¹² यथा । इह श्रीनदूले
निजराज्ये प्रवर्तमा-
- 17 ने नहुरायामस्थितं कटके¹³ श्रीविक्रमादित्येत्पादितातीतसम्बत्सरशते[ष्वे]कादश-
- 18 सु पटसप्तत्यधिकेषु¹⁴ ज्येष्ठमासवहुलपक्षा[ष्ट]मीगु[र]वासरे ॥ अंकतोपि संव-
- 19 त् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ गुरो¹⁵ एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने¹⁶ अस्यां संवत्सरमा-
सपक्षपूर्वायां तिथौ

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 20 स्नानं विधाय धौतपोतिके परिधाय रागद्वेषमत्सरकषायादिदोषान् हित्वा
सात्त्विकभावे¹⁷ स्थि-
- 21 त्वा संसारस्यामारता¹⁸ विदित्वा तिलाक्षतकुशावुप्रणयिनं¹⁹ दक्षिणकरं कृत्वा देवपि-
- 22 तृनुदकेन संतप्य धर्मानुष्ठानमुपसर्प्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं ✓
- 23 जीवितमाकलय्य चराचरगुरुं पार्वतीपतिं संपूज्य जगन्महीयांसं पापपटल-
पाटनपटी-
- 24 यास²⁰ (i) जन्मजरामरणरक्षणप्रभविष्णुं विष्णुं पूजयित्वा क्षणमेकमिन्द्रियग्रामं जित्वा
क्षणिकां लक्ष्मी-
- 25 सुपलस्य²¹ इत्याद्यनित्यतामवेक्ष्य ब्राह्मणान²² गुरुंश्च सुवर्णौघवस्त्रदानैः²³ संतोष्य
सन्मार्गं सं-
- 26 पोष्य²⁴ परलोकभोक्तृत्वमाश्रित्य²⁵ ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य²⁶ प्राक्महाराजश्री-
जिंदराज-

¹ Read 'वलः'.

² Read 'सामतः'.

³ Read 'दीन'.

⁴ Read 'ब्राह्म'.

⁵ Read 'विक्रमादित्योत्पा'.

⁶ Read 'सामेऽस्या'.

⁷ Read 'कुशाम्बु'.

⁸ Read 'ब्राह्मणान्'.

⁹ Read 'श्रियैहिका'.

¹⁰ Read 'यन्'.

¹¹ Read 'दण्ड'.

¹² Read 'सर्थात्'.

¹³ Read 'बोध'.

¹⁴ Read 'बहुल'.

¹⁵ Read 'सात्त्विक'.

¹⁶ Read 'यसं'.

¹⁷ Read 'सुवर्ण'.

¹⁸ Read 'प्राक्'.

¹⁹ Read 'रघुहत्यादिनियो'.

²⁰ Read 'कक्षाधिप'.

²¹ Read 'सपशतविषयातः'.

²² Read 'संविदित'.

²³ Read 'गुरावेवं'.

²⁴ Read 'सारता'.

²⁵ Read 'क्षय्येय'.

²⁶ Read 'संपोष्य'.

[illegible][illegible]

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- 27 प्रदत्तशासनाक्षराणि भ्रष्टान्यवलोक्य तथा स्थित्या जीर्णोद्धारबुद्ध्या¹ स्वपुण्य-
यशोभिद्वये चातु-
28. 'र्युगिकमहाव्यवस्थानश्रीगुदकूर्चादिधाननिवासिने² यजनादिषट्कर्मजपस्वाध्यायध्या-
नानुष्ठान-
29 विधायिने इतिहासपुराणरामायणभारतपदवाक्ययज्ञवल्क्यकात्यायनभरवंगिरोमार्क-
ड्येय-⁴
30 'भट्टदर्शनादिषट्दर्शनशा[स्त्र]ाभिरताय⁵ आवसथ्याग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमसौत्रामणिपशुबंध-⁷
31 चातुर्मास्यादियजुक्रियानिरताय⁸ निविडतरकल्पप्रथ(ग्रं)थिभिदे [वे]दवेदांगविदे (I)
राकाश-
32 शो(शा)कविशदविस्तृतश्राव्यश्लोकाय समयश्रीब्राह्मणलोकोय⁹ परत्र हिवुद्ध्या¹⁰
निजमनःशुद्धा भ-
33 क्तिभरप्रेरितमनोभिर्दूषणश्रद्धेनोभिरात्मसंवित्या पूर्वस्थित्या शासनमिदमुदकपूर्वमि-
34 त्यस्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ कलियुगादौ तुरग्यारूढेन दिवसचतुःप्रहरमध्ये यावती
भ(भू)मिः परिभ्रांता ताव-
35 त्यां कृताघाटनैरुपलक्षिता¹¹ सराचारचित्रोन्मीलनकूर्चा श्रीगुंदकूर्चा त[स्मि] गोविं-
दनाम्न¹² द्विजन्मनो(ने I) श्रीकन्य-
36 कु[ञ्ज]पातना¹³ सुकृतिना महाराजश्रीजाजुकं(के)न परत्र श्रेयसे स्वश्रेयसे शा-
सननोदकपूर्व¹⁴ प्रदत्ता
37 तदाप्रभृति तस्य गोविंदविप्रस्य नामांकितं गुंदकूर्चति¹⁵ नाम वसुधायां विख्यातं
वभूव¹⁶ ॥ ¹⁷कृते तु
38 निषठा प्रोक्ता चेतायां च त्रियंवकी¹⁸ । हापरे च खनिचिती गुंदकूर्चा
कलौ स्मृता ।(II) अस्या आघाटनानि । पूर्वस्यां
39 दशि¹⁹ वेराग्रामवार्त्तनी²⁰ घोडिया रदुह तोउसाल आराचंद्रग्रामशिवभवनसमी-
पगामिनी ॥

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 40 दक्षिणतः खवडग्रामसमीपे राज्ञीतडागं चांगौहाग्रामः । ककुडपट्टं च । गुगी-
ग्रामः । चदर-
41 पट्टग्रामप्रतोलीसमीपं च । पश्चिमतो मीलुग्रामं च । आकंधापट्ट । गोडा-
इगी रदुहच-

¹ Read 'बुद्ध्या'.

² Read 'भृगुर्वाङ्मोमाक'.

³ Read 'बन्ध'.

⁴ Read 'हितवृत्ता'.

Read 'कुलपतिना'.

⁵ Read 'वभूव'.

⁶ Read 'भट्ट'.

⁷ Read 'दशना'.

⁸ Read 'यजुःक्रिया'.

⁹ Read 'सदाचार'.

¹⁰ Read 'पूर्व'.

¹¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹² Read 'दिशि'.

¹³ Read 'गुंदकूर्चाभिधान'.

¹⁴ Read 'षट्दर्शनशास्त्राभिरतायाव'.

¹⁵ Read 'ब्राह्मणलोकाय'.

¹⁶ Read 'नाम्न'.

¹⁷ Read 'कूर्चति'.

¹⁸ Read 'त्रियंवकी'.

¹⁹ Read 'वरसेनी'.

- 42 य¹ च । उत्तरतो लवणखेडवर्मनी । रदुहचयात् मुनेवीग्रामगामिनो
ततो² सेहृतंगपर्य-
- 43 तं मध्ये कृत्वा वेराग्रामग्रामिनो³ ॥ इने⁴ चत्वार आघाटनाः प्रमाणं
अमोपां⁵ आघाटनानां मध्ये⁶ आ(अ)-
- 44 अहंशजेरन्येय भावि[भू]मिपालेय केनापि गुंदकूर्वायां श्रीलीकपाश्वे वडपुष्पं⁷
न याचनीयं । अस्महंश य-
- 45 दा क्षीणे यः कोपि नृपतिर्भवत्तस्याहं⁸ करे लग्नः शासनं न व्यतिक्रमे⁹ ॥१
¹⁰वडुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता¹¹ राजभिः स-
- 46 गराद्भ्येस्य¹² यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥२ त्रोग्याहुरपि¹³ दानानि
गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती [*]
- 47 आसप्तमं फलमित्ये¹⁴ दोहवाहनिवेदने¹⁵ ॥३ सर्वेषामेव दानानां¹⁶ एकजन्मानुकं¹⁷
फलं¹⁸ । हाटकच्छि-
- 48 तिगौरीणां समजन्मुकं¹⁹ फलम् ॥४ यावति सस्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च संख्यया [*]
नरस्तावति²⁰ व[र्षा]णि स्व-
- 49 र्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥५ तडागानां²¹ मह्येणाश्व[मे]धयतेन च । गवां कीटिप्रदा[नि]न
भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥६
- 50 सत्यं चैव हुतं चैव यत्किंचिद्वर्त्मसंचितं । अर्धांगुलिन सीमायां²² हरणेन
प्रनस्यति²³ ॥७ न्यायेनोपाजि-²⁴
- 51 ता भूमी²⁵ अन्यायेनोपहारिता । हरतो हारतथापि²⁶ ²⁷हनत्यात्मपमं कुलं
॥८ भूमी²⁸ यः प्रतिगच्छति²⁹ य-
- 52 स्तु भूमी³⁰ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतो³¹ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥९
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रे³²
- 53 दानानि³³ धर्म्मार्थयमस्कराणि³⁴ । निर्माल्यवंतःप्रतिमानि³⁵ तानि की नाम साधुः
पुनराददेतु³⁶ ॥१०

¹ Read 'नयं'.² Read 'ततः'.³ Read 'गामिनी'.⁴ Read 'इमे'.⁵ Read 'अमोपां'.⁶ Read 'मध्यस्थ'.⁷ Read 'वडपुष्प'.⁸ Read 'भवेत्' । एतस्या°.⁹ Read 'व्यतिक्रमेत्'.¹⁰ Read 'वडु'.¹¹ Read 'भुक्ता'.¹² Read 'सगरादिभिः' । यस्य.¹³ Read 'रति'.¹⁴ Read 'फलमित्ये'.¹⁵ Read 'निवेदने'.¹⁶ Read 'दानानामे'.¹⁷ Read 'नग'.¹⁸ Read 'फलं'.¹⁹ Read 'जन्मानुग'.²⁰ Read 'वन्ति'.²¹ Read 'सकृच्छेय चाश्व'.²² Read 'सीमाया'.²³ Read 'प्रणश्यति'.²⁴ Read 'मोपाजिता'.²⁵ Read 'भूमिरन्यायेना'.²⁶ Read 'हारयन्तीऽपि'.²⁷ Read 'प्रदत्तानां सप्त'.²⁸ Read 'भूमि'.²⁹ Read 'नियत'.³⁰ Read 'भूमि'.³¹ Read 'नियत'.³² Read 'नरेन्द्रे'.³³ Read 'यमस्कराणि'.³⁴ Read 'वर्ण'.³⁵ Read 'राददीत'.

- 54 पूर्वदत्ता¹ नरेन्द्रैश्च यत्नाद्रच [श]तकतुः² [।*] 'महीमहिभृता श्रेष्ठा³ दानाश्रेया-
नुपालनं⁵ ॥११ विंध्याट-
55 'वीवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककीटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पा भि⁷ जायन्ते 'ब्रह्मदायापहारकः⁹ ॥
56 १२ न विषं बिप[मि]त्याहुः¹⁰ ब्रह्मस्वं बिप¹¹ उचाते । विपमेकाकिनं हति ब्रह्म¹²-
57 स्वं पुत्रपोचिकम् ॥१३

Third Plate.

- 58 पष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि¹³ स्वर्गं 'वसति भूमिदः । हरणेनानुमंताद्य¹⁴ तस्यैव¹⁵ नरकं
वसेत् ॥० रिणह¹⁶
59 र्त्ता भूमिहर्त्ता हारोताश्च¹⁷ हि ते क्षयः¹⁸ । एते च नरकं यांति ¹⁹यावदिन्द्रचतुर्द-
60 श ॥० ॥ ²⁰रिणहर्त्ता भूमिहर्त्ता दावेतौ तुलया धृती[।*] क²¹

No. 33.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS OF KONDAVIDU.

By J. RAMAYYA, B.A., B.L.

A.

This inscription is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar planted in front of the temple of Virabhadra-svāmin in the village of Phiraṅgipuram²² in the Sattanapalli taluka of the Guntur District. I first saw and copied it in April 1897. Subsequently, my friend Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri visited the place and took an estampage of the inscription, from which I edit it. The letters are cut deep and the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

The Telugu characters and orthography of this inscription are similar to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma.²³ In the present inscription, however, the aspirated forms of *b*, *ḍ* and *p* are distinguished from the unaspirated ones by a stroke resembling the Telugu figure 1 affixed at the right-hand corner of the bottom of the letter. This sign is not found in the case of *bha*, *bhā* and *bhu*, the first and last of which are, however, distinguished from the corresponding unaspirated letters by the presence of the *talakattu* or top-stroke. Sometimes a consonant is unnecessarily doubled after an *anusvara* as in *vinūḍumḍu* (l. 103).

A remarkable feature in the orthography of the Telugu portion of the inscription is the use of the sign of the *pīrāṇusvāra* for denoting *ardhamusvāra* as in *-okkūṇḍu* (l. 97 f.), *-pati-*

¹ Read °दत्ता.² Read शतकती.³ Read मही महीधर्ता.⁴ Read श्रेष्ठ. The syllable शि is written below the line.⁵ Read दानाश्रेयोन्.⁶ Omit the first बी.⁷ Read हि.⁸ Read ब्रह्म°.⁹ Read °हारकाः.¹⁰ Read °त्याहुर्ब्रह्म°.¹¹ Read बिषमुचाते.¹² Read ब्रह्म°.¹³ Read पष्टिं दशसहस्राणि.¹⁴ Read हर्ता चेवानुमता च.¹⁵ Read तान्यैव नरके.¹⁶ Read ऋणहर्ता.¹⁷ Read तथा हारयिता.¹⁸ Read क्षयः.¹⁹ Read °दिन्द्रचतुर्द.²⁰ Read ऋण°.²¹ The inscription abruptly stops here;²² A station on the Bozwada-Guntakal branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.²³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

yaṁ Aṣṭama- (102 f.), *-annuṅṇu-buṭri* (104 f.), *-nārāyaṇuṇḍu-* (105 f.), *-puṭaṁbulam bari-* (123), and *ṣṇḍim jēva* (125 f.). In all these places, metro requires the *ardhānusrā* only; and this was, no doubt, what was intended to be read. The use of the complete circle which is the sign of the full *anusrā* to denote the half-*anusrā*, is common in inscriptions and in old manuscripts and shows that the modern sign of the *ardhānusrā*—i.e. the left half of a circle,—had not yet come into vogue at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It shows also that '*ardhānusrā* was *pārānusrā* incompletely pronounced,' as the author of the *Āndhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇam* puts it, and disproves the view of some of the later grammarians who seem to think that *ardhānusrā* was the earlier and *pārānusrā* the later form of the sound. It also falsifies the much bolder theory of the late Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri who held that *ardhānusrā* simply denotes the elision of a consonant.¹ In modern Telugu the words *puchi*, *ḍichi*, and *nēchi* are pronounced only with an *ardhānusrā* after the first vowel, but Nannichōḍa, in his *Kuṁārasambharam*, used these words as *puṇchi*, *ḍāṇchi* and *nōṇchi* and made them rhyme with *eṇchi*, and even now we hear, in the Guntur, Nellore, and the Ceded Districts, *rāṇḍu* for *raḍu* (he), *tūṇchu* for *tēchu* (weigh), *mīṇḍa* for *mīḍa* (above), *pīṇḍa* for *pēṇḍa* (market town) and *pēṇḍu* for *pēḍu* (dung). In the Roman text of the Telugu portion of the inscriptions, the *anusrā* to be elided is printed in italics.

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Telugu and it is throughout in verse. The sixth and seventh verses are also found in the *Śrīṅgārādīpikā*, a commentary on the *Amarasataka* by Kōmaṭi-Vēma², and the thirteenth verse is taken, with a slight modification, from the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.³ The first verse is devoted to the praise of the bear-incarnation of Viṣṇu and the second and third to the praise of the Sun and Moon, and Viṇāyaka. In the next verse, the poet appropriately eulogizes the feet of Viṣṇu which gave birth to the (Śūdra) caste, which is a veritable ocean of good qualities. In that caste was born king Vēma who was 'a seventh emperor,⁴ as it were, and an eleventh incarnation of Viṣṇu' (v. 5). Vēma ruled for a long time, enjoying what was left of the kingdom after enjoyment by Brāhmins, and constructed the flight of steps from *Pātālagāṅgā* to the summit of the Śrīśaila as if to climb up to the abode of Śiva (v. 6). He had an elder brother named Mucha, who had three sons, viz., king Reddivōṭu, Śrī-Kōmaṭindra, and king Naga, who were like *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* personified (v. 7). Pod[d*]ja-Kōmaṭi begot a son named Vema—as great as Karna in charities— even as the ocean begot the moon (v. 8). Verses 9 and 11 describe the military greatness of Vēma, while vv. 10, 12 and 13 praise his charities which extended from Śrīśaila to Kaśī (Benares), touching on the way Kumārachala, Pañchārāma, Sindhāchala, Śrīkūrma and Purushōttama. The queen of this king was Sūramāmbika, who, on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year Virōdhi corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the moon, Rāmas, Rāmas and the earth (1331), performed the ceremony of *pratiṣṭhā* (completion and dedication to public use) of the tank called *Santānapayōnidhi* (vv. 14 and 15). The next three verses contain a hyperbolical description of the tank, and then follow three verses from the *Mahābhārata* on the merit of digging tanks. The last Sanskrit verse tells us that this pure *dharmaśāsana* was composed by Śrinātha who was the *Vidyādhipāṇin* of Vēma and a storehouse of learning.

The three Telugu verses that are engraved on the east face of the pillar, are in the Sisa metre, each verse consisting of four long lines in the proper Sisa metre followed by four

¹ See his *Theory of Ardhanusrā*, Edition of 1892.

² See the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya's remarks on the Phirangipuram inscription, in his Report on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 21, paragraph 55.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

That is, as great as any of the six emperors (*ṣaṭchakravartin*) spoken of in the Purāṇas.

short lines in the Tēṭa-gīta metre. The first verse announces the fact of the completion of the tank and gives us the additional information that the day of the ceremony of *pratīsthā* was a Friday and that Sūramāmbā was the daughter of king Ganna of Dhānyavāṭi (Dharaṇikōṭa). The next two verses contain a hyperbolic description of the tank of which it is stated that its waters were as purifying as those of Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and all other sacred rivers, that it was full of water-lilies which blossomed at the touch of the rays of the moon which was the crest of (the idol of) Śiva established on its bank, that the deafening roar of its waters filled all space, that it was the sporting ground for fish, crabs, and other water animals, and that its waves kissed the sky (v. 24). "How, to such a tank as this, can be likened the ocean which was trodden to dust by the hoofs of the false Boar that was Viṣṇu, which became dry by the touch of the fire of the arrows of Rāma, that was drunk up by sage Agastya, and that was dammed with stones by hosts of monkeys and bears?" (v. 25).

In regard to the date of the inscription, the Honourable Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, the learned author of the "Indian Chronology," kindly informs me that "the *Ēṭhi* ended at 23½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on Friday, 21st February, A. D. 1410".

The inscription confirms, but adds little to, what we know already of the history of the Reddis of Kondavidu, which I discussed at length in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.¹

Special interest attaches to this inscription as well as to the two following ones from the fact that they were composed by the great Telugu poet Śrinātha.

Vēma, son of Pedda-Kōmaṭi, bore the titles *Saṅgrāma-Dharmajña* (vv. 9 and 11) and *Viranārayaṇa* (v. 23). He seems to have been both a scholar and a patron of scholars. The *Śrīṅgārādīpikā*, of which he is the reputed author, says that he was well versed in all the branches of knowledge and that his court was the resort of poets among whom was the great Sanskrit poet Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the author of the drama *Parratiparīkṣa* and of the poem *Vēmaḥkūpallīyam* of which Vēma was himself the hero. Śrinātha held the position of *Vidyādhikārīn* (Poet Laureate²) under Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma and he seems to have held the same position under his son Rācha-Vēma, as will appear from the next inscription.³ After the death of Rācha-Vēma he seems to have gone to Rajahmundry where he was patronised by Vēma-Rodḍi and Virabhadra-Rodḍi. He was a prolific writer and his poetry is characterised by originality and vigour of expression. He is the author of the following works:—

1. Marudrāṭcharitramu.
2. Śalivāhana-Saptaśatī.
3. Śrīṅgārānaishadhamu.
4. Bhīmakhandaṃmu.
5. Kāśikhandaṃmu.
6. Haraviḷāsamu.
7. Paṇḍitārādhyacharitramu.
8. Vīthi-Nāṭakamu.

Nos. 3 to 6 have been published. A *Vīthi-Nāṭakamu* purporting to be the work of one Vinṅkoṇḍa Vallabhāmātya has been recently edited by Mr. Mānavalli Rāmakrishna Kavi, M.A.,

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

² [*Vidyādhikārīn* appears to have been a responsible high place somewhat similar to the 'President, Board of Examiners' of the present day. That Śrinātha did occupy such a place is evident from what is said of him in the introduction to the *Bhīmakhandaṃmu*, in the *Sisa-foot bhāṣa* *chinnāḍaru bahudēśa-badhalaṭō vidyāparīkṣaṇa-vēṭalaṇḍu*.—H. K. S.]

³ Śrinātha's connection with the Reddis probably began in the reign of Ana-Vēma to whose minister he dedicated his *Śrīṅgārānaishadhamu*.

and I agree with the editor in considering that Śrīnātha, who was Vallabha's contemporary, was the real author of this little poem. The poetry is certainly that of Śrīnātha.¹

In the introduction to his *Bhīmakhaṇḍamu*, the poet tells us that he was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pākanāṭi sect. The Pākanāṭis are found mostly in the Nellore District and there is a family of them at Sūlūrupeta, whose housename is Śrīnātham (Śrīnāthuni). These Brāhmaṇas usually call their sect Prānāṭi to distinguish it from that of Pākanāṭi Kāpus or Redḍis and interpret that term as meaning the "Eastern Country." This etymology is obviously incorrect.² The Telugu term Pākanāḍu is evidently derived from Tamil Pākkai-nāḍu, which is found in several Tamil inscriptions in the Nellore District³ and the word *pākkai* is the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit *pāga*, meaning arca-nut. Pāṅgi, a variation of Pūgi, appears in inscriptions as the name of the country "which extended from the eastern slopes of Srīgiri to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kuṇḍi."⁴ In my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma, I was unable to explain the signification of this term, but there is no doubt about it now. The Telugu form of *pūgi* is *poka*—*ō* being nasal—and a sect of the Redḍis of the Cudappah District call themselves Pōkanāṭi and not Pakanāṭi Redḍis.

Śrīnātha was a much travelled man for his times. He tells us, in a stray verse attributed to him, that he visited the courts of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II. and Rāva Sarvajña-Siṅgamaṇḍu of the Velugōṭi family, and that he was patronised by Sāḷaya Toluṅgu Rāya. He spent, however, the best part of his life at the courts of the Redḍi chiefs of Konḍaviḍu and Rajahmundry and dedicated most of his works either to those chiefs or to their officers. The traditional history of the Velugōṭi family tells us that Liṅgamaṇāyūḍu of that family having killed Vēma-Redḍi of Rajahmundry in battle and taken his sword called the *Nandikantapōtarāju*,⁵ Śrīnātha was deputed by Vēma's brother Virabhadra to get back the sword and that the poet succeeded in doing so by eulogizing Liṅgamaṇāyūḍu in three verses.⁶

B.

This inscription also belongs to the time of Podda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma and is engraved on both sides of five copper plates. About ten years ago, the plates were sent by the Tahsildar of Guṇṭūr to the Collector of the Kistna District in which Guṇṭūr was then included, and I edit the inscription from impressions taken by me at that time. The inscription consists of two

¹ Śrīnātha is also the reputed author of the ballad *Palnāṭivīracharītram*; but some dispute his authorship and the point requires investigation.

² [The Bītraguṇṭa plates of Saṅgama II (above, Vol. III, p. 27, verse 19) describe Pāka-vishaya or Pāka-nāḍu as a district situated 'on the shore of the Eastern Ocean (i.e. the Bay of Bengal),' including within it the town Vikramasinhapura, i.e. the modern Nellore. Pūgi or Pūṅgi-vishaya, on the other hand, was a part of Pāka, confined in extent to either bank of the river Kuṇḍi or Guṇḍlakamma and extending from Śrīnāla to the Bay of Bengal. Prānāḍu 'Eastern Country' as applied to themselves, by the Pākanāṭi Brāhmaṇas of the Nellore district, appears, therefore, to have been the correct etymological interpretation of the term Pāka-nāḍu, though the form Pākkai-nāḍu of Tamil inscriptions was undoubtedly derived from *pūṅgi*, *pūgi* or *pōka*, which formed a part of the name of the northern sub-division of Pāka-nāḍu and meant an arca-nut. Consequently it looks as if the larger territorial division Pāka-nāḍu or Pākkai-nāḍu derived its name from the smaller Pūṅgi-vishaya, which was perhaps the earlier and the more ancient.—H. K. S.]

³ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Butterworth and Venu Gopaul Chetty, Vol. II, p. 873, and Vol. III, pp. 1397 and 1401.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

⁵ In another place it is called *Sandikantapōtarāju*.

⁶ The *Velugōṭivīracharītram* by Vellala Sudāśiva Śāstrulu and Avadhānamu Śēsha Śāstrulu, Madras edition of 1910, pp. 59 and 60. In this book the Redḍi king who was killed, is called Anuvēma-Redḍi. But this is clearly a mistake for Allaya-Vēma-Redḍi.

parts; the first part records the grant by Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma of the village of **Ālapādu** to a Brāhmaṇ named **Viśvēśvarabhṭṭa**, and the second part records the distribution of the village by the donee, among a number of other Brāhmaṇs. The first part consists of twenty Sanskrit verses, intercepted, after verse 18, by a long Telugu prose passage which describes the boundaries of the village. The first, fourth, fifth and eighth verses are found also in inscription A. We learn from this part of the record that Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma had a younger brother named **Mācha** who is known to have been killed in battle by **Kumāra-Vedagiri-Nayudu** of the **Velugōṭi** family.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that on the **Śivarātri** day in the month of **Māgha** in the year **Nandana** corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the oceans, **Rāmas**, and the moon (1334), **Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma** granted the village of **Ālapādu**, situated on the eastern bank of the river **Tungabhadra**, in the beautiful **Velanādu** district of the **Trilīṅga-vishaya** to **Viśvēśvara-bhṭṭa** who was the great-grandson of **Mādhava**, grandson of **Gūṇḍaya** and son of the great poet **Mādhava-bhṭṭa** of the **Yajuh-śākhā** and the **Bhāradvāja-gotra**. The enclosing boundary line of the village is specified in great detail in Telugu prose after which comes the usual imprecatory verse *śaṅkṣāṇāṃ pūṇḍrāṇāṃ*, etc. The last verse tells us that the inscription was composed by **Srinātha**. The signature at the end consists of the phrase *śrī-Vīramarayanaḥ*, i.e. of the glorious **Vīramarayana**.

The second part of the inscription, which is engraved on both sides of the fourth and fifth plates, states that **Viśvēśvara-bhṭṭa** here stated to be a student of the **Yajuh-śākhā**, of (the three *pravaras*) **Āṅgīrasa**, **Bārhaspatya** and **Bhāradvāja**, to have been the son of **Mādhavāchārya**, 'who was capable (equally) of cursing or conferring boon,'¹ and to have been born as a gift of the glorious (God) **Nṛsiṃha**, divided the village **Ālapāṭi-Vemavara** (i.e. **Ālapādu** renamed **Vemavara** after the donor) given to him by king **Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, into 60 shares out of which he reserved apparently 15 shares for himself and distributed the remaining 45 shares as shown in the list appended at the end of this article.

Ālapādu is identical with the village of that name in the **Tenālī** taluka of the **Guntur** District. **Tungabhadra** was a branch of the **Krishṇa** river and branched off from the main river near **Bezwaḍa**. It has ceased to exist as a river after the construction of the **Krishṇā** anicut and its course is marked by the main and the **Kommamūr** canals of the **Guntur** taluka and the drain which is in continuation of the latter.

The Honorable **Swamikannu Pillai** has kindly furnished the following note about the date of the inscription:—Śaka 1334, **Nandana**, **Śivarātri**, i.e. **Māgha bhādra** 13 or 14. I understand that **Śivarātri** is celebrated at midnight when the *nakṣatra* **Śravana** is current, whether the *tithi* be the 13th or the 14th. Now the *nakṣatra* **Śravana** was current at midnight between **Monday, 30th**, and **Tuesday, 31st January, 1413 A.D.** which was **Nandana**, Śaka 1334. The 14th *tithi* ended at 15½ *ghaṭikās* of Tuesday, 31st January 1413. The *nakṣatra* **Śravana** ended at 12½ *ghaṭikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413.²

¹ The description as usual includes the mention of a number of anthills distinguished by different trees that grow over or near them and of the villages, **Peḍḍipūṇḍi-Mandira** (north-east), **Tandiparati** (south-west), **Jatalam-pāḍu** and **Chundam**.

² The same is stated of **Mādhavabhṭṭa** in the first part of the inscription (v. 15). It is also recorded here that **Mādhavabhṭṭa** had thoroughly accomplished (the repetition of) the *mantra* (invoking the blessing-) of **Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha**.

³ [It will be seen from l. 29 that there was an eclipse of the sun in connexion with the **Śivarātri**. Mr. **Sewell** has kindly informed us that the **Śivarātri** ended at mean sunrise on **Wednesday, February 1st**. There was an important eclipse of the sun on that morning (Wednesday), conjunction taking place at 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.—S. K.]

Other Brāhmaṇa donees and their shares.

Serial number.	Names of Donees.	Gōtra.	Śākha.	Shares.
1	K[ā]ndrūri Śīngāya-Śishta	Harita	Yajus	2
2	Lakshmi-Narasimhabhatta, son of Mādhavārya	Bhāradvāja	Do.	2
3	His younger brother, Ananta-Narasimhabhatta	Do.	Do.	2
4	Addanki Mallubhatta	Śrīvatsa	Do.	2
5	Yellaya-Śishta of Velanāṇḍu	Harita	Do.	2
6	Kattāṅgūri Gaṅgādhara-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Do.	2
7	Papami Peddi-Śishta	Harita	Do.	1½
8	Janipani Annama-Śishta	Śāṇḍilya	Rig	1
9	Rudraya-bhatta	Kauśika	Yajus	1
10	Kāmaya-Śishta	Harita	Do.	1
11	Koṇḍūri Tippaya-Śishta	Śāṇḍilya	Do.	1
12	Ātukūri Peddi-Śishta	Kauśika	Rig	1
13	His son, Kūnaya-Śishta	Do.	Do.	1
14	His younger brother, Pinnaya-Śishta	Do.	Do.	1
15	Eraya-Śishta	Do.	Yajus	½
16	Śīngaya-Śishta, son of Padmanābha	Kāśyapa	Do.	1
17	Gudiyamaḷa Kṛṣṇaya-Śishta	Śrīvatsa	Do.	2
18	Kamaya-Śishta, son of Pōtaya	Do.	Do.	1
19	Kṛṣṇaya-Śishta, son of Pōtaya	Śāṇḍilya . . . . .	.....	½
20	Chittibhatta, son of Annaya	Śāṇḍilya	Yajus	1
21	Śīngaya-Śishta, son of Narahari	Do.	Do.	1
22	Mutta[na]-Śishta, son of Māraya	Bhāradvāja	Do.	1
23	Kēśava-Śishta, son of Narahari	Audhula	Rig	1
24	His younger brother, Dēvarē-bhatta	Do.	Do.	½
25	Sūraya-Śishta, son of Aubhaḷa	Kauṇḍinya	Do.	1
26	Mārū-bhatta, son of Tallaya	Do.	Do.	1
27	Vallabha-Śishta, son of Kēśava	Do.	Do.	1
28	Lakshmana-bhatta, son of Viśvēśvara-bhatta	Harita	Yajus	1
29	His younger brother, Nāgaya-bhatta	Do.	Do.	1
30	Kattāṅgūri Śīnganārya	Bhāradvāja	Do.	1
31	Guṇḍaya-bhatta	Kāśyapa	Do.	1
32	Peddi-bhatta, son of Pōtaya	Kauṇḍinya	Do.	1

Serial number.	Names of Donees.	Gōtra.	Śākḥā.	Shares.
33	Rudra-bhaṭṭa--on behalf of his wife Akāmāmbikā, daughter of the donor Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa ¹	Kāśyapa . .	Yajus . .	4
34, 35	The village gods, Hari and Hara . . . .	.....	.....	2 (one each)
36	Tippaya-Śiṣṭa, son of Śrīdhara ²	Śaṇḍilya . .	Do. . . .	1
	TOTAL . . . .	.....	.....	45

C.

This inscription consists of a Tolugu verso in the Sisa metre followed by another in the Tōṭa-gita metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock called *pullaribōḍu* north-east of **Aminabād** near Phiraṅgipuram. Like the last two inscriptions, this was also composed by the poet **Śrīnātha**. It records that, on the full moon day of the month of **Māgha** in the year **Manmatha** corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expressed in words), king **Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana**³ (*i.e.* Rāchavēmana, son of Vēmaya, *i.e.* Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma) had a channel called **Jaganobbagāṇḍa-kāluva**⁴ dug as a feeder to the tank **Santāna-vārdhi** which his mother **Śūrāmbā** had excavated. This tank is, no doubt, the same as that referred to in the Phiraṅgipuram inscription A. As pointed out in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma,⁵ this inscription shows that Rāchavēmana was Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's son and *not* his brother.

The Honourable Swamikannu Pillai informs me that the *pūrnimā-tiṭhi* referred to in the inscription ended at 43 *ghaṭikā*s after sunrise on Tuesday, 14th January, A.D. 1416.

Inscription A.

TEXT.⁶

West Face.

- 1 कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु
- 2 स विभुः कादंबिनीमेचकः क्रीडा-
- 3 [क्रो]डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्व-⁷

¹ It is stated that the share is given to provide Akāmāmbikā with *haridrā* (*i.e.* turmeric powder used as a toilet only by women with living husbands).

² The list of donees ends with the signature (*vrāṇa*) of the donor Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa.

³ The inscription gives him the following attributes : -- "the gem of plenty (*chintāmaṇi*) in (bestowing) gifts (mentioned by) Hēmaḍri, (the very god) Śaṅkara (Śiva) (riding) on the bulls (*haṇṇa*), *viz.*, the enemy kings, Phalguṇa (Arjuna) on the battle-field and the paramour of prostitutes, *i.e.* the proud hostile chiefs." The third attribute was a surname of his father Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma.

⁴ The channel was evidently so named after Jaganobbagāṇḍa, a title of frequent occurrence among the Reddi kings.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 12 f.

⁶ From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Krishna Saatri.

⁷ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 4 भरामुदङ्गन् । भारापेतफणा-
- 5 क्षिपतनवशान्मोदाय यस्या-
- 6 भवन्निर्यन्ना भुजगेंद्रमौक्मणि-
- 7 भिर्नीराजनप्रक्रिया । [1*] तमो हरे-
- 8 तां तव पुष्पवन्ती राकासु
- 9 पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगली-
- 10 लामिव दर्शयन्ती पुरां पुरा-
- 11 रेः पृथिवीरथस्य । [2*] मानुषाकारकिन्मो-
- 12 रस्तंवेरमवपुर्महः । उन्निद्रय-
- 13 तु भद्राणि रुद्राणी येन सुप्रजा[:] [1*] [3*]
- 14 यन्मौक्मौ निहितं चिराय निगमैर्ध्व-
- 15 यं च यद्योगिभिर्यज्ञक्ष्मीमृदुपा-
- 16 णिपद्मयुगळीसंवाहनेर्लालितं । [1*]
- 17 जाता यत्र वियन्नदी त्रिजगतीमन्ता-
- 18 पतिषापणी¹ तस्मात्कंसभिदः पदादु-
- 19 दभवहर्णा गुणार्णोनिधिः । [4*] तत्रा-
- 20 भवत्सप्तमचक्रवर्ती² वेमक्षितीशो जग-
- 21 रत्नपालः । एकादशेति प्रतिभाति शंका
- 22 येनावताराः परमस्य पुंसः । [5*] रा-
- 23 ज्यं वेमः स चिरमकरोत्पाज्यदानैक-
- 24 तानो भूमीदेवैर्भुवसुर्भुजो
- 25 भुक्तशेषामभुङ्क्ते³ । श्रीशैलाशायभ-
- 26 वति पथि प्राप्तपाताळगंगे सोपानानि
- 27 "प्रमधपदवीमारुरुच्यकार । [6*]
- 28 माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेंद्रमहिमा
- 29 वेमक्षितीशायजो रामाद्यैः⁴ मदृशो
- 30 बभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्रयो नन्द-
- 31 नाः । "किर्या जायति रेडिवीतनृपति[:*] श्री-
- 32 कीमटीन्द्रस्ततो नागक्ष्मापतिरित्युपा-
- 33 तवपुषो "धर्मार्थकामा इव । [7*] असूत

¹ Read °निर्वा°.² The *Śringārādīpikā* has हेमादेः.³ Read °मभुङ्क्ते.⁴ Read कीर्या.⁵ Read प्रमध°.⁶ Read धर्माध°.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

- 34 पुत्रं पेदकोमटीद्रो विश्राणने कर्णम-
 35 सूतपुत्रं । वेमाभिधानं सुगु-
 36 गैकधानं¹ पाधोनिधिर्नाधमिवौ[ष]-
 37 धीनां । [8*] ²धाटिदुंदुभिभांक्ति³
 38 कलयतो निर्घातरावं रिपू-
 39 न् नामानि द्रुतमर्जुनस्य जपतो
 40 यस्याजिगांडीविनः । संग्रामोपप-
 41 दानि तानि भवतां रक्षाकृते सर्वदा वर्ण्य-³
 42 तामिति बोधयंत्यधिपतोन् धीयं-³
 43 त्रिणो मंत्रिणः । [9*] श्रीगैले स्थिरमूल-
 44 तामुपगता हृष्टिं⁴ कुमारचले पं-³
 45 चारामतले प्रतानसुपमा सिंहा-

South Face.

- 46 चलंद्रे ततः । श्रीकूर्मं पुरुषोत्त-
 47 मे कुसुमिता यश्चर्मकीर्तिर्ब्रिता
 48 काश्यां विश्वपतेः पुरः फलवती नित्यो-
 49 पहारोचितं । [10*] अभिमन्युकरग्राह्या-
 50 मुत्तरां खड्गपुत्रिकां । नर्तय-
 51 त्याह्वे रंगे यः संग्रामधनं-
 52 जयः । [11*] अश्वतं गृहराजसोध-
 53 निवसन्नक्ष्मीकराभ्यंतरक्रीडांभो-
 54 रुहताऋतनटनप्रस्तावविस्ता-
 55 रितः । वायुः केसरवासनागुर-
 56 वितो यस्यार्ध्विचिंतामणोर्द्रा-
 57 गाचामति दानकैलिजनितं स्वेदां-⁷
 58 भसां जालकं । [12*] सप्तमंतानव-
 59 त्यासीद्येन सर्वसहेत्यलं । स्पर्धये-
 60 व धृताः कीर्त्या गर्भं लोकाद्यतुर्दश । [13*]

¹ Read °तानं पाथीनिधिनांय°.

² Read धाटी°.

³ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ Read धृष्टं.

⁵ Read यश्चर्मकीर्तिर्ब्रिता.

⁶ Read °भितो यस्याधि°.


⁷ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 61 राक्षस्तस्य महादेवो राजमौकेरि-
 62 वांबिका । रत्नसिंहासनस्यार्धे राज-
 63 ते सूरमांबिका । [14*] ॐ शकाब्दे शशि-
 64 रामरामधरणीसंख्ये विरोध्याह्न-
 65 ये वर्षे फाल्गुनान्नि मासि बह्व(हु)के
 66 पक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ^१ । देवी सा पेदकोम-
 67 टीश्वरभुव[*] श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपते[*] श्रीसं-
 68 तानपयोनिधेः कृतवती सम्यक् प्रति-
 69 ष्ठाविधिं । [15*] लीलालीढतरंगशीकरकणं^२
 70 राकाविधौ रंकुणा हरिंवेण
 71 मदीशशांतिविधये हिलावगा-
 72 ठं सुहृः । राजीवासनरथ्यहं-^३
 73 सपरिषच्चंपुटीचर्वितस्त्रकुं-^४
 74 भोजमृणाळिकाकिसलयकुंदं^५ य-
 75 दीयं पयः । [16*] घांटाकंठकठोरग-
 76 र्भकुह्मीपाळीमधूकीरसस्रोतःसौ-^६
 77 रभटीकमानमधुलिङ्गकारको-
 78 लाहलेः । वाचालानि वनानि यस्य
 79 सविधे सोयं सुधानिर्मलश्रीसंत[१]-
 80 नसमुद्र एष पयसां राशिर्जय-
 81 त्यष्टमः । [17*] वैडूर्यरत्नशकलामल-
 82 वारिपूरे मङ्गु^७ किमत्र भगवान्मध-^८
 83 केटभारिः । अंगीचकार जगतामवन-
 84 कुलेन^९ पाठीनककूपवराहमहा-^{१०}
 85 वतारान् । [18*] ॐ श्रीमहाभारते ॥
 86 देवा मनुष्याः पितरो गंधर्वो-
 87 रगराक्षसाः । स्यावराणि च भूता-
 88 नि संश्रयंति जलाशयं । [19*] तटाके य-

^१ Read °तिथौ.^२ Do. Read °स्रच्छा°.^३ Read °तस्थौ°.^४ Read °कुलेन.^५ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^६ Read °कुहं.^७ Read °कुंम.^८ Read °अपुकेटभारिः.^९ Read °कूप°.

- 89 स्य गावस्तु पिबति दृषिता जलं । [म]-
 90 गपक्षिमनुष्याश्च सोखमेधफलं
 91 लभेत् । [20*] आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवृत्त्य¹
 92 ति पितामहाः । अपि नः स कुले जातो
 93 यस्तटाकं करिष्यति । [21*] विद्याधिकारी श्री-
 94 नाथो वीरश्रीविमभूपतेः । [अ]करोदा-
 95 करो वाचां निर्मळं धर्मशासनं । [22*] श्री [॥*]

East Face.

- 96  Śak-ābdamula sahasramu-
 97 nu munnūṁṭa-muppadiy-o-
 98 kkaṁḍunun-aina bhavya-saṁkhyā- | varālu
 99 Virōdhi-saṁvatsarambuna Phālgū-
 100 nambuna baha(hu)la-pakshambu vidiya [1*]
 101 Śukravārambuna śabha-muhū-
 102 [r]tambuna śrī-Dhānyavāṭi-pur-ādhipa-
 103 tiyu-|ṁ Grishṇavoṇṇa-²jala-kriḍā-vinō-
 104 dūmḍḍun-āgu Ganna-bhūpālun-ānu-
 105 ṁguṁ-batri | Viranārāyaṇuṁ-
 106 ḍu-Vēma-vibhuni dēvi | bhūri-sadguṇa-
 107 nikuruniba Sūramāmba | jagamu
 108 vinutimpa Saṁtāna-sagar-ākhyā-[1*] vara-
 109 tatāka-pratishṭh-ōtsavamb-onareche³ || [23*] Jāhna-
 110 vi-Yamun-ādi-sakala-pāvana-nadi-
 111 vimala-⁴tirdhṭh-āmbhaḥ-pavitritambu | sa-
 112 vidha-dēśa-sthāyi-Śiva-maṁḍi-bāl-ōṁdu-
 113 kaṁmudi-saṁpulla-⁵kaivāmbu | ba-
 114 hu-maha-⁶parivāha-pāthōbhara-dhvā-
 115 na-ghumaghumāyita-diśū-gō-
 116 ḷakāmbu | jala-sūrapī-sēka-saṁvardhi-
 117 t-ānōka-vana-vinit-ādihvag-ādihva-śramatambu [1*]
 118 balavad-uru-matsya-kachchehapa-⁷dhuḷi-kulira-[1*]
 119 timi-timirigila-vikrama-krama-vihāra-[1*]
 120 taralatara-tuṁga-bhaṁga-kadamba-chuṁ[bi]-[1*]
 121 t-ābhra-vidhi(thi) Saṁtāna-maha-payōdhi⁸ || [24*]
 122 Kapāṭa-sūkaram-aina Kaiṭabhi-āsura-vairi-
 123 khura-putāmbulaṁ barikshunnam-⁹ā-
 124 yyo | Raghu-kul-ōdvaha-dhanur-yam-

¹ The *annavāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.² Read *Kṛṣṇavōṇṇa*.³ Read *-onareche*.⁴ Read *-tirdh*.⁵ Read *-saṁpulla*.⁶ Read *-mahā*. There is an indistinct syllable written above the line between the letters *ma* and *ha*; it looks like *da*, *du* or *la*.⁷ Read *-kachchehapa-dhuḷi*.⁸ Read *-payōdhi*.⁹ Read *-kshunnam*.

- 125 tra-muktamul-nina chicheburammula¹ vō-
 126 m̐dīm jēva daṛage-|m̐ Guimbha-saṁbhavu-
 127 nī hast-āmbhō-ruham̐bunan=āpō-
 128 sanam̐b=ayī hr̥asam=ōinde-|m̐ bāshā-
 129 namulan=achhechhabhalla² gōlāngūla-ka
 130 pi-yūdhāmula-chēta³ m̐ guṭṭuvaḍiye |
 131 vanadhi yō bhāngī sari-vachebun=anaṁgavachchu-[1*]
 132 n=ā-rasātala-gaṁbhīra-vari-y-aguchu-[1*] n apa-
 133 gat-āpāyam=aguchu sabbh-aḍhyav-āgu-
 134 chu-[1*] n anupamanib-aiua Samtana-vanadhitōḍa [1*] [25*]

Inscription B.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु स विभुः कार्द्विनीमेचकः क्रीडाक्रो-
 2 डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विष्यंभरामुदहन् । भारापेतफ-
 3 णाविवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्याभवन्निर्यत्ना भुजगंद्रमौकिस-
 4 णिभिर्निराजनप्रक्रिया । [1*] लीलाद्युतजितां कक्षाधरकक्षां मो-
 5 क्री दृढं कीलितामाहर्तु युगमुन्नमय्य भुजयो-
 6 विज्ञेययत्या मिथः । पावत्याः कुचकुम्भपार्थ-
 7 युगळे संप्रमलोलक्षणः कालत्रयमिंदुसाचन-
 8 विधी कांचनं शिवः पातु वः । [2*] भवतु भवतां फलाख्ये कल्पलता
 9 कापि करटिराजमुखी । मधुरमुधारमधारा मधुलव-
 10 ललितेदमंजरीमंजुः । [3*] तसो हरेतां तव पुण्यवं-
 11 तौ राकामु पूर्वापरकलभाजौ । रथांगलीलामिव दर्श-

First Plate; Second Side.

- 12 यंतौ पुरा पुरारेः पृथिवीरवस्य⁴ । [4*] यन्मौकौ निहितं चिराय
 निगमे-
 13 र्ध्यं च यद्योगिभिर्यत्नोमृदपाणिपद्मयुगलीसंवाहनेला⁵
 14 लितं । जाता यत्र विद्यन्नदी त्रिजगतीसंतापनिर्वापणी तस्मात् कंस-
 15 भिदः पदादुदभवहर्ष⁶ गुणार्णानिधिः । [5*] तस्मादभूत् प्रोक्षयवे-

¹ Mr. Brown gives the form *chichechurammula* in the sense of 'rocket,' The word is a compound of *chichechu* and *ammula* and means a fiery arrow.

² Read *-achchhabhalla-*.

³ Read पृथिवीरवस्य.

⁴ Read नैर्ला^०.

⁵ Read *-ādhyam-*.

⁶ Read °हर्षो.

- 16 मनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविदानशाली' । हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदत्तो
 17 निस्सीमभूदाननिरूढकीर्तिः । [6*] वेमक्षितोशो हपमेकपादं खं-
 18 जप्रचारं कलिकालदीपात् । दत्तायहारद्विजवेदशक्त्या पथि क-
 19 मेरस्खलितं चकार । [7*] माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेंद्रमहिमा वे-
 20 मक्षितोशायजो रामाद्यैः सदृशो बभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्रयो]
 21 नंदनाः । कीर्त्या जायति रेड्डिवीतनृपतिः[*] श्रीकोमटीन्द्रस्तो
 22 नागस्त्रापतिरित्युपात्तवपुषो धर्मार्थकामा इव । [8*] वे-
 23 माधिपो माचविभुश्च नंदनौ श्रीकोमटीन्द्रश्च गुणे-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 24 कसंश्रयी । भूलोकमेकोदरजन्मवाङ्मया भूयावतीणाविव
 25 रामलक्ष्मणी । [9*] 'वृडामणिनृपाणं दुर्मदपरिपदिशिखरिदंभो-
 26 क्रिः । सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति । [10*] मायं वेम-
 27 [म*]हीपालो भूपालपरमेश्वरः । भूदानधोरसूर्ध्वन्यो धीरो-
 28 दात्तगुणोत्तरः । [11*] श्रीशकाब्दे पयोराशिरामरसंद-
 29 मस्मिन्ते । नंदने मासि माघाख्ये शिवरात्र्यां रविग्रहे' [12*]
 30 पितुः पितामहो यस्य मह[नी]यशोनिधिः' । मा-
 31 धवो नाम मेधावी विश्वविद्याविहारभू[] [13*] पितामहो महा-
 32 विद्वान् यस्य श्रीगुंडयाभिधः । वेदादीनां विगजानां वि-
 33 द्यानां जन्मसंदिहं । [14*] शापानुग्रहदत्तो लक्ष्मोनरसिंहसं-
 34 त्संसिद्धः [] सकलकविमार्वाभासां माधवभट्टः पिता यस्य [] [15*]

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 35 श्रीविश्वेश्वरविदुषे भारद्वाजान्वयावतंसाय । स्मयविरहि-
 36 ताय तस्मै विद्याविनयान्विताय पुण्याय । [16*] प्रदानिलिंग-
 37 विषये वेलनांडो मनोरमे । तंगभद्रातरंगिण्याः प्रा-
 38 क्षीरे पर्यवस्थितं । [17*] आलणाडुरिति ख्यातं ग्राममाचंद्रता-
 39 रकं । साष्टैश्वर्यं ह्यष्टभागं धारापृथं धराधिपः [] [18*]
 40 अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि देशभाषया लिख्यन्ते []⁹

¹ Read °विधान°.

² Read धर्मार्थ°.

³ Read श्रीकोमटीन्द्रस्य.

⁴ This verse is found also in the *Śringāradīpikā*. Read °नृपाणां

⁵ Read दुर्मदपरिपथि°.

⁶ Read गुणोत्तरः.

⁷ The letters here are somewhat illegible though the reading is almost certain.

⁸ Read प्रादाक्षि°.

⁹ The rest of this side as well as the whole of plate 3 which are taken up with a description of the boundary line of Ālapādu in Telugu prose have not been transcribed. Plates 4 and 5 which contain the names of donees, who received the grant from Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa, are also left out.

Inscription C.

TEXT.

- 1 Śak-āb[d]amulu sahasrāmbunu māt[n]ūṁṭa-muppadi[y-ēḍunu]
 2 ʿyopp[u] migula | mahāniyam=aīna Manmatha-vatsarāmbuna Ma[kb]a-² māsā-
 3 munah būṛṇimā-dinamuna | Hōmātri-dāna-chintāmapiy=a-
 4 rirāya-basuva-³Śamkar[u]ṁḍ-āji-Phalgunumḍḍu | sa-mad-āri-rāya-vē-
 5 śyā-bhujamgumḍḍu Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana-kshmāvarumḍḍu | dalli-
 6 Surāmbachē samutpāṇnam=aguchuṁ [l] baragu Sāmtāna-vā-
 7 rdhiki varuva gāṁga- | [n=o]layu giri-vāhinula Jaganobbagamḍa-[l*]kā-
 8 luva ghaṭimchen=ā-tārakāmbu gāṁga ||

|| Śrīnātha-kṛiti ||

No. 34.—MAREDAPALLI GRANT OF SRI-RANGARAYA II; SAKA 1497.

By V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A.

The subjoined grant is published from two sets of Sir Walter Elliot's ink-impressions which the late Government Epigraphist for India was kind enough to place at my disposal. It is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1497, the cyclic year probably being Yuva, and belongs to the reign of Śrī-Raṅgarāya II, of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Mr. Sewell is of opinion that this date¹ marks the commencement of Śrī-Raṅgarāya's rule.

Although a number of inscriptions belonging to this dynasty has already appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, yet not a single Sanskrit inscription of this particular king has been published *in extenso*.² And what is more, even the chroniclers of these times do not seem to have thought it either necessary or proper to make more than a passing mention of the successors of the renowned Rāmarāya on the Vijayanagar throne. This, perhaps, is partly accounted for by the fact that the battle of Tālikōṭa of A.D. 1565, in which king Rāmarāya fell, sounded, as it were, the death-knell of the dynasty and crippled its power and resources once and for ever. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that such information as can be gleaned from the grants and other documents of the rulers of this

¹ Read -ḍḍunu=oppu.

² Read *Magha*.

³ Read *basava*.

⁴ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 218.

⁵ A fragmentary translation of an inscription of this king from Dēvanahalli in Mysore is published in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*. See No. 140, p. 252 ff.

dynasty who lived during the days of its decline, will be useful in so far at least as they will enable us to determine with tolerable certainty the extent of their dominions and the seats of their government, if not also their relations with their quondam viceroys in distant provinces.

Turning to the grant itself, it may be observed that the tops of the first, second, fourth, and sixth pages of the impressions are marked by the Telugu numerals 1, 2, 3 and 4. There also appear faint traces of the numeral 5 at the top of the eighth page. This seems to indicate that the grant was originally incised on five plates of which the first and the last were engraved only on the inner, and the intervening three on both sides. Judging from the impressions, the plates can be said to have been in good preservation. They measure $9\frac{3}{4}$ " \times $7\frac{1}{4}$ " and seem to have had raised rims and a ring passing through the centre of their top.

The alphabet is Nandināgari. The following are some of the orthographical peculiarities and errors :—

- (1) the doubling of *y*, *t*, and *d* after *r* in *-buriyyō* (ll. 9 and 13); *-sauryyēṇa* (l. 25); *-mūrttiḥ* (l. 46); *-kīrtti-* (l. 61); *bharttūm* (l. 87); and *-śārdḍālamardḍanaḥ* (l. 117);
- (2) the doubling of *n* when followed by *r* in *nivasannrājati* (l. 81);
- (3) the dropping of the *visarga* before sibilants in *-saptamaśripati-* (l. 11) and *svaḥkūminī-svatanu-* (l. 18);
- (4) the use of the *anusvāra* instead of class nasals in *narēṇdraḥ* (l. 11); *Tātapinnama-* (l. 13); *karam* (l. 14); *nirāṇjanāni* (l. 34); *-bhāvāṇchitāḥ* (l. 65); and *-maṇḍalika-* (ll. 102 and 105);
- (5) the use of *n* instead of *ṇ* in *dinnūgān* (l. 58);
- (6) the use of *ḷ* instead of *l* due, perhaps, to vernacular influence in *lāḷitāḥ* (l. 5); *-chalikshma-* (l. 10); *surabhilāṣugām* (l. 21) and *-mē(ma)ṛāḷu-* (l. 55); and lastly,
- (7) the use of the symbol for *ḍh* to denote *ṭh* (ll. 57 and 58). The words *chaurāṣi* (l. 90), *sāmula* (l. 94), *dhaḷṭa* (l. 107) and *disāpaḷṭa*, which occur in the Vilāpāka grant¹, are also found here.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Gaṇādhipati and consists of eighty-three Sanskrit verses. It closes with the word *Śrī-Vīrapākṣa* in old Kanarese characters. The first three verses invoke respectively the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa in the manner of the British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya.² The following eighteen verses carry the genealogy of the dynasty, partly mythical and partly historical, down to Tirumalarāya's reign and have their exact parallel in verses 3-20 of the Koṇḍyāta grant of Veṅkaṭa II.³ Verses 22-29 describe king Tirumalarāya but record no historical facts.⁴ With verse 30 begins the description of the donor Śrī-Raṅgarāya II, son of king Tirumala and Voṅgaḷāmbā. In verse 42 he is said to have belonged to the *Ātrēya-gōtra*.

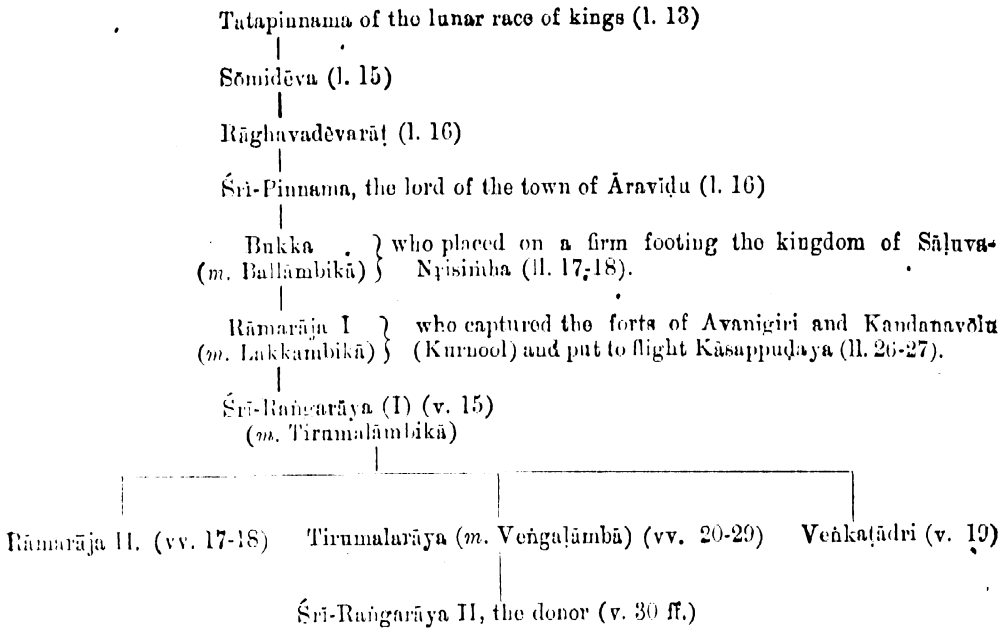
¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.

² *Ibid.* p. 12.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 129.

⁴ Identical with these are the verses 24-27, 29, 30 and 32 of the Tumkur Plates of Tirumalarāya (see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, pp. 2-3).

His ancestry is given as follows :—



Most of these details are found in the Kūṇiyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II.¹ Śrī-Raṅgarāja II is reported to have captured several fortresses including the inaccessible Koṇḍaviḍu and Vinikoṇḍapura from his camp at Uddagiri (Udayagiri in Nellore) and to have been residing at Penukoṇḍa (v. 31).² He married two wives, viz., Tirumaladēvi and Kṛishṇāmba (v. 32). He reduced the Chaurāsīdurga (i.e. eighty-four hill forts, perhaps, in Mahārāshṭra). He bore in his heart Śārṅgaḍhara (i.e., the god Viṣṇu) (v. 35). Some of his *biṇḍas* were *Maniyan Sāmba* (v. 36), *Gaṇḍaraḡḡḷi* and *Manyapuli* (v. 38). He was highly extolled as the vanquisher of Avahatūraya and the king of Utkala (vv. 37-8). He was the lord of Āraṇḍu and adopted the surnames *Veṅḡyatrībharanīmalla* (l. 102), *Uṛigolasuratṛāpa* (i.e. Sultan of Orniḡal) (l. 103), *Raḡamukharāmbhadra* (l. 104), *Kalyāṇapurādhipa* and *Chālakkachakravartin* (ll. 108-9). As suggested by Dr. Hultzsch the first and the fourth of these *biṇḍas* were perhaps reminiscences of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas.³ He calls himself the suzerain of the Raṭṭas and Magadhas (l. 107) *Konarāṇī-kōṭala-kōṇḡa*, and *Oḍḍiyaraya-diṣāpaṭṭa* (v. 45). With verse 53 commences the grant proper.

The date is expressed as the twelfth tithi (*prathamadrādaśitithau*) of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the Śaka year reckoned by the horses (7), the treasures (9), the Vēdas (1), and the moon (1) (i.e. 1497), the cyclic year being Yuva. This date falls in A.D. 1574 expired.⁴

The grant was made before the god Rāmachandra.⁵ The donee was Aubhaḷabhaṭṭa who belonged to the Kaśyapa-gotra and was a follower of the Kātyāyana-sātra and the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, pp. 238-9.

² This is already known to us from two inscriptions published by Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Sh. 83, and Vol. XII, Ch. 39); see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 94.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.

⁴ Sewell's *Indian Calendar*, p. LXXX.

⁵ Perhaps, the Rāmesvāmin temple at Penukoṇḍa is referred to here. It may be noted in this connection that although the capital of this dynasty had been removed to Penukoṇḍa by king Tirumala, the father of the present donor, the name of the guardian deity occurring at the end of the grant is given as Śrī-Virūpāksha.

Śuklayajuh-śākhā. He was the son of Varadabhaṭṭa and grandson of Balēndubhaṭṭa (vv. 55-7).

The village granted was Mārēdapalli *alias* Kṛishṇapuram belonging to the Rāyadurga-rājya girt round by Hastināvati (i.e. the modern Hampi in the Bellary District), to the Pennavēṇṭha (?-nāḍu) and to the Bhūdigumma-sima¹ (vv. 58-9). It was to the east of the river Penna (? Northern Pennār) and south of the hill bounding the village of Chōlasamudra and near the chemaṇḍa-bush lying east of Nilādri (*lit.* blue hill) situated on the outskirts of the village of Korakodru and close to the river Penna. It was to the west of the blue elevated ground bordering on the *Gidḍam iligini-kshētra* and lying to the west of Kumarilapalli, which again was the western boundary of the village of Palukur, west of the tamarind tree adjoining the sandy tract bounding the village of Velōṭi. It was to the north of the stone pillar set up near the śami tree growing on the outskirts of Timmāpura. Of these places, Kṛishṇapuram may have taken its name from Virakṛishṇama of the Kāśyapa-gotra, at whose instance the grant was made. He was the son of Varabayyappa and lord of Maṇināgapura and is said to have borne the biruda *Sitakaragaṇḍāṅka* (vv. 70-3) and to have been the terror of Dhavaḷāṅka(na).²

The titles *Sindhu-Gōvinda*, *Sitakaragaṇḍa*, *Davaḷāṅka-Bhīma* and *Maṇināgapuravarā-dhīśvara* are applied to Tirumalarāja of Udayagiri in an inscription of Śaka-Saivāt 1457, the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to A.D. 1535-36.³ In a copper-plate record of Śaka-Saivāt 1484, the cyclic year Rudhirōdgārin, corresponding to A.D. 1563-64 the same epithets are given to Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka, son of Baiyappa-Nāyaka, of Balam (Bēlar). Of Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka (also called Eṇa-Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka) Mr. Rice remarks, that he "is represented in most of the inscriptions as the head of the family, who was enfeoffed by Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara. He was the *haḍapada*, or bearer of the king's betel-bag".⁴ According to Mr. Rice, Veṅkaṭādri-Nāyaka, son of Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka, was the head of the Balam family in Śaka-Saivāt 1498, the cyclic year Dhatṛi, corresponding to A.D. 1576-76. About Maṇināgapura Mr. Rice adds, "I have been unable to identify Maṇināgapura. It appears to be a place in the Central Provinces."

The composer of the inscription was the son of Sabhāpati and the engraver Gaṇapayā-chārya, the son of Virāṇa. These two persons also figure in the same capacities in the Tumkūr Plates of Tirumalarāja.⁷

The grant concludes with the usual imprecatory verses and *Śrī-Virūpākṣa* in old Kanarese characters at the end.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । "स्तुंगशिरसुंबिचंद्रचाम-
- 2 रचावे⁹ । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] ¹⁰हरेर्लीलाव-
- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः ।[हि]माद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्रशि-
- 4 यं दधौ ।(॥) [२*] ¹⁰कल्याणायस्तु तद्वाम प्रत्युद्भूतिमिरापहं । यद्गजो-
- 5 प्यगजोद्भूतं पंचास्येनापि लाकितं¹¹ ।(॥) [३*] ¹⁰जयति क्षीरजलधर्जात(तं)

¹ Būdigumma is the name of a village in the Rāyadurg tāluka of the Bellary District. It is 29 miles east of Rāyadurg.

² The correct form of this biruda is *Davaḷāṅka-Bhīma* as will be seen in the next paragraph.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 95.

⁴ *ibidem*, Vol. V, H. N. 5.

⁵ *ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, p. xxxiii.

⁶ *ibidem*, Vol. IV., Yd. 59.

⁷ *ibidem*, Vol. XII, p. 5.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read नमस्तुंग⁹.

⁹ Read चारवे.

¹⁰ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹¹ Read लाकितं.

- 6 सव्येक्षणं हरेः । आलम्बनं चकोराणाममरायुक्तर¹ महः ।(॥) [४*] ²पोच-
 7 स्तस्य पुरुरवा बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस(स्या)मजः संजज्ञे नहुपो³ यया-
 8 तिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तदंशे भरतो बभूव नृ(वृ)पतिस्तत्त-
 9 तौ शतनुस्तत्तुर्थो विजयोभिमन्युददभूत्तस्मात्परि(री)क्षिततः[*]॥५*]
 10 'नंदस्तस्याष्टमोभूत्समजनि नव[म]स्तस्य राष्ट्रश्चक्षिस्मापक्ष-⁴
 11 सप्तम[*] श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेंद्रः । तस्यासोद्विज्ज[क्षे]-
 12 द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेम्नाक्रिरायस्ताचीयोको⁵ सुरारौ क-
 13 तनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मायापरोषः⁷ ।(॥) [६*] ⁸तत्तुर्थोजनि तातपिनम-
 14 महीपालो निजालोकनचस्तामिन्नगणस्ततोजनि हर⁹ दुर्गा-
 15 णि सप्ताहितात् । अज्ञेनेन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञ(ज्ञे) सु-
 16 तो वीरो राष्ट्रवदेवराडित तत[*] श्रीपिन्नमोभूट(वृ)पः । (॥) [७*] ¹⁰आरयोटि-
 17 ¹¹ननरीविभोरभूदस्य ब(वु)कधरणीपतिस्तुतः । येन साकुवट-
 18 सिंहराज्यमध्येधमानमहसा स्थिरीकृतं ।(॥) [८*] ¹²स्वःकामिनी¹² स्वत-
 19 नुकांतिभिर[*]क्षिपंतौ बुक्कावनीपतिलको बुधकल्पशाखो । क-
 20 ल्याग्निनीं कमलनाभ इवाह्निकन्या¹³ बल्लंविनामुदवहहृ-
 21 मान्यशीलां ।(॥) [९*] ¹⁴सुतेव कलशांबुधेः सुरभिष्ठाशुगं माधवात्कु-
 22 मारमिव शंकरात्कुलमहीततः¹⁵ कनाका¹⁶ । जयंतममरप्रभो-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 23 रपि शचीव बुक्काधिपाश्चर्य¹⁷ जगति बल्लमालभत रा-
 24 मराजं सुतं ।(॥) [१०*] ¹⁸सहस्रैस्तस्या सहितमपि यस्मिंधुजनुषां
 25 सपादस्थानीकं समिति भुजशौर्येण महता । विजित्यादत्ते-
 26 स्मादवनिगिरिदुर्गं विभुतया विभूतेंद्रः कासप्युडयमपि
 27 विद्राव्य सहसा ।(॥) [११*] ¹⁹कंदनवोलिदुर्गमुरुकंदकद[भ्यु*]दयो वा[हु]ब-
 28 लेन यो बहुतरेण विजित्य हरेः । सन्नहितस्य तच्च चरणांभु(वु)-
 29 षु भक्ततया ज्ञातिभिरर्पित²⁰ सुधयति स्म निशेव्य²¹ विषं ।(॥) [१२*] ²²श्री-

¹ Read 'युक्तर'.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Read 'पुरीषः'.

⁴ Read 'नगरीविभो'.

⁵ Metre: Prithivī.

⁶ Read 'पाकुवट'.

⁷ Read 'रर्पित'.

⁸ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Read 'चलिच्छापस्त'.

¹⁰ Read 'हरन्'.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹² Read 'महीभूतः'.

¹³ Metre: Śikharip.

¹⁴ Read 'निशेव्य'.

¹⁵ Read 'नहुपो'.

¹⁶ Read 'काशीचीको'.

¹⁷ Metre: Bathōddhatā.

¹⁸ Read 'स्वःकामिनीः'.

¹⁹ Read 'कल्पशा'.

²⁰ Metre: Śailasikhā.

²¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

- 30 रामराजक्षितिपस्य तस्य चिंतामणेरर्वि(र्घि)कदंबकानां । [ल]-
 31 क्षी[रि]वांभोरुहलोचनस्य [ल]कांबिकामुथ मद्ध्यिलासी-
 32 त् ।(॥) [१३*] 'तस्याधिकैस्समंभवत्तनयस्तपोभिश्च श्रीरंगराजन्-
 33 पतिश्च शिवंशदी[पः] । आसन् समुल्लसति धामति' यस्य चि-
 34 चं नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां च [नि]रंजनानि ।(॥) [१४*] 'मतीं तिरुमुला-
 (मलां)वि-
 35 कां चरितलीलयारुंधतीप्रथामपि तितित्तया वसुमतो-
 36 यशो रुंधती । हिमांशुरि[व] रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं मद्र(द्र)णी-
 37 रमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवा[प्य*] वीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [१५*] 'रचितनयविचा-
 38 र(रं) रामराजं च धीरं वरतिरुमलरायं वेंकटाद्रिस्थितेशं [।*]
 39 अजनयत स एतामानुपूर्व्या कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्या[मे]-
 40 व राजा महीजाः ।(॥) [१६*] ^५[अ](स)कलभुवनकंटकानरातीन् समिति नि-
 41 हृत्य स रामराजवीरः । भरतमन् भगीरथादिराजप्रथित-
 42 यशः प्रशशास चक्रमुर्व्याः ।(॥)[१७*]^६ वितरणपरिपाटीं यस्य वि-
 43 द्याधु(ध)रीणां नखरमुखरवीणानादगीतां निशम्य । अन्-
 44 कलमयमावालांब(बु)र् [वं*] बापदेशादमरनगरशाखी लज्ज-
 45 या मञ्जतीव ।(॥) [१८*] 'व्यराजत श्रीवरवेंकटाद्रिराजः क्षिती लक्ष्म-
 46 णचारुमूर्तिः । ज्याघोषदूरोक्तमेघनादः कुर्वन् सुमिचा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 47 शयङ्गष(र्ष)पोषं ।(॥) [१९*] 'त्रिषु श्रीरंगक्ष्मापरिवृ(वृ)ढकुमा-
 48 रेष्वाधिरणं विजित्यारिक्ष्मापांस्तिरुमलमङ्ग[।*]रायन्-
 49 [प]तिः । महा(ह्री)जास्त्राम्राज्ये सुमतिरभिषिक्ता(क्तो) निरुपमे प्रशास्यु-
 50 वीं सर्वामपि तिष्ठषु मूर्त्तिष्विष हरिः ।(॥) [२०*] 'यशस्विनामगं(ग्र)-
 सरस्य य-
 51 स्य पद्माभिषेके सति पृथिव्येदोः^७ । दानांबुपूरैररभिषिचा-¹⁰
 52 माना देवीपदं भूमिरियं दधाति ।(॥) [२१*] 'यस्यातिप्रौढतेजश्चावि-
 53 तरि ^८विमतङ्गांतमेदिन्युदीते कीर्त्तिचीरार्णवांतस्फुटतर-

^१ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^४ Metre: Mālinī.

^७ Metre: Upajāti.

^{१०} Read 'पूरैरभिषिच्य'.

^२ Read धामनि.

^५ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

^६ Metre: Śikharinī.

^{११} Metre: Sragdharā.

^३ Metre: Prithvī.

^८ Metre: Mālinī.

^९ Read पृथिव्येदोः.

^{१२} Read विमतङ्गांतं.

- 54 विकसत्पुंडरीकोपमस्य । श्वेतशङ्खस्य¹ मध्ये² कनककलशि-
 55 का भासते कर्णिकाभा³ तस्योपांत³ मेराकद्वयमिव विचलन्ना-
 56 मरद्वंद्वमास्ते ।(॥) [२२*] 'भोगित्वे⁴ विदितेपि जिह्व⁵ इति व्याकाधिरा-
 57 जं लसद्वत्तत्वे⁶ जळसंययोति⁷ कमठं⁸ दानेपि मंदा इति । दि-
 58 न्ना(ङ्ना)गान् भृशमुन्नतौ च कठिना⁹ इत्योष¹⁰ हित्वा गिरीस्तत्त्व-
 59 हुणसंपदेकशरे(र)णं भूरेति हर्षणं यं ।(॥) [२३*] 'स्वैरं¹¹ संवृतकंटको-
 60 [य] सुकृतोत्कृष्टं विधायाखिलं आकेदारमुदारदानसलिला-
 61 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवर्णा(ध्या)नवकीर्तिसस्यनिवहं तत्पालिकां
 62 ¹¹विक्रमः श्रीकांतां भुजकायमानशिखरे धत्ते हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥) [२४*] ¹²जि-
 63 ण्णत्वं शुचितां प्रजासु समतावर्तित्वमप्याश्रितो वृत्ति(त्ति) पुण्यज-
 64 नप्रियामधिगतः ख्यातः प्रचेता इति । प्राप्तस्पर्शनवि(वि)भ्रमाय-¹³
 65 [न]प्रतिस्मर्व[क्ष*]भावांचितः प्रायो यः प्रकटीकरोति भुवने
 66 तत्तद्दिगोशांशतां ।(॥) [२५*] ¹³हुत्वा मंत्रपुरःसरं रिपुयशोलाजान्
 67 प्रतापानले (।) सपापय्य¹⁴ पदान¹⁵ सप्त भुवनेष्वारोप्य मेरुप-
 68 लं । प्रीतः कीर्तिमयीं वधूं परिणयन् सत्का(त्कौ)तुकीक्षासिनीं य-
 69 स्मिंहासनमाश्रितो विजयते गृह्य¹⁷ द्विजं(जै)द्राशिषः ।(॥)[२६*] ¹⁸अन्या-

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- 70 तविश्राणनकीर्तिसाम्यं सुरदुमा यस्य तु लब्धु(ब्धु)कामाः ।
 71 तटै(टै) तपस्यंति वि(वि)यत्तटिन्याः प्रवाककाषायपटा जटास[†*]: ।(॥) [२७*]
¹⁰[कां]-
 72 चिश्चोरंगशीषाचलकनकसभाहोवकाद्रीशमुख्येष्वहत्या-
 73 हृत्य सर्वंश्वतनुत विधिवभू(द्भू)यसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु [त्ति]-
 74 र्धेष्वपि कनकतुलापूरुषादीनि नानादानान्येषोपदानैर-
 75 पि सममखिले(लै)रागमौ(मो)क्तानि तानि ।(॥) [२८*] ²⁰यस्मिन् शासत्येकवोरे
 76 धरित्रीमेणाक्षीणामेव कार्श्यं विलग्ने । टिष्य²¹ तत्कृतके कर्क[श]-
 77 त्वं तद्वक्षोत्ते(जै) चापलं तत्कटाक्षे ।(॥) [२९*] ¹⁹अनंतरं तत्तनयः
 प्रतोतश्च[†]-

¹ Read श्वेतशङ्खस्य.

² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Read जळ.

⁴ Read इत्योष.

⁵ Read °विश्वमो धन.

⁶ Read गृह्य.

⁷ Metre: Śālini.

⁸ Read मध्ये.

⁹ Read जिह्व.

¹⁰ Read कमठं.

¹¹ Read विक्रमश्री.

¹² Read संप्रापय्य.

¹³ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁴ Read कौटिल्यं.

¹⁵ Read °पाते मेराक.

¹⁶ Read °वत्तत्वे.

¹⁷ Read कठिना.

¹⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁹ Read पदानि.

²⁰ Metre: Śragdhārā.

- 78 स्ति हस्तापजितद्युतशास्त्री¹ । श्रीवेङ्कटाचिरपुष्कराशि[:*] श्री-
 79 रंगराय[:*] श्रितभागधेयः ।(॥) [३०*] ²उद्गिरी स्थितः परिबि(वि)जित्य च
 80 दुर्गज(च)यान् दुर्गमकोडवीडुविनिर्कीडपुरप्रमुखान् । भूव-
 81 लयैकरत्नपेनुगोडपुरे निवसन्नाजति यः समग्रमकरा-
 82 दिमलाञ्छनतः ।(॥) [३१*] ³श्रीधरणीरिव⁴ श्रीरेशिगिरकरस्येव रो-
 83 ह्मिणीचित्रे । देव्यौ ते विजयेते [ति*]रुमलदेवी च यस्य कृष्णांवा ।(॥)
 [३२*] ⁵य-
 84 थाविधि महीसुरोत्तमकृताभिषेकोत्सवे यदीयकरवारि-
 85 [दे] कनकवृष्टिदे सर्वतः । यशोमयतरंगिणी दशदिगंतरे
 86 जृम्भते सतां प्रशमितोभवत्कृपणतोरुदावानलः ।(॥) [३३*] ⁶धात्रीभा-
 87 रमशेषमपा(प्य)विकलं भर्तुं भुजं व्यातनोदाशादंतिक्र(कु)लाच-
 88 लेंद्रफणिराडंशैस्मरोजासनः । धीरश्रीरमणस्य यस्य प-
 89 र[था] विक्रांतिमानेष किं दानांभः कटकं च नमय⁷ धत्ते सदा
 90 भोगितां ।(॥) [३४*] ⁸वाराशिगांभीर्यविशेषधुय्य(र्य)श्रीराशिदुर्गेकवि-
 91 भाऊवर्यः⁹ । पराष्टदिषायमनःप्रकामभयंकरः शार्ज(ङ्ग)धरा-
 92 तरंगः ।(॥) [३५*] ¹⁰हतरिपुरनिर्मणानोककहो¹¹ याचकानां होसवि-
 93 [रु]दरगंडो रायराहत्तमिंडः¹² । महितचरितधन्यो मन्त्रिया-

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- 94 न्यामुलादिप्रकटितबिदु(रु)दश्रीः पाटिताराति-
 95 लोकः ।(॥) [३६*] ¹³उभयदक्षपितामहो नतानामभयपदार्पण-
 96 तत्परो रिपूणां । अयमवहकुरायमानमही(ही)त्यसि-¹⁴
 97 लजनैरभिधीयमानधामा ।(॥) [३७*] ¹⁵तांडवितोदयो विरुदम-
 98 न्यरगंडतयोद्दंडबलोल्लेङ्गजयपंडितधीरयु-
 99 तः । चंडिमशालिबाहुबलदंडितधैरिगं(ग)णी गंडस्त्रू-
 100 क्रिमन्यपुलिमान्यमहाविरुदः ।(॥) [३८*] ¹⁶सारचोररमया¹⁷ ससु-
 101 क्षसन्नारवोटिपुरहारनायकः¹⁸ । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुजं¹⁹

¹ Read °दुशास्त्री.

⁴ Read श्रीधरणी इव.

⁷ Read काचनमयं.

¹⁰ Metre: Mālīni.

¹³ Metre: Pūshpitāgā.

¹⁸ Metre: Rādhoddhatū.

² Metre: Śailāsikhā.

⁵ Metre: Prithvī.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

¹¹ Read °नोकहो.

¹⁴ Read °स्त्रिल्लजने°

¹⁷ Read सारबोर°.

⁸ Metre: Gīti.

⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrādita.

⁹ Read °वर्यः.

¹² Read °राहुतमिंडः.

¹⁵ Metre: Śailāsikhā.

¹⁹ Read महाभुजः.

- 102 अयम्भडलोकधरणीवराहतां ॥(॥) [३८*] ^१वेङ्गयन्त्रिभुवनीमङ्गलः*
- 103 संख्यक्षितिकलार्जुनः । (॥) [४०*] ^२उरिगोलसुरचाण(णो) हरिगोचर-
- 104 मानसः । रात्रां वरो रणमुखरामभद्र इति श्रुतः ॥(॥) [४१*] ^३वर्णि-
- 105 तविरुदो नानावर्णश्रोमंडलीकगंड इति । आचयेगो-
- 106 चजानामयसरो भूभुजासुदारयशाः ॥(॥) [४२*] ^४अतिविरुदतुर-
- 107 गधट्टो मतिगुरारट्टमगधमान्यपदः । शल्यारिनी-
- 108 तिगाली कल्याणपुराधिपः कलाचतुरः ॥[*][४३*] ^५वाक्किक्क-
- 109 वर्त्ती ^६माणिक्यमहाकिरीटमङ्गनीयः । एवि[र]दरायरा-
- 110 द्रुतवेश्यैकभुजगविरुदरमणीयः ॥(॥) [४४*] ^७कूलकश(ष?)कोन-
- 111 रानी(॥)[कोटल*]कीर्णजयविरुदभरितश्रोः^८ । ^९रमातरकीरिरी-
- 112 डिड[य*]रायदिशापट्टविरुदघोषेण ॥(॥) [४५*] ^{१०}ओषधिपत्युपमा-
- 113 यितगंडस्तोषणपू(रु)पजितासमकांडः । भाषगेतप्य(प्यु)व-
- 114 रायरगंडः पोषणनिर्भरभूवनखंडः^{११} ॥(॥) [४६*] ^{१२}राजाधिरा-
- 115 जस्तेजस्वी श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः । मूर्करायरगंडांको मेरु-
- 116 लंघियशोभरः ॥(॥) [४७*] ^{१३}परदारिषु विमुखः पररायभयंकरः ।
- 117 शिष्टसंरक्षणपरो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ॥(॥) [४८*] ^{१४}हिंदुरायसुर-

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- 118 [त्रा]णस्मिंधुराजगभीरधिः^{१०} । श्रीभगंडमेरुंडो
- 119 हरिभक्तिमुधानधिः ॥(॥) [४९*] ^{१५}इत्यादिविरुदैर्वदितया नि-
- 120 त्यमभिष्टतः^{११} । जय जीवेति वादिन्य[र*] गनितांजलिबं-
- 121 धया^{१२} ॥(॥) [५०*] ^{१६}की(का)भोजभोजकाकिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः । प्र-
- 122 तोहारपदं प्राप्तेः प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषणः ॥(॥) [५१*] ^{१७}सीयं श्रीरंग-
- 123 राय^{१४} क्षितिपतितिलको रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या
- 124 निरस्यवृगनकनहुषानप्यचन्यामथान्यान्^{१५} । आ सीतो-

^१ Here is a half of an Anuṣṭubh verse ; the other half is wanting.

^२ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

^३ Metre : Giti.

^४ Read माणिक्य°.

^५ The corresponding passage in the Tumkur plates of Tirumalarāya published in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, p. 3 runs thus:—

Kūlaṅkaśa-konarāni-kōṭala-gaṅga-jaya-bīruda-bharita-śrīḥ ।

^६ Read रय्यतरकीर्तिरी°.

^७ Metre : Dādḥaka.

^८ Read °भूभुजखंडः.

^९ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

^{१०} Read °गभीरधीः.

^{११} Read °मभिष्टतः.

^{१२} Read अनितांजलिबंधया.

^{१३} Metre : Śraṣṭidhara.

^{१४} Read श्रीरंघराय or °रायक्षिति°.

^{१५} Read °प्यचन्या°.

[illegible][illegible]

- 125 रा सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतः स्त्रैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाश्चा-
 126 त्याचलातादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्यं राज्यं प्रयासि ॥(॥) [५२*] 'श्रीश-
 127 काब्दे ह्यनिधिवेदेदुगणिते क्रमाती श्रीमसुवाह्वये
 128 वर्षे मासि चाषाढनामनि ॥(॥) [५३*] पक्षे वरुक्षे पुण्यायां प्रथम-
 129 द्वादशीतिथौ । सन्निधौ रामचंद्रस्य सर्वसंपद्दियानि ॥(॥) [५४*]
 130 श्रीमत्काश्यपगोत्राय श्रीकात्यायनसूत्रिणे । ख्यातशुक्लयजु-
 131 श्या[खा]ह्मयिने^१ गुणशालिने ॥(॥) [५५*] 'वाह्मिजृम्भणनिर्हृतव(व)लया-
 132 सनमंत्रिणे । 'श्रीचाबालेलुभट्टस्य पौत्राय प्रियवादिने ॥(॥) [५६*]
 133 'श्रीमहररभट्टाब्धितारत्नायितात्मने । प्रख्यातोभक्त-
 134 भट्टाय पुरोगाय विपश्चितां ॥(॥) [५७*] वक्रिते हस्तिनावत्या वि-
 135 ख्यातिमधिकामितं(ते) । श्रीरायदुर्गराज्ये च 'पेन्नवेठ च वि-
 136 श्रुतं ॥(॥) [५८*] वसतिं भूदिगुम्भश्रीसीमायां^२ च श्रमश्रितं^३ । श्रीमत्पेन-
 137 नदीतीराभ्याग्दिशं समुपाश्रितं ॥(॥) [५९*] 'कोरकोदुग्रामवरसी-
 138 मांतरचितस्थितेः । पेननद्याश्र(य) सविधानीलाद्रेः पा(प्रा)च्यता-
 139 मितात् ॥(॥) [६०*] ख्यातचोळसमुद्रांशग्रामसीमांचलस्थितात् । श्री-

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- 140 मन्वेमडगुल्लस्य समीपस्थितिमे(मी)युषः ॥(॥) [६१*] सुस्थिरादुपका(ला)दा-
 141 श्रां दक्षिणां समुपाश्रितं । वेलिटिगा(या)मसीमांतसेकताश्री-^४
 142 धरांतिकात् ॥(॥) [६२*] चौरकश्रीतितिणीक्ष्माह्मदादपि च पश्चिमा-
 143 त् । पलुकूर्पामसीमांतात्पश्चिमत्वं पपेदुषः^५ ॥(॥) [६३*] कुम्भार्जपत्ति-
 144 सीमांतात्पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थितात् । ^६प्रख्यातश्रीगिड्डमाळि-
 145 गानिचेचांचलस्थितात् ॥(॥) [६४*] नीलोन्नतस्यलाद्रम्यादायातं पश्चि-
 146 मां दिशं । श्रीतिम्मापुरसीमांतशमीवृक्षांतिकस्थले ॥(॥) [६५*] स्थापि-
 147 ^७तादुपलस्थंभादुत्तरत्वमुपाश्रितं । श्रीकृष्णापुरमित्येव प्र-
 148 तिनामसमाश्रितं ॥(॥) [६६*] [मा]रेडपत्तिनामांशं(कं) ग्राममारामशोभि-
 149 तं । ^८सर्वमान्यं चतुष्सीमासंयुतं च समंततः ॥(॥) [६७*] निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण-
 150 सिद्धसाध(य)जलानितं^९ । अक्षिप्यागामिसंयुक्तमेकभोग्यं सभूद-

^१ Metre of vv. 53-75 : Anushtubh.

^२ Read क्रमात् । श्रीमसुवाह्वये.

^३ Read 'प्रायिने.

^४ Read वाह्मिजृम्भण°.

^५ Perhaps, the reading intended is श्रीमहालेनुभट्टस्य.

^६ The reading intended may be श्रीमहररभट्टा°.

^७ Read पेन्नवेठे.

^८ Read मूदिगुम्भ°.

^९ Read समश्रितं.

^{१०} This *pāda* of the Anushtubh verse is irregular.

^{११} Read 'सेकतनी°.

^{१२} Read प्रपेदुषः.

^{१३} This *pāda* of the verse is irregular.

^{१४} Read 'संभा°.

^{१५} Read सर्वमान्यं.

^{१६} Read 'जलानितं.

- 151 हं ।(॥) [६८*] वापीकूपतटाकौच कच्छारामैश्च संयुतं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भो-
 152 ग्यं. क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं ।(॥) [६९*] दाना[ध]मनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयो-
 153 चित्तं । काश्यपान्वयदीपस्य काश्यपिकल्पशासि(खि)नः ।(॥) [७०*]
 सिंधु(धु)राजग-
 154 भीरस्य सिंधुगोविंदतेजसः । श्रीसितकरगंडांकमहाबिरुदशो-
 155 भिनः[॥७१*] (मे)धवळांकनभीमस्य धनदैश्वर्यशालिनः । मणिनागपुरेश-
 156 स्य मथितारातिभूभुजः ।(॥) [७२*] 'वरबय्यात्वभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मनः । 'नी-
 157 रक्ष्णमभूपस्य विज्जप्तिमनुपालयन् ।(॥) [७३*] परीतः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरा(रो)-
 158 हितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैश्चैतपथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।(॥) [७४*] श्रीरंगरा-
 159 य[भू]पालो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 [न्मु]दा ।(॥) [७५*]

Fifth Plate.

- 160 'तदिदं नयधुर्यस्य प्रथितश्रीरंगरायवर्यस्य[१*]
 161 'श्रामनमतिवलशामनतरुकरदानस्य गुणनिदा(धा)न[स्य][॥७६*]
 162 'श्रीरंगरायनृपतेश्शामनस्ताम्रशामनस्त्रोकान्' । कविश[१]-
 163 मनस्वयंभूस्मरसमभाणीकभापतेस्मृतः ।(॥) [७७*] 'श्रीरंगरायभू-
 164 पालशासनाद्वीरणात्मजः । [श्री]महणपयाचार्यो व्यलिखत्ता-
 165 म्रशामनं ।(॥) [७८*] दानपालनयोर्मंडेय' दानाच्छ्रेयोनुरा(पा)लनं । दानात्स्व-
 166 र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यत(च्युतं) पदं ।(॥) [७९*] स्वदत्तादि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परद-
 167 त्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥) [८०*]स्वद-
 168 त्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुंधरां । 'षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि वि-
 169 ष्टायां' जायते क्रिमिः¹⁰ ॥ [८१*]एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजा ।
 170 न भोज्या न करयाद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥) [८२*] ¹¹समान्योयं धर्मसे-
 171 तुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्विस्सर्वानेतान्¹² भावि-
 172 नः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः॥[८३*]=॥=॥=॥=॥
 श्रीविरूपाक्ष¹³

¹ Read वरययप?

² Metre: Giti.

³ The metre of vv. 78-82 is Anushtubh.

⁴ Read षष्टिं वर्षं°.

⁵ Metre: Salini.

⁶ The characters are old Kaurava.

⁷ Perhaps वीरक्ष्णम° is meant.

⁸ Read °शशामन°.

⁹ Read °ष्टायां.

¹⁰ Read भवतिः । सर्वा°.

¹¹ Read °शशामनतत्ताम°.

¹² Read °र्मश्री.

¹³ Read क्रिमिः.

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No. 35—MALEPADU PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA;
THE FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., while he was Deputy Collector in charge of the Jammalamadugu Division of the Cuddapah district, in 1904, brought to the notice of the Madras Epigraphical Department a set of copper plates and a number of stone inscriptions relating to a family of kings whose existence was not known till then. These copper plates and stone records¹ were secured by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, through the kind offices of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, and a brief account of their contents was given in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 48, paragraphs 5 and 6. I publish below, with the permission of the Editor, the inscription on the copper plates and also append in a postscript, as a specimen, the text and translation of one of the well-preserved stone epigraphs whose importance will be recognised when it is stated that they are the earliest Telugu records from the Cuddapah district and belong to a dynasty of kings who, though claiming Chōla descent, had, nevertheless, their dominion in the Pallava territory.

Regarding the discovery of the plates, Mr. Ramayya Pantulu writes :—“ They were given to me by a man of the Sāli caste named Varadappa, who told me that he found the plates while digging foundations for a *mull* at Mālēpāḍu. He preserved the plates in the temple of Emberumān at Vēlpucharla whither he had removed himself and gave them to me when I visited that temple.” The plates are three in number, and measure, roughly, $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". “ They are held together by a ring whose ends are secured in an oval-shaped seal which measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", and which bears in high relief, a tiger which stands to the proper left, raises the left fore-paw, opens the mouth and has a twisted tail.”² The first and last of the plates are written only on their inner sides and show traces of having had raised rims, which were apparently meant to protect the writing on these plates from coming into contact with the written sides of the middle plate. The circular copper ring which holds the plates together, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " thick. The plates with seal and ring weigh 93 tolas. They have been presented to the Madras Museum—again through the kind intervention of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu—and will be deposited there after the final proof of the subjoined article has been passed for printing.

The seal with the emblem cut on it in bold relief—evidently the crest of the kings to whom the record belongs—deserves special consideration. The posture of the animal,³ the sharp twist of its tail above the back, and the profuse mane round its neck—all considered together—make the figure look more like a lion than a tiger, although the possibility of the latter was suggested by Mr. Venkayya when he first discussed the question, from the supposed connection the kings mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu record bore to the Chōlas of Tanjore whose crest was the tiger (*vēṅgai*).⁴ Similar figures are engraved on the top of a broken slab at

¹ Some of the stone records which were not either set up in temples or otherwise properly cared for, were removed to the Madras Museum for preservation in the year 1905.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-5, p. 48.

³ See the accompanying plate.

⁴ *E.g.* in the historical introductions of Virarājendra I. the king is stated to have “despatched (*the banner of*) the ferocious tiger into all directions” (*S.-I. I*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 37); see also, above, Vol. III, p. 125, note 3. Fine specimens of the Chōla tiger are depicted on the seal of the large Leyden Grant, the Tiruvāṅgāḍu plates and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, Plate facing p. 104). They are seen also on the coins of Uttama-Chōla and on the Chōla pillar on the top of Mahēndragiri in the Ganjam district (No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896).

Peddannḍiyam¹ and on another at Muddanūr,² both of which bear records of about the same age as the subjoined inscription and belong, evidently, also to members of the same family. That these figures represent a lion and not a tiger, receives confirmation from an unexpected source. In a record of the 11th century A.D. from the Bastar State,³ it is stated that a chief named Chandrāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavamśi king Jagadēkabhāshuṇa-Mahārāja Dhāravarsha, was a descendant of Karikāla-Chōla of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra, was the lord of the river Kāvērī (Canvery) and of the (historic) town of Oraiyūr (Uraiyūr in the Trichinopoly district) and bore the lion-crest.⁴ As the kings mentioned in the Mālēpādu plates will also be seen from the sequel to have possessed almost the same family-titles, and as it is not improbable that Chandrāditya of Bastar (whose capital was Amma-gāma⁵) may have been a later member connected with some collateral branch of this same family, it may be assumed for the present, that the crest figured on the seal of the Mālēpādu plates, is a lion like that of Chandrāditya of Bastar. It is curious to note also that Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* (Plate II, Nos. 49 to 54) refers to certain specimens which bear on their obverse sides the same figure as the one under discussion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallava kings of Vēṅgi. The monolithic shrine at Śiyamaṅgalaṁ which was excavated in the time of the Pallava king Lalitānkura (i.e., Mahēndravarmaṇ I.) about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.,⁶ also bears sculptures of two identical lions which face one another and are similar in design to the lion depicted on the Muddanūr stone (see accompanying plate). The seals of Indravarmaṇ⁷ and Vikramēndravarmaṇ II.⁸ of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin family and that of the Uruvupalli plates of the early Pallava king Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarmaṇ⁹ bear similar figures. A small signet of *lapis lazuli* discovered among the Buddhist ruins of Amaravati has on it the representation of a lion with the open mouth and the raised left foreleg together with the legend *Bhāṭisa* written in early Brahmi characters of the 3rd century B.C.¹⁰ Ancient coins recently found at Bojjanakonda in the Vizagapatam district by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Madras, bear almost the same crest on their obverse sides.¹¹

The writing on the plates belongs to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resembles that of the Eḍēru plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II (A.D. 799 to 843).¹² The horizontal top-strokes, often left unfinished in our plates, indicate perhaps an even earlier stage of development. Accordingly, in many cases, we find two points (one on each side of the letter) taking the place of a complete top line. The letter *k* is distinguished from *r* by a vertical stem which projecting from the top of the right side of the latter, supports over it the *talakattu*

¹ No. 251 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² No. 406 of the same collection for 1904.

³ No. 231 of the same collection for 1908.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 112.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

⁶ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 110, paragraph 62.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, Plate, facing p. 214.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 50.

⁹ Director-General's Archaeological Annual for 1905-6., p. 166.

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 5, paragraph 5. The tiger crest of the Hoysalas figured on the frontispiece of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V., has also got the twisted tail, the mane, the conventional slender waist, and the face of a lion. Sir Walter Elliot interprets similar figures (?) on two Hoysala gold coins (*South-Indian Coins*, p. 152 D, Nos. 90 and 91) as maned lions. In the legend about Sula, the founder of the Hoysalas, the Kanarese word used is *puli* which distinctly means 'a tiger'. It is not altogether impossible that a tiger was also represented by the artists of the day, with the mane and other features that were naturally characteristic of a lion. It is stated in the *Śukranīṭisāra* (IV, iv, 167) that a *tiger* and a *lion* have almost the same form, the difference being only in the mane which the latter possesses.

¹¹ Above, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 120.

Lion seal and sculptures of about the Seventh Century A.D. •



A.—Seal of Panyakumara plates.



B.—Sculpture on a broken slab at Peddamudiem.



C.—Sculpture on a slab at Muddanur.



D.—Sculpture on the rock-cut temple Siyamangalam.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY V. MADHURANAYAKAM PILLAI.

or head-line. This stem of *k* is found to be in continuation of the right side of the letter *r* in the Eḍṛu plates, whereas here the stem begins a little removed from the right top of *r*. The use of the Dravidian *la* (l. 9), *ra* (l. 20) and *la* (ll. 8, 18 and 19) is also worth recording. As regards orthography it may be remarked that *m* and *v* coming after a *rēpha* are doubled (ll. 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22 and 24), except in *Pōrmukharāma* (l. 12 f.). The consonants *d* and *t* are likewise doubled after *r* in ll. 17, 22 and 24, and before *r* in l. 23, the only exceptions being *Purushasārdūla* and *Mārdavachitta*, in l. 13. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. An invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end are, however, written in the Āryā-Gīti and Anuṣṭubh metres, respectively.

After an invocation to Śiva, the record introduces us to a king Nandivarman of the Kāśyapa-gōtra. He was born in the family of Karikāla who was "the (celestial) tree *mandāra* on the mountain Mandara¹ — the race of the Sun, the doer of many eminent deeds such as stopping the overflow over its banks of the (waters of the) daughter of Kāvēri (i.e. the river Kāvēri), who made his own the dignity of the three kings (of the South). Nandivarman had three sons, Simhaviṣṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanamjayavarman. The youngest Dhanamjayavarman, on whom devolved the sovereignty in regular succession, had a son "who acquired the title Chōla-Mahārāja, was well versed in grammar and other sciences and was the lord of the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa (countries)." This was Mahēndravikrama-varman, "who was equal in prowess to (god) Mahēndra and possessed many surnames such as the glorious Muditaśilākshara,² Navarāma,³ etc." His son was king Guṇamudita and the latter's brother was the prosperous king Punyakumāra. This Punyakumāra, otherwise known as Pōrmukharāma,⁴ Purushasārdūla,⁵ Mārdavachitta,⁶ Madanavilasa,⁷ etc. thus ordered the inhabitants of his own dominion as well as those of Hiranya-rāṣṭra: "Be it known to you that we, in the current fifth year, of our increasing and victorious reign, on the full-moon day of (the month of) Kārttika, have granted free from all molestations and taxes twice twenty-five (i.e. fifty) *virarṭamas* of land (measured) by the royal unit, in the south-east quarter of the village named Birapāru (situated) in Hiranya-rāṣṭra, on the southern bank of the river Suprayōga, to (a certain) Chiruvannahaḷa-Keśavaśarman of the Ātreya-gōtra, at the request of (the chief) Koṭṭikuḷdarāja." The inscription ends with two imprecatory verses (ll. 23 to 27) and a short Sanskrit clause invoking felicity on cows and Brāhmaṇas (l. 27).

Of the foregoing kings, Karikāla who held sway over the three kingdoms of the south and stopped the overflow of freshes in the Cauvery, is identical with the quasi-historical Karikāla-Chōla of Tamil literature, of whom many stories are related in the poems *Puravāṇāra*, *Poruṇārāṇṇupadai*,⁸ *Śilappadigāram* and *Paṭṭinappalai*.⁹ Karikāla-Chōla is claimed by the Chōla kings of Tanjore to have been one of their famous ancestors, and to him is attributed the characteristic feat of constructing banks on either side of the river Cauvery and of renewing the town of Kāñchi with gold.¹⁰ The exact time when this king flourished has not been properly made out. Inscriptions of a family of Telugu chiefs grouped by Mr. Venkayya under the name

¹ I.e. an ornament to the family which was as high (noble) as the mountain Mandara.

² Literally 'one who delighted in stone script (i.e. in inscriptions).'

³ I.e. a new Rāma.

⁴ A Rāma in front of battle. It may be noticed that the first component of this title, viz. *pōr* is a Dravidian word meaning 'battle' and cannot according to strict rules of Grammar be compounded with non-Dravidian Sanskrit words.

⁵ A tiger among men (i.e. the best of men).

⁶ One whose heart is tender.

⁷ Amorous like (the god of) Love (Madana).

⁸ Mr. Kanakasabhai's *Tamils*, Ch. V.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 144 to 149.

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 15.

Telugu-Chōḍas¹ state that an ancestor of these was a certain Karikāla "who caused the banks of (the river) Kāvērī to be built by Trilōchana and other kings who fixed their glances on (his) lotus feet (i.e. were subordinate to him)." ² Apparently here also, the reference is to the king Karikāla-Chōḷa mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates. Karikāla's subordinate Trilōchana was, in all probability, a Telugu contemporary whose approximate date is possible to deduce from inscriptions. Trilōchana, Trinētra, Triṇayana and Mukkaṇṭi are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava, as the name of a mythical ruler of Pallava origin who held sway over the Telugu country at some period of its early history.³ The Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings invented as early as the time of Vimalāditya,⁴ refers to a Trilōchana-Pallava⁵ as the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a powerful opponent of the Chālukya adventurer Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā. This Trilōchana-Pallava is, perhaps, identical with the Trilōchana of the Telugu-Chōḍa inscriptions and with Triṇayana-Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi of other Telugu epigraphs. It may therefore be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava were almost contemporaneous. From the account given in the Eastern Chālukya copper plates—whatever its historic value may be—it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgi-dēśa and founded the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Dr. Fleet has proved that this Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana was the younger brother of Puṣyakēśin II.—the Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra of Eastern Chālukya records—and that he succeeded to the throne as *yuvārāja*, in or about A.D. 615.⁶ Calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā and, therefore, also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D.⁷ The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Chōḷa was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway. The three kings of

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paragraph 44.

² The actual phrase which precedes the name Karikāla in these inscriptions is: *charaṇa-sarōruha-nihita-cilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukh-ākṣhila-prithivīrara-kārita-Kāvērī-tīra*. Some inscriptions substitute the word *vihata* for *vihita*. In this case the explanation would perhaps be *charaṇa-sarōruhēṇa vihatāḥ-lāḍitāḥ ata ēva cilōchanāḥ-vinaśhita-drīṣah, tējasa iti yāvat, Trilōchana-pramukhā gasya sah*, i.e. Trilōchana and other lords of earth whose eyes were blurred by (the brilliance of) his (viz. Karikāla's) lotus-feet (on the occasion when they prostrated to him). Karikāla is stated to have got thousands of Ceylonese coolies "to work on the embankments of the Kāvērī river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed" (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 416). Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the south which trace their origin to the Sun, mention Karikāla among their ancestors and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvērī. The Kūkatiyas of Warangal and, in latter times, the Matla chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sāluva chiefs of Kārvēṭinagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried with the Vijayanagara kings of the lunar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy. In the Telugu poem *Narasabhapāliyam* which was dedicated to one of the Toragaṇṭi chiefs of the solar race who were related to the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty by inter-marriage, it is stated that Karikāla planted rows of avenue trees on either bank of the Kāvērī in order to hide her 'who was the queen of the ocean' from public gaze.

³ See e.g. above, Vol. VI, p. 277, footnote 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 348 f.

⁵ The modern village Peddamuḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu tāluka of the Cuddapah district, is called Trilōchanapura in one of its later records. It was, as Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has pointed out to me the ancient Muḍivānu-Agrahāra where Vishṇuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, was born and brought up. Its name Trilōchanapura connects it with the mythical king Trilōchana-Pallava who opposed Vijayāditya. The Pallava genealogy so far disclosed, either from copper plates or stone inscriptions, does not mention any name like Trilōchana-Pallava; but the Kādambas of Goa (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 566) and the Nolambas of Hōmāvati (above, Vol. X, p. 58) claim, respectively, Trilōchana-Kādamba and Triṇayana-Pallava as the founders of those dynasties.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 352 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1906-6, p. 174 f.

the South whom Karikāla is stated to have subdued were, evidently, the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraḷa¹ as specified in l. 9 of the text, in connection with Mahēndravikramavarman — a later member of this same family. The inclusion of the Chōla among the kings conquered, although it is wrong, is, nevertheless, meant to show that Karikāla virtually ruled over the whole of Southern India. The Tamil poem *Śilappadigāram* says of him that he was an ally of Avanti and the overlord of Vajra and Magadha.²

Of Nandivarman and his three sons Śiṃhaviṣṇu, Sundarananda and Dhananjayavarman we do not know much at present. The first two names bear resemblance to Pallava names. Sundarananda figures as one of the ancestors of an unidentified Telugu-Chōḍa chief Śrīkanṭha whose Madras Museum plates have been noticed by Professor Kielhorn in one of the previous volumes of this journal.³ A certain **Dhananjaya Eriga** referred to in some epigraphical records from the Maddagiri taluka of the Tumkur district calls himself a **Chōla** ruling the **Ālvādi six hundred district**.⁴ Mr. Rice assigns these records, on palaeographical evidence, to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Chōlas of the Tumkur district (round Nidugal and Hēmāvatī) may have been of a common stock with the Chōlas of Cuddapah, and Dhananjaya Eriga was either directly or indirectly connected with Dhananjayavarman of the Malēpadu plates. Again, a stone record at **Kalamajla**⁵ in the Cuddapah district makes mention of a certain **D[h]ananjeyuṇḍu** who was ruling **Rēnāṇḍu**. The record is not dated; but to judge from the characters, it may roughly be referred to the same period as the Malēpadu plates. It is, therefore, not unlikely that we have here a direct reference to Dhananjayavarman, the last son of Nandivarman. Mahēndravikramavarman who assumed the titles **Chōla-Maharāja**, **Mudita-śīlākshara** and **Navarāma**, appears to have been so named after Mahēndravikrama, a name or surname of Mahēndravarmaṇ I.,⁶ the Pallava contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II., in the 7th century A.D.⁷ After Guṇamudita, of whom nothing is stated in the inscription, came **Punyakumāra Pōrmukharāma** to whose reign our grant belongs. Two of the *birudas* assumed by him, viz. **Mārdavachitta** and **Madanavilāsa** indicate some apparent affinity to **Mattavilāsa** and **Vichitrachitta**, the recognised *birudas* of Mahēndravarmaṇ I.⁸ This resemblance in the *birudas* suggests, as will be pointed out below, the possibility of some undefined relationship, political or otherwise, that may have existed between the Chōlas of the Cuddapah district and the Pallavas of Kāñchi.

Punyakumāra, we are told, addressed his order to the inhabitants of his own dominion and to those of **Hiranyarāshṭra**. The latter territorial division, though not actually included in the province governed by **Punyakumāra**, must have been bordering on it and perhaps also subordinate to him. It is not impossible that this was actually the kingdom ruled by **Kottikuldarāja**,

¹ Tamil literature refers to "the battle at Vennil where Karikāla defeated the Chōra and the Pāṇḍya kings" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 146). It is not impossible to interpret the word *trairājya-śhiti* of l. 4 in the sense of "the position of *trairājya*". In Western Chalukya copper-plates the Pallava King is often referred to as *Trairājya-Pallava* or *Trairājya-Kāñchipati*, where *trairājya* evidently denotes the sovereignty over the whole of Southern India.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 26f.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 123, note. Professor Kielhorn who has compared the palaeography of these with that of the Maṣulipatam plates of Vijayāditya III. (A.D. 844-884), is of opinion that the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkanṭha are also of about the same period. It may be pointed out that an ancient coin of about the 4th or 5th century A.D., discovered at Bojjanakoṇḍa, bears on one of its sides the legend *Śrīkanṭha* and on the other the Pallava symbol of the vase and the lion (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part I, paragraph 5).

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Introduction, p. (7).

⁵ No. 380 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁶ *A. S. R.* for 1903-4, p. 271, and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14. The names *Navarāma* and *Mahēndravarmaṇ* also occur in the plates of Śrīkanṭha noticed above.

⁷ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 350.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II, paragraph 14.

at whose request the subjoined grant was made. The river **Suprayōga**, on whose southern bank the village **Birapāru** was situated, is mentioned again in the **Uruvupalli** plates of the Pallava king **Yuvamahārāja** **Vishnugopavarman**.¹ It is there stated to have formed one of the boundaries of the village of **Uruvupalli** situated in the district of **Muṇḍa-rāshṭra**. **Kaṇḍakūra** or **Kaṇḍukūra**, another boundary of **Uruvupalli**, mentioned in the same plates, is suggested by **Mr. Venkayya** to be identical with the modern **Kandakūru**,² the headquarters of a **tāluka** of that name in the **Nellore** district. And as **Muṇḍa-rāshṭra** is probably the same as **Muṇḍai-nādu** mentioned in some of the **Nellore** Tamil inscriptions,³ the river **Suprayōga** has to be looked for somewhere in the **Nellore** district. **Punyakumāra**'s sway thus appears to have extended beyond **Cuddapah**, even into **Nellore**. An inscription at **Kalujavvalapādu** in the **Podili** division of the **Nellore** district refers to a chief of the solar race (to which also **Punyakumāra** belonged) and is worded almost in the same style as the stone epigraphs of the family under reference⁴. The existence of this record may be taken to be a further proof of the influence of the **Chōla** kings, in the **Nellore** district, already at this early period. I am unable to identify the village of **Birapāru** which was situated on the bank of the river **Suprayōga**.

Before fixing the probable period to which the **Mālēpādu** plates belong, it may be useful to examine some of the allied lithic records referred to at the beginning of this paper. One from **Rāmeśvaram** near **Proddutūru**⁵ and another from **Chippili** near **Madanapalle**,⁶ have to be assigned on paleographical evidence to **Punyakumāra** of the **Mālēpādu** plates, though neither of them which mentions him refers to the family to which he belonged or the *gōtra* in which he was born. The latter is a memorial tablet in the **Kanarese** language and registers that "while the glorious **Punyakomāra** (*i.e.* **Punyakumāra**) was ruling **Chirpuḷi** (**Chippili**), **Indarāja** rose (in rebellion?), and (in the conflict that ensued, a certain) **Parasurāman** pierced and fell." The former tells us: "In the victorious and increasing years of the reign of the lord of the earth (*prithivī-rallabha*), the **Chōla-Mahārāja Pōrmukharāma Punyakumāra**, in (his) fifth year, queen **Vasantapōri-Chōla-Mahādēvi** presented three hundred (measures) of land in the fields of **Viripariti** to the temple of **Vasantiśvara** at **Tārumunri**—the *āṇṭi* (*āṇṭi*) of the grant being a certain **Māripidugu Rattagudlu**." Although one may feel doubtful about the identity of **Punyakomāra** of the **Chippili** record, there is little doubt that **Pōrmukharāma Punyakumāra** of the **Rāmeśvaram** pillar inscription is identical with the donor of the **Mālēpādu** copper plates. The mention in this record of (**Punyakumāra**'s?) queen **Vasantapōri-Chōla-Mahādēvi**, of (his) officer **Māripidugu Rattagudlu** and of the villages **Viripariti** and **Tārumunri** is apparently of much historical interest. **Māripidugu** is a name or surname quite familiar to the period to which the inscription belongs and was in use among the ruling **Pallava** sovereigns and their subordinates.⁷ **Rattagudlu** is an honorific title largely used in the epigraphs under reference. Its significance, as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later **Sanskrit** word *rāshṭrakūṭa* which has been explained in the sense "the headman of a

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 53.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-05, Part II, paragraph 2.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 283 and note.

⁴ *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1179. The occurrence of epithets like *raddōḍiya* and *raddōḍlu* in connection with the original founders of the temple as stated in this record, is also worthy of note.

⁵ No. 384 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1904.

⁶ No. 299 of the same collection for 1905.

⁷ Names ending in *pidugu* were common in **Pallava** times. **Perumbidugu** was the name of a channel which was dug from the river **Pālār** to feed the **Paramēśvaran** tank in the village of **Kūram** near **Conjeevaram**, in the time of the **Pallava** king **Paramēśvaravarman I.** (*South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. I, p. 155). **Paḡāppidugu** was the surname of king **Maḡendrarvarman I.** **Māripidugu** was the epithet either of a **Pallava** king named **Dantivarman** or of one of his subordinates, in whose time a well was constructed at **Tiruvellarai** in the **Trichinopoly** district. A tank at **Ālabākkam** in the same district was called **Māripidugōri**. **Agranipidugu** occurs among the names of the ancestors of the **Telugu Chōla** chief **Śrīkaṇṭha** who perhaps belonged to the same family as **Punyakumāra**. According to the *Nandikkatambakam*, **Viḍelvidugu** was a surname of the hero of that **Tamil** poem.

village." The following other forms of *raṭṭaṇḍu* are also found in the Chōla records of the Cuddapah district: (1) *raṭṭeḍḍu*, (2) *raṭṭaṇḍu* (perhaps the singular form of *raṭṭaṇḍu*) and (3) *raṭṭaḍḍu*. Further, in some inscriptions, *raṭṭaṇḍu* is found compounded with the name of a royal family, as *Salṅki-Raṭṭaṇḍu*, *Chalṅki-Raṭṭaṇḍu*, *Gagga-Raṭṭaṇḍu*, *Vallava-Raṭṭaṇḍu*, *Chōliya-Raṭṭaṇḍu*, and *Chōla-Raṭṭaḍḍu*. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty *Salṅki* or *Chalṅki* (i.e. *Chalukya*), *Gagga* (*Gaṅga*), *Vallava* (*Pallava*? or *Vallabha-Rashtrakūṭa*) and *Chōliya* or *Chōla*, under whose patronage the dignity (*paṭṭam*) of *raṭṭaṇḍu* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase *rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān-kutumbinaḥ*, which occurs in copper plate inscriptions, shows also that the *rāshtrakūṭas* were *kutumbins* 'cultivators' (*kuḍi* in Tamil) who enjoyed a higher social status than others of their community. The Reddis of the Telugu country according to their own account belong to the *Paṇṭakula* 'the cultivating caste' and command much respect. A class of Reddis in the Nizam's Dominions, is still known by the name *Radraddis* which appears to me to be a reminiscence of the older honorific *raṭṭaḍḍi*. Thus the Sanskrit *rāshtrakūṭa* and the modern *reddi* have to be traced to the form *raṭṭaṇḍu* and its variants which were current in the Cuddapah district in the period of the lithic records under discussion.¹

Six other stone epigraphs,² from the Cuddapah district, begin with a short eulogy of the Chōla kings, which is identically the same in all.³ The ruling chief is introduced by the general appellation *Chōla-Mahārāja* and not by his proper name. Four allied records refer to an unnamed eldest son (*prathama-priya-putra*) of *Vikramāditya Bompaṇādhirāja*,⁴ a *Vikramāditya-Chōla-Mahārāja* and queen *Elāṅchōla-Mahādēvi*⁵ and prince *Śatyaditunru*, son of *Śaktikomara Vikramāditya* (and grandson of) *Chōla-Maharājādhirāja Vikramāditya*.⁶ These are names not mentioned in the genealogical portion of the Malēpadu plates and consequently their relationship to *Punyakumāra*, to whose family they must belong, is not certain. The general appellation *Chōla-Mahārāja*, however, was, according to text line 8, first acquired by *Mahēndravikramavarman*, the father of *Punyakumāra*. It is not improbable that the *Chōla-Mahārāja* mentioned in the six lithic records quoted above, is identical with *Mahēndra-vikramavarman*. The province over which these Chōla kings apparently ruled is stated in four records to have been the *Rēnāṇḍu* seven thousand. One stone epigraph from *Mālēpadu* (see Postscript, below) adds the district *Śiddhi* one thousand, perhaps the same as the *Siddhant* country. A later inscription of the 12th century A.D. from *Peddamuḍiyam*,⁷ mentions the *Rēnāṇḍu* seventy, which must have formed a sub-division of the *Rēnāṇḍu* seven thousand district. Mr. *Ramayya Pantulu* identifies *Rēnāṇḍu* with "the black-soil country which roughly includes large portions of the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, along the valley of the *Kundāru* river."

The period of the record could only be approximately fixed. The lion crest adopted by the Chōla kings was, as we have seen, already familiar in the 3rd century B.C. It was a Buddhist symbol used also by the *Pallavas* of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era and

¹ For a detailed criticism on the terms *raṭṭa* and *rāshtrakūṭa* see above, Vol. VII, p. 221 f. A similar development of the title *Gaṇḍa* from the earlier *gāma-kūṭa*, *gāmaṇḍa* has been maintained by Dr. Fleet, *ibidem*, p. 183.

² Nos. 405, 406 and 408 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904; No. 352 of the collection for 1905 and Nos. 466 and 517 of the collection for 1906.

³ This eulogy runs as follows:—*Srasti śrī ari-durdhara-vara-bhūṣaśi-bhāsura-prāchayā-pradyōta-Dinakara-kula-nandana Kāṣyapa-gōtra *Karikā-āncaya*—Hail! Prosperity! (*Chōla-Mahārāja*) who is resplendent with an excellent sword in hand which his enemies could not oppose, who gladdens the family of the Sun whose rays are powerful, who belongs to the *Kāṣyapa-gōtra* (and) to the family of *Karikā*.

⁴ No. 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁵ No. 400 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 393 of the same collection. The text of this record with translation is published below, in a postscript.

⁷ No. 350 of the same collection for 1905 (below p. 344, n. 2). Inscriptions of the 16th century A.D. at *Peddamuḍiyam* and *Dombara-Nanjāla* refer to the country in which these villages were situated as *Rēnāṇḍa-Sima*, in the *Ghaṇḍikōṭa-rājya*.

by the Vishnukunḍin family of about the 7th century A.D. Again the adoption by Puṇyakumāra and his ancestors of titles and names which were current among the Pallava kings of the Simhavishnu line, makes it probable that they were either the subordinates of those Pallavas or succeeded them politically in, at least, a portion of their extensive territory. Besides, the existence of a kingdom called Chu-li-yo in the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (640 A.D.)¹ somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu-Chōḷa records, is conclusive proof "that this kingdom existed in the 7th century A.D." Allowing thus a little more than a century to the five rulers from Nandivarman to Puṇyakumāra, the date of the Mālēpāḍu plates may roughly be referred to about the end of the 8th century A.D., which is also the period determined by palaeographical evidence.

The connection that existed between these Telugu-Chōḷas of the Cuddapah district and the Tamil Chōḷas of Tanjore, both of whom claim Karikāla as their ancestor, is not clear. After a more or less independent rule in Rēnāṇḍu for about a century or two, the Chōḷas of Cuddapah appear to have dispersed. Some of them became subordinate to the Western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country.² A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavarṁśi king [Dhārāvārsha] Jagadekābhūṣhaṇa-Mahārāja (A.D. 1060-61).³ In the 12th and 13th centuries there flourished in the Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Chōḷa (now changed into Telugu-Chōḷa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatiyas of Warangal.⁴ The Kākatiyas themselves trace their descent from the sun and count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla-Chōḷa.⁵ In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Chōḷas. Even as late as the 16th century A.D., Chōḷa chiefs with the traditionary legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Uraiṇūr⁶ are found serving as viceroys under Vijayaṅgara rulers.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 Jayati dhṛita-chandra-rōkh[ō] vi[pul-ā]mala-tāraka[h] śubh-ālōka[h] [!*]
gagana-
- 2 m-iva suprasanna[h] Tri]pura-pratima[!*]la-kamīta-hā[gaṁ]rah⁹ || Dinakara-
kula-Manda-

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p. 49.

² A Kanarese record (No. 350 of 1905) of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, VI. dated in Śaka 1046 (= A.D. 1124-25) mentions the *Mahāmāṇḍalāśvara* Atyaṇa-Chōḷamahārāja whose eulogy begins with the very same passage as in the earlier Chōḷa records of the Cuddapah district under reference. Pedda-mudiyam, the village from which it comes, is described as "the jewel of villages, the great *agrahāra* Muḍivēma, where resided one hundred and fifty pious (Brāhmaṇas) who were well versed in Vēdas and Purāṇas, in penance and in devotion to Nārāyaṇa and who were the lotus-tank (as it were), in which the Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇuvardhana and others had their birth." The last adjunct is explained by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu to be a clear reference to the birth of Viṣṇuvardhana at Muḍivēmu mentioned in the mythological account of the later Eastern Chālukya copper plates.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 112.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, p. 17 f.

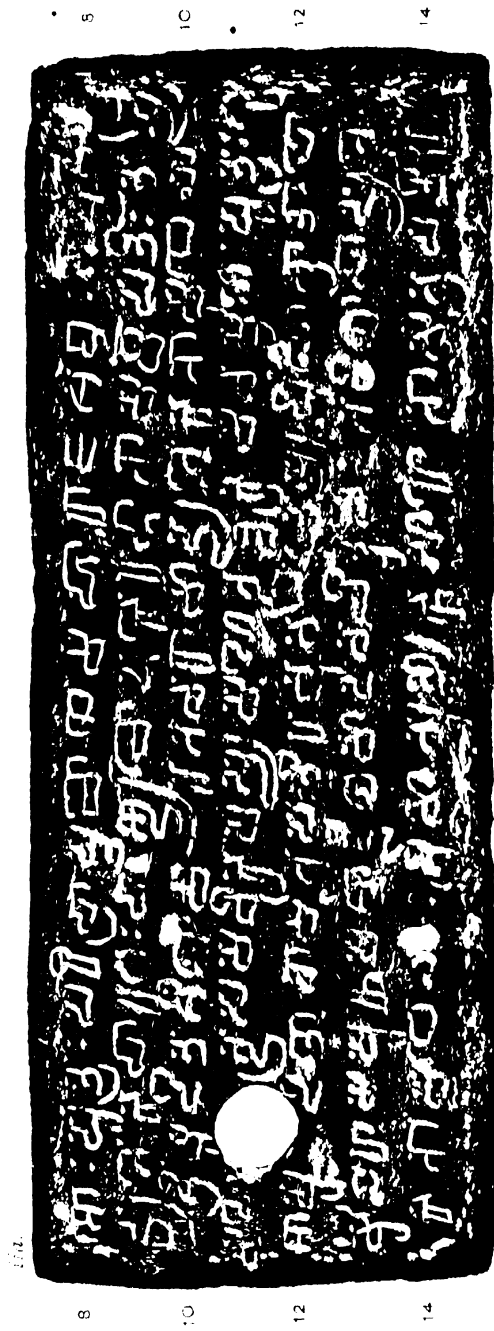
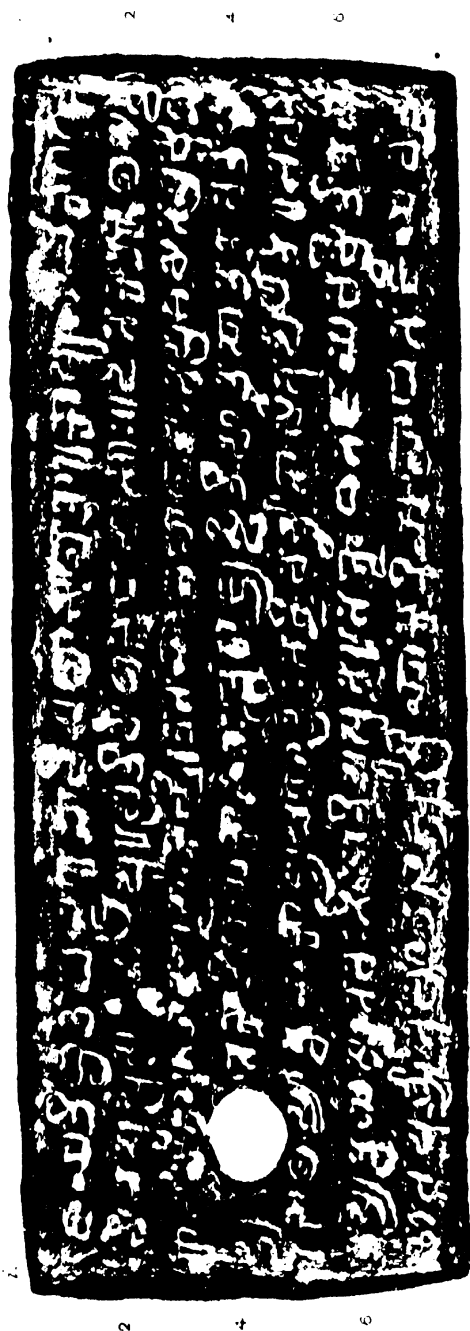
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106, paragraph 44.

⁶ The title 'lord of Uraiṇūr (Oreyūr)' assumed by the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs occurs for the first time in the Bastar record of Chandradityadeva of the 11th century A.D. Earlier Chōḷa inscriptions from Cuddapah do not speak of Oreyūr.

⁷ From the original plates.

⁸ A faint symbol for *Om* is visible at the beginning of the line.

⁹ Metre: Āryā Giti. Read -*kaṇṭhaḡō hārah*. The adjectives which qualify *hārah* 'the necklace' (of Śiva), are applicable also to *gagana* 'the sky' to which the necklace is compared. In the first case the necklace is made up of beads resembling the digit of the moon and of pearls big and bright; it is also auspiciously brilliant and flawless. The sky is the seat of the digit of the moon, full of big and bright stars, full also of good lustre shed by the stars and clear. It may be noted that *Chandrahāra* in Kanarese means 'a necklace of flat moon-like (circular) gold beads.'



This image shows a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Tamil, and is arranged in several horizontal lines across the length of the leaf. A prominent circular hole is visible near the center of the fragment, which is a characteristic feature of such manuscripts for binding. The image is high-contrast, with the dark ink of the script standing out against the lighter background of the leaf.

[illegible]

- 3 r-ācha[la*]-Mandāru(rn)-pādapasya **Kavēra**-tanayā-[vō]l-ō[l*]laṁghana-
praśamana-pramukh-ā-
4 dy-anēk-ātisāya-kāripaḥ **trairāja**-sthitiṁ-ātmasūt-kṛitavataḥ **Ka**-
5 **rikālasya**-ānvayō Kāśyapa-gōtraḥ **Nandivarmma** nāma nripatir-
abhavat [l*]
6 Tasya **traya**[s*]-[sū]navah [Simha]vishṇu[s*]-**Sunderana**[ndō]
Dhanamjayavarmma-ēti [l*] Tō [pu]-
7 [tr-ā]nu[pu]try-ānabhūta-rāja-śriyaḥ [l*] Kaniya[sō] **Dhanamjayavarmma**-
Second Plate; First Side.
8 paḥ putraḥ pariprāpta-**Chōla**-**Mahārāja**-śabdaḥ [Śabda-śāstr-ā]-
9 dy-anēka-pāraḥ **Pāṇḍya**-**Chōla**-**Kēraḷānām**-adhīpatiḥ [l*] Tasya
10 śrī-**Mudita**śilakshara-**Navarām**-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya-
11 Mahēndra-sama-vikramasya **Mahendravikramavarman**paḥ putraḥ **Gu**-
12 **ṇamuditō** nāma nripatir-n[bha]va[t] [l*] Tasya priyō bhrāta **Pō**-
13 **rmukharāma**-**Purushaśārdūla**-**Mārdavachitta**-**Madanavilās**-ādy-anō-
14 ka-nāmadhēyaḥ śrīmā[n=Pu]nyakumārō nāma nripatir-n-
Second Plate; Second Side.
15 [bha]va[t] || Asau **Hiranya**-rāshtra-[sa]hitā[n=sva]-rāshtra-nivāsinaś-sa-
16 rrvān=ittham-ājñāpayati [l*] Viditam=astu yō [=]smābhiḥ pravarddha[mā]-
17 na-vijaya-rāja-samvatsarō pañchamē varttamānō **Kārtti**-
18 ka-[pau]rṇamāsyān-tithau **Koṭṭiku**darāja-vijñāpanayā
19 Ātrēya-[gō]trāya [Chi]ruvaṇa[ha]u]-**Kēśavaśarman**anē **Hira**-
20 nya-rāshtrō **Supra**[yō]ga-nadyā dakṣiṇa-tirō **Birapāru**-nāma-
21 grāmaḥ [ta]sya grāmasya dakṣiṇa-pūrvvasyām diśi rāja-

Third Plate.

- 22 mārēna dvā-pañchaviṁśati-nivarttanō¹ kshētrō sarvva-
23 bādha-kara-parihāraṇa-datto² || Abbhīr=ddattam³ tribbhīr-bhuktam
24 sadbhīś-cha paripālitaṁ [l*] etāni na nivarttantō pūrvva-
25 rāja-kṛitāni cha || Sva-dattam para-dattam vā yō
26 harōta vasundharām [l*] shuśṭi-varsha-sahasraṇi vi-
27 shṭhāyām [jāyatō] krimiḥ || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇēbhyah ||

POSTSCRIPT.

TEXT. ⁴*First Page.*

- 1 ◎ Svasti śrī-**Chōla**-**Ma**-
2 h[a]rājādhirāja pa-
3 ramēśvara **Vikramādi**-
4 tya **Śaktikomara** **Vi**-
5 **kramāditi**[y*]ula kodak[n-
6] Kāśyapa-g[ō]tru-
7 [nra] **Śatyaditunru** **Śiddhi**-
8 [vay]u **Rēnāṇḍu**-ē[u]vō-

¹ Read -nivarttanam kshētram.² Read -dattam.³ Read tribbhīr.

⁴ No. 393 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. The characters are quite similar to those of the Alupa inscriptions of Udiyavara (above, Vol. IX, pp. 15-24), which Prof. Hultzsch assigns to about A. D. 800. It deserves to be noted that the record is written from the bottom upwards like the Amarāvati pillar inscription of Simhavarmān (above, Vol. IX, p. 43 and Plate) and one of the sides of the Bezvāḍa pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1910, p. 82).

- 9 la] ḍ[uchunṛi¹ Ko[ma-
 10 ri]pāra-Rēvaśa-
 11 [rmma] Kāśyapa-gō-
 12 [t]ri(tru)ni(ṇi)ki ichchina .
 13 . Chirumbūri² utta-
 14 . śa tu(tṇ)rpuna diśa
 15 . [ḍ]u Juggi-pola-ga[ru]-
 16 su da[kṣhi]ṇa-[diśa]
 17 . . . pāra [ma] .

. Second Face.

- 18 ṇnu marutru-gā-
 19 nu tāgiri [[*] Dē(di)ni
 20 salpinavāniki
 21 vē-gu[[i]]uvu vē-so-
 22 ruvuḷa vēvānṛ-u(ṇ)-
 23 ṛḷa nilpinai³ punyūn-
 24 bu [[*]diniiki vakrambu
 25 vachchuva(vā)nṛu putra-va-
 26 dya(dha)-stiri-vadya(dha)-[gō-va]-
 27 dya(dha)-pañcha-ma[ha-
 28 pā]takañ=chēsi[na]-
 29 vāni loka[ri*][ba-
 30 n=u]u[ḍu*]vānṛu

TRANSLATION. ⁴

Hail! Śatyaditunṛu (Śatyāditya) of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, son of Śāktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chōḷa-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, while ruling the Siddhi one thousand and the Rēnāṇḍu seven thousand (*districts*), gave to Rēvaśarmma of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, (*a resident*) of Komaripara⁵, five *marutru*⁶ (of land) at Chirumbūru on the north side east side the boundary of the fields of Juggi; (*on*) the south side To him that maintains this (*charity*), (*shall accrue*) the merit of establishing a thousand temples, a thousand tanks (*and*) a thousand villages! Ho that obstructs this, shall live in the world of him who commits the five great sins (*such as*) the murder of a son, the murder of a woman (*and*) the murder of a cow!

¹ The vowel sign for *u* is added, though wrongly, to the compound letter *nṛi*.

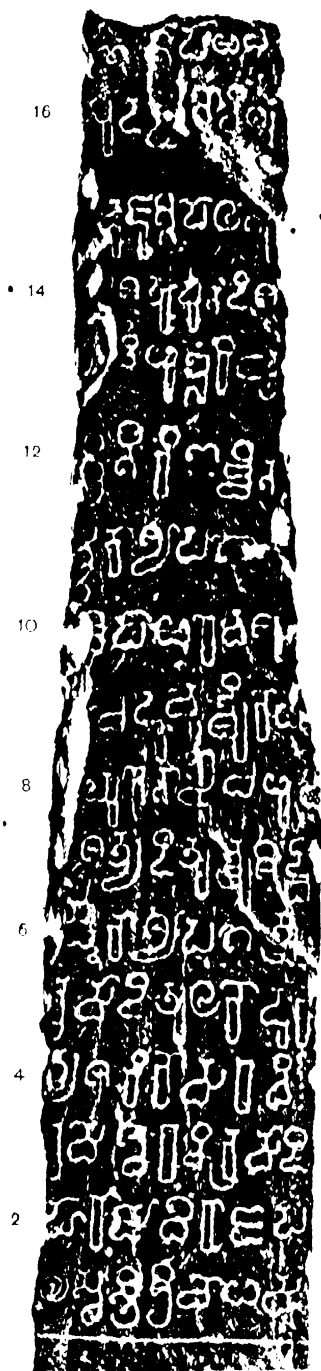
² The *anusvāra* which is to be connected with *ru* is placed over the letter *bū* which follows it. This peculiar position of the *anusvāra* is often found in the Telugu records of this period. The pronunciation intended may be either Chirumbūru or Chirubūru (the modern Chilaiṅkūru near the Kalamalla railway station). The latter possibility is supported by the system of spelling generally followed in Prakrit manuscripts where an *anusvāra* placed at the top of any letter has the effect of doubling the preceding letter. The similar position of the *anusvāra* in the words *punyambu* and *vakrambu* (l. 23 f.) cannot be explained in the same way. ³ Read *nilpina*.

⁴ The subjoined is only a tentative translation of the inscription.⁵ Its peculiarities of orthography, grammar and idiom require independent study and discussion. I could only here draw particular attention to the use of *nṛu* *nṛi* for *ndu*, *ndi*, the use of the Dravidian *ḷ* for *l*, the wrong forms *gōtriniki* for *gōtruṇiki* (l. 12) and *dēni* for *dīni* (l. 19), the addition of the genitive suffix to the qualifying adjective instead of to the noun (ll. 10 to 12), the use of the expletive suffix *vu* in *vē-gu[[u]]ru* (l. 21), the ungrammatical *vēvānṛ-ūḷu* for *vē-vūḷu* and the word *vadya* for *vadha*. Again, I am unable to explain the phrase *ṇnu marutru-gānu tāgiri* in l. 18 f.

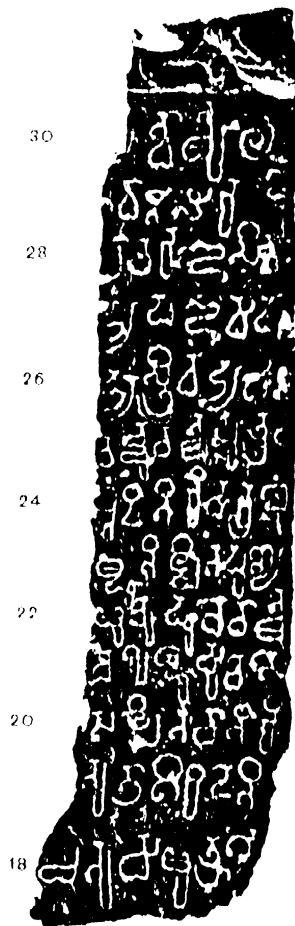
⁶ *Marutru* is evidently the plural of *marutu*, which again is a corruption of the Kanarese *matṭar*, *matṭaru* 'a measure of land.'

Malepadu stone inscription of Satyaditya.

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Second Face



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¹ The figures refer to pages; n after a figure, to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are used :—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district, division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = man; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village, town; *W.* = Western.

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